DR. JOSEPH S. BLOCH

MY REMINISCENCES

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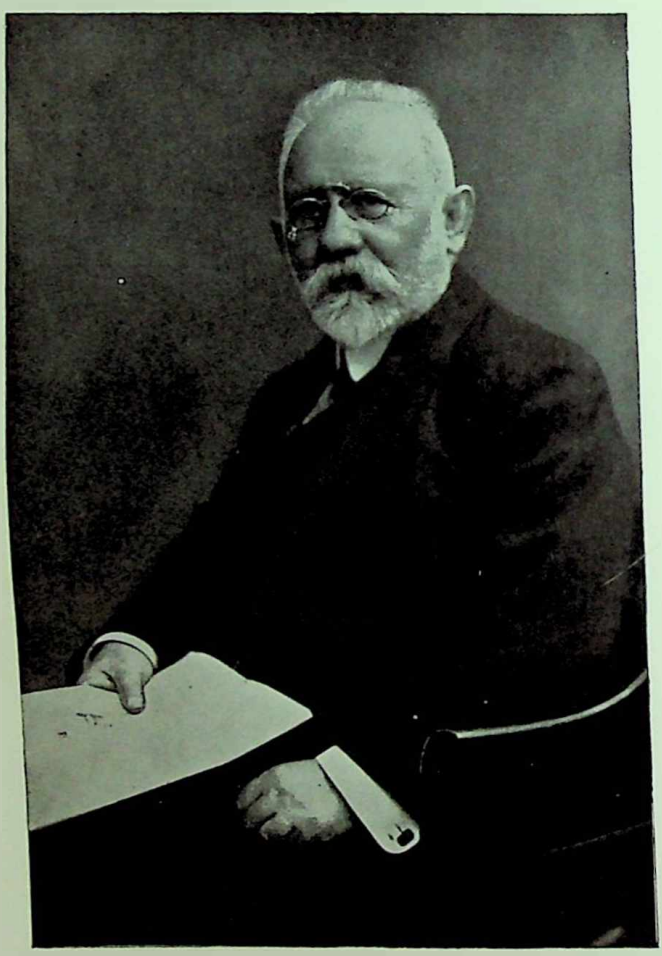


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R. LÖWIT, EDITOR
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Dr. Joseph Black

TO MY DEAR BROTHER

MORRIS

THIS BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY

DEDICATED

In the charming French castle of Trianon where in the days of the empire gay and happy courtiers played pastoral scenes, and where after the end of the dreadful universal slaughter state rooms were the stage of the final scenes of the downfall of the Habsburg Empire, there stands a dial in the middle of the park with the inscription "Horas non numero, nisi serenas" meaning: "I only show the happy hours." — We all constantly carry such a dial about with us — memory — and I believe it to be a special gift from the Gods, a special grace Heaven bestows on us, that towards the end of our life our dial also shows or remembers the peaceful and happy hours only, and with growing years they shine in growing radiance whereas every thing sad and melancholy gradually sinks into oblivion, as if covered by a grey veil. — Thus looking back on the years that have gone by they seem like trees in the avenue of a park at the end of which there stands the dial of recollection; two events of my life stand out in golden cloudless brightness making my heart warm in remembrance: my two visits at my brother's home in New York.

1912 I went to New York for the first time to be present at the wedding of my brother's younger daughter. If ever I saw an ideal home, it was that of my brother's. The hearty affection of parents and children, the mutual love and attachment they bore to each other I can only describe as being truly patriarchal.

The centre of this abolutely ideal home and family was my sister-in-law, a wonderful woman, whose image I shall never forget.

Only a poet could do her full justice. She was a stately beauty with great personal charms and a striking presence when receiving her guests; she was not only a most

judicious woman but an experienced and most able business-woman — and more than anything else she was remarkable for the choice virtues of her heart. Her charity and sympathy were quite out of the common, and she had a benevolent interest for every sufferer and loved to give; and she gave with so much love and grace that who received felt double and thrice-fold happiness. Moreover, she had a most wonderful and devoted attachment to her natal town. She never missed an occasion to send money there, be it for some poor person or for an institution ; and as often as she came to Europe she visited Dukla, even though the journey was really fatiguing and difficult. This woman, whose Hebrew name was מלכה *meaning queen, ruled her house like a true princess by the grace of God; she was my hostess on my first, ever memorable visit to America. Under these circumstances it is quite natural that this visit should have remained in my memory as a period of my life steeped in sunshine. On my return to Europe I wrote a little book about the impressions of my voyage, dedicating it to this noble woman as a small token of my gratitude for all her love and kindness.*

Years went by. A dreadful war has rent Europe assunder and especially Austria and Galicia have bled from a thousand wounds. My brother came to Europe, regardless of all his personal affairs and his comforts, to inaugurate a work of relief and to be the first to distribute American gifts amongst his suffering brethren in his old native country. He asked me to accompany him on his way back to New York and to celebrate my 70th birthday there in our family circle.

I regret to say that in New York I also found many changes. The noble mistress of the house who some years ago had received me with so much hospitality no longer dwelt among us, but when I met her daughters and watched how these women lived and worked in the spirit of their deceased mother the words of the Talmud rose to my mind: "As the mother did so the daughter will", and in my grief I consoled myself with the thought that only her body had gone from us, and that the spirit of my dear sister-in-law and friend was still living.

Surrounded by the love of my brother and his children I once more spent some wonderful months in New York and there I was also encouraged to write the following memories. Is it not quite natural that I should feel induced, aye forced, to put the name of my brother at the head of this book and to dedicate these memories to him?

To him, with whom I have always been united in fraternal love and affection, in whose house I have twice spent most delightful hours, retained by the dial of my memory — to him who has been more than a brother to me, the truest of friends, to him this book belongs. The fruit of my first American journey was dedicated to his noble deceased wife, the fruit of my second voyage is his. May he accept the gift in the spirit in which it is given, not only as a donation, but as an expression of my true love and my really grateful affection for him and his family, of whom I think with true and undying attachment, though being separated from them by the ocean.

Years of Wandering.

I was born on the 20th of November 1850 in Dukla in Galicia, where my parents had a baker's shop; they worked there hard, night and day, especially my mother. Nevertheless they could only just provide for the daily needs of life.

Dukla is a Jewish settlement, but as far as I can remember a Polish Christian used to be elected mayor, probably because it was easier for him to carry his point with the authorities of the district. From the third year of my life I went to the "Cheder", one of the often described private schools lacking light and fresh air and therefore so very detrimental to the growth of young children. In my fifth year I was initiated into the Bible not without the usual ceremony; and when I was six years old I came to a "Melamed" (teacher) of the Talmud. The lessons took place at my teacher's house in a room that served as bedroom parlour and schoolroom. In this room I spent the whole morning, afternoon and also part of the evening till about ten o'clock, with pauses only of one hour for each meal. But I did not find it too much. I had learnt to love the dull gloomy room at my teacher's, not so much from mere love of learning, as from aversion to staying at home; my father was extremely severe and I was glad to avoid him. I remember at the age of seven or eight to have tried to run away from home. The police had hoped for a high reward for bringing me back, but the result was that they got a glass of brandy and I — a sound thrashing. Often enough my teacher rescued me from my father's wrath. The "Melamdim", as the teachers of these schools were called, had a great liking for me, and at the end of the half year's term, when they tried to win children of well-to-do families for their Cheder, they took me round to

several houses for examinations, as a proof of their excellent method of teaching.

My "Melamed" lived opposite to our house and when a basket of bread or rolls had to be carried to market, where my parents had a stall, they called for me through the open window in a loud voice. I then had to leave my Talmud treatise, no matter where I was just then, and to take the heavy basket on my head and carry it to the stall. My elder sister sold the bread there and whenever they sent me there in her stead they got little satisfaction. I once spent the whole morning at the market without having had a single customer. At last I succeeded in selling two rolls and I immediately asked for a second basket, for in my mind's eye I had already sold the whole supply.

From out of these early years of my youth I vividly remember to have seen in a watering place called Ivonicz (in our neighbourhood) an elderly girl suffering from epilepsy. Every summer the Rabbi Chaim Halberstamm of New-Sandec who was venerated like a saint used to come to this spa and then all people suffering from illness or distress flocked to Ivonicz. They all hoped that the Rabbi of New-Sandec would help them with his benedictions and prayers. Among the many who hoped for relief and help from the Rabbi was also the above-mentioned epileptic girl. It often happened that she suddenly fell down in the street, and while lying there in utter unconsciousness she would sing in a loud and clear voice the most difficult parts of the Hebrew liturgy for High and Holy festivals, parts of which she scarcely would have been able to read when awake. I once found her lying in the neighbouring wood, surrounded by street boys, who listened full of awe to her singing. The unfortunate girl was considered to be possessed by the evil spirits of some deceased cantor who worried her, and from whom the Rabbi of New-Sandec was to deliver her. I never heard if he really healed her. The image of this unhappy girl remained for years in my memory and later I tried to explain the phenomenon by assuming that she had inherited recollections, active in her brain only when she was unconscious.

Soon after the celebration of my Barmizwah I left my home, or rather I was sent away, unfortunately with only two florins in my pocket, and these I managed to lose before I had left town. I got no compensation for the loss but the usual thrashing from my father. Now several years followed in which I continually wandered about. I travelled through different Galician cities without staying anywhere for a long time. There was a restlessness in me which drove me from one place to another. My standing quarters in every town was the Beth-Ha-Midrash where I used to sleep on a bench. However, I was not the only one who slept there. To get a warm place near the stove wild battles were fought and I was not always victorious. So I spent my first years of wandering in poverty, yet I never felt homesick. At that time the study of the Talmud was very popular in Galicia. The Beth-Ha-Midrash was much frequented. Men of all ages, old and young, and of nearly all professions sat there studying the volumes of the Talmud for many hours of the day, and every Thursday all through the night. After some time there being many people at the Beth-Ha-Midrash, I arranged a sort of public performance. I asked them to choose from out of the hundreds and hundreds of "sforim" (books) that were on the shelves any two volumes and to put them on a table; though they differed ever so much as to contents or time, I offered to find out some connection in ten minutes; they would either contradict or supplement each other, so that difficult passages and questions in one book would find an explanatory answer by quotations and passages in the other. This performance always caused great admiration, and for the sake of fun they would put the most heterogeneous works together: a Talmud treatise on temple sacrifices with one on civil law-suits; once they gave me responses from the Gaonim of the 8th century and a work of responses from the 17th century. I solved these problems with more or less subtility; I would always find out some important connection. After these performances money was often collected for me, and so I got a few "Sechserln" (small coins). Nevertheless I had to ask for charity and I never stayed longer than a few months in one place. In the town of

Sambor I remained for some time; the former district-Rabbi Wittmayer, a first-rate Talmudic authority, who had retired from office as a well-to-do man would now gather some of his favourite disciples every day for the sake of Talmud studies; he received me very kindly and was glad to see that his grandson and I became friends. With this grandson I used to sit in a separate room, his grandfather believing us deep in Talmud studies, whilst my friend was reading the history of Napoleon to me; I think it was a German translation of Thiers' work. Very often the grandfather's meals were the subject of our conversation. This old Rabbi Wittmayer, a patriarchal figure with a white beard and keen eyes, was an eminent gourmand; he had fixed a special order for the serving of his meals, so that some dishes had to be served together with others; eating was a pleasure to him and he consumed great quantities; we used to watch this secretly and with great astonishment.

One day a performance in the Beth-Ha-Midrash brought me uncommonly rich proceeds: a whole bag full of coins, and a special admirer of my feats presented me with a knitted money bag. When I went into the street I chanced to meet a carriage and on asking I was told that a sick lady and her companion were being taken to Lemberg. I begged the coachman to let me come with him, and after some bargaining we came to terms and fixed six "Sechserl"; thereupon I was allowed to sit behind on a sack of oats. On the way the man noticed my money bag with the silver coins and whenever we had to pay a bridge toll he asked me to lend him the money. And in this way I gave him so often and so much of my money that in the end my bag was empty; now and then doubts assailed me whether he would return the money I had lent him, but then I put my mind at rest by telling myself that he was a Jew. On our arrival at Lemberg I asked him to return the money. He laughed in my face and upon my threatening, in my rage, to break an umbrella lying on the carriage if he did not return the money, he ill-treated me so, that I fell down in the road and remained there unconscious whilst he drove off. Thus I lay for a long time, till a friendly man, who was passing, asked me what had happened. I told him the story of my woes, whereupon he helped me to get

up and comforted me saying that it was no good lamenting. I was to get up and quickly go to town, which I finally did. When I had got there I met a young man with a finely cut face in one of the Jewish streets, who was my senior only by a few years. He wore a long silk caftan and a costly sable cap and came up to me, dancing more than walking, and spoke to me immediately asking me who I was and from where, and whether and what I had learnt. On my having answered these questions he went on asking whether I knew the Talmud treatises of which I had told him that I had "learned" them "with the Dafen" ("Daf" Folio — "to know with the Dafen" means that you have every word of a folio in your head, so that if you are asked about a certain folio, in a certain treatise, be it in the beginning or at the end or also in the middle of the Daf, you must be able to recite the piece by heart, quoting it word for word). I had hitherto not persued this method in my Talmud studies, but I told the young man he was to give me a trial and put a question. I was lucky and could quote the passage he had asked for word for word, whereupon my young friend took me instantly to his grandmother who gave me some milk and bread; he then also took me to the Beth-Ha-Midrash to the famous Chief-Rabbi J. S. Nathanson of Lemberg, a man renowned for his deep learning and great knowledge of the Talmud which he treasured in his profound memory, whilst in all worldly affairs he was as artless as a child. Once at a political or municipal election the prefect had asked him to address the people from the pulpit to encourage them to go to the poll and vote for the government. In order to emphasize his admonitions he quoted the sentence form Ex. 14, 14. The original words are: "The Lord shall fight for you—and ye shall hold your peace." This he translated into Yiddish: "God will fight for you, but you shall vote." The difference of the word "stimmen" in the sense of "voting" or in the sense of "being silent" did not strike me much at that time. I soon became a favourite pupil with Rabbi Nathanson, and in his work of "Responses", *Schoel Umeschiv*, famous in the Talmud world, he has mentioned me in several places. However, I could not stay very long even in Lemberg, and I left the town to go to Brody to

Rabbi Schlome or Salomon Klüger, whose fame at that time resounded in every Beth-Ha-Midrash. The foot-wandering was very tiring and a great hardship; I felt very miserable and despaired of ever reaching my goal. All of a sudden I saw a carriage coming along the road to Brzezany. A fat corpulent woman with a pearl-trimmed head-band sat inside by the side of a tall thin man with a long pipe in his mouth. The woman was the wife of a well-to-do merchant in Brzezany as I heard later. She had a grown-up daughter for whom a marriage had been arranged in Tarnopol. The mother had just been to see the suitor who had been examined as to his knowledge of the Talmud by her companion, a Talmud scholar. At that time the intelligence and the stock of knowledge of the candidate, proposed by the matchmaker, was of the greatest importance in Jewish Galician families, when their daughters were to be married, and the suitor had to submit to a serious examination by an acknowledged scholar. The woman in the carriage was on her way home from such an examination of a "bachur" for her daughter. The result of her journey had not been satisfactory. Worn out by tramping I begged the man in the carriage to let me get in; he told me to address myself to the woman behind him, and she immediately answered "only if he is a scholar he may come with us". So I had to pass an examination. The examiner seemed satisfied and nodded to the woman. I was soon safely installed in the carriage and got two apples. The woman took me to Brzezany; I can only think of her in gratitude; she took me to her house, and although I was in a dreadful state, she washed and cleaned me and brushed my hair and whilst she was thus at work she began to talk with me and mixed scraps of Hebrew and Talmud with her conversation; she was not without learning. I am sorry to say I have forgotten her family name, I only remember her first name, it was "Eidel". After some days she took me to the Rabbi Isaak Shmelkes (who was subsequently Rabbi in Lemberg) and introduced me with the following words: "Rabbi, what was the name of the 'Mebarsho'?" Whereupon he answered: "Shmuel Eidels."

"Well," she continued. "here I bring you another Shmuel Eidels, the bocher is called Shmuel and my own name is Eidel." I thus remained in Brzezany and lived for a time in the house of this good woman where I forgot what it is to be hungry; she was pleased, when the rabbi with whom I learned had a word of praise for me. Rabbi Shmelkes had an only son, a most able and splendid young fellow, called Aron, at sight of whom one felt glad. This young man was suddenly taken ill with a bad disease of the eyes and was sent to his grandmother in Lemberg where skilful doctors were at hand to undertake the treatment. The news we got was soon so favourable that Aron could return home, only he was not allowed to fatigue his eyes too much. Rabbi Shmelkes took me to his house and I was to read the works of the Talmud to his son; on his arrival we found that Aron was that same Bachur who had helped me with Rabbi Nathansons where we had "learnt" together. For more than a year I stayed in this situation as a reader with this highly gifted young man, Aron Shmelkes. Then an ill-fated day came. The room in which Aron and I studied all day contained a large cupboard that was always well locked and full of all kinds of jam. The key to this cupboard was on the bunch of keys the "Rebbezin" always carried about with her. One day Aron caught hold of this bunch of keys, took the promising key off the bunch, came to the room, locked it from the inside and opened the cupboard, and we fell to, and devoured great quantities of sweets. His mother noticed only too soon, that the key was missing, she immediately felt misgivings and hurried to our room, and to her amazement she found the room locked from the inside. She knocked at the door, was furious and conjured Aron to open the door. He did not answer and continued to eat with his spoon; at last she called my name, telling me that I was to open — but Aron prevented me. Only when he had eaten to his heart's content he unlocked the door and gave the key to his mother. She was naturally furious, but she could not vent her wrath on Aron, her only son, so she turned her anger on me, especially as the consequences of the sweets, eaten in such quantities, soon showed themselves

with Aron. So I did not wait for things to come, but disappeared as quickly as I could. My next stations were Stanislau, Chorostkow and Czortkow — the latter the residence of the famous Chassidim-Rabbi David Mos. Friedmann, at that time the head of the Friedmann Dynasty. The rabbi was always full of benevolence towards me, and though I did not hear anything particularly notable in his discourses, his gentle, pale face with its large eyes gave me a deep impression; anybody could see that he stood in the presence of a descendant of an ancient noble family.

The "Rabbi of the town" was the learned Jesajas Meier Shapira who, as fate would have it, was an inveterate enemy of Chassidism. He was a very learned man, and Talmud learning was a matter of high importance to him; he always complained that Chassidism did not treat the Thora and the Talmud with due respect. I often went to see him to discuss Talmudic themes. We heard many a clever and witty word from him, but when at night the Chassidim boys gathered to smash the town rabbi's windows, I was sure to be of the party. Not for worlds would I have shown myself less staunch than the others.

My mother sent word to me that she would like to see me once again. I, therefore, went home, using the opportunity to visit Rymanow, a small place not far off, where a well-known rabbi lived who was closely related to the Czortkow family. I was received there with great kindness, but according to my habit I not only visited this rabbi, but the town rabbi as well, who did not belong to the Chassidim either. Soon a great discussion arose about Talmud themes, in the presence of several learned Talmudists, and the news spread in the town that in these debates the rabbi had not always been victorious. His adversaries, the Chassidim, were triumphant; they overwhelmed me with flatteries, and the rabbi distinguished me in every way.

Being now nearly sixteen years old, I was considered old enough to get married. Soon after I was engaged to the daughter of a grandson of the renowned Rabbi Mendele of Rymanow. The customary deeds for the betrothal were written, and among the necessary stipulations there was an article

which provided that the father of the bride, during five years after the marriage, had to supply the young couple with board and lodging, whilst a penalty was fixed if either party should break the engagement. I was engaged for nearly half a year and repeatedly the guest of my betrothed's father, and had scarcely yet seen her, as the women of the household did not share their meals with the men. One day one of our bakers' men from Rymanow told me confidentially that he knew my betrothed; she was very beautiful, he said, and he would like to marry her, if only she were willing. This of course excited my curiosity and I tried repeatedly to see my future wife, till I at last obtained her consent to meet me one evening near the Beth-Ha-Midrash, behind the building. I did not know what to say to her, and so I told her of my conversation with the baker. She laughed heartily, but before she could answer, we heard approaching steps and she fled. My life at home was unbearable and one day I went to my fiancée's father and mother, and suggested that I wished to marry. Such a remark was naturally considered most shocking, a thing one never would have expected or thought possible from a well-bred pious young man, and moreover from a Talmudist. The mother who prided herself on being the granddaughter of the author of "Maor we Shomesh" was a good-looking woman with a somewhat sharp tongue; she began to enumerate her ancestors, famous rabbis, and said whosoever would marry her daughter was not to forget her descent and must show himself worthy of these great men. In answer to this I said something I was sorry for the next minute: "With so many Seides (grandfathers) there will scarcely be room in bed." This of course was too much, a flood of invectives followed my words, and I hurried away without saying good-bye. A marriage now being out of question, I again left my home and went to Krakow, where I asked Rabbi Simon Schreiber and his assessor Abraham Jenner to give me certificates; from there I went round by Ungvar, where I also asked the Rabbi Salomon Ganzfried, a famous scholar, for certificates to Eisenstadt to call on the Rabbi Dr. Esriel Hildesheimer, the head of the famous orthodox school of rabbis.

Dr. Hildesheimer received me very cordially, examined my knowledge of various spheres of the Talmud and conversed with me for hours : he spoke of me to his favourite friends and told me to lecture on "Yore Dea" to Dr. Jakob Cohn of Altona (afterwards rabbi in Kattowitz), who was tutor in his house. Formerly he had done the teaching himself, but he was so overworked at the time that he was glad to pass this work on to me. The teaching in the winter months began every morning at 4 o'clock: the rabbi brought black coffee in for us which he himself had prepared, his sole garment being a dressing gown. I had come to Eisenstadt, like so many of my comrades, not to enlarge my knowledge of the Talmud, but to participate in the lessons of secular learning. However, I soon saw, that I lacked all elementary knowledge. Although I was seventeen years old the German alphabet was an unknown mystery to me. I, therefore, was told to take private lessons. After I had been in Eisenstadt for some months, there suddenly came a letter from my father to Dr. Hildesheimer with the urgent request to send me home immediately, because I was to marry. If I refused, he would have to pay a penalty; he already had been summoned before the rabbi. I do not know if the people at Rymanow had changed their minds, or if it was only a pretext to vent their anger on me. The mere fact that I was acquiring secular knowledge was considered apostasy and implied that I was guilty of having broken our engagement. Dr. Hildesheimer laughed and I wrote home that I was not yet of age to marry; but my father was sentenced to pay the stipulated fine by a rabbis' quorum.

In those days I kept up a brisk correspondence on Talmudic subjects with the Rabbi Israel Rappaport of Tarnow and with the then famous rabbi of Skala in Galicia. Both have mentioned this correspondence in their printed "Responses". I am sorry to say that owing to a misplaced practical joke perpetrated by me in youthful exuberance of high spirits for many years I forfeited Dr. Hildesheimer's love and confidence. Even after 15 years, when I applied for the office of rabbi, Dr. Hildesheimer suggested that the preference should be given to a certain Dr. Goldschmidt who

caused him great distress some years later, when he was rabbi in Offenbach. My friend and namesake, a rabbi in Jarotshin, who happened at the time to be at Berlin, asked him for the reason of his behaviour and Dr. Hildesheimer told him of the unhappy episode; in reply the rabbi of Jarotshin asked him: How old was Bloch then ? But Dr. Hildesheimer could not forget the affair. Now, what had been my offence? A debating club the members of which used to hold lectures every Saturday afternoon on given themes enjoyed Dr. Hildesheimer's special protection, because it promoted education and helped to gauge the progress of his disciples. He was always present at the lectures and very often joined in the ensuing discussion. Later on, when the number of members had greatly increased, it became necessary for two persons to speak on the same theme, on those Saturdays. Now, it once happened that one of the students designed for the lecture came to me lamenting that in spite of all his painstaking he could not get on with the given theme, and found nothing to say to the point, and finally he asked me to help him. I told him to bring the Talmud copies and all the other books necessary for his study at night to me, which he did. As payment we stipulated five florins; he paid three immediately, and I gave him Tkias Kaf (pledge instead of an oath) to tell nobody that I had helped him. During the night I wrote the lecture, and in the morning I brought him my work. When I asked him to pay the remaining two florins next day, he made all kinds of excuses, that he would like to wait for the success, and finally he asked me what I should do, if he refused to pay those two florins, being bound to silence about our bargain by Tkias Kaf. My answer was : You will see. Two days later his comrade who had to speak on the same subject with him (he was a student from Kopenhagen) came to me with the same request; and without feeling the slightest scruples I sat down and wrote the same lecture I had given the other two days ago, gave him explicit instructions as to the theme, also advising him to endeavour to be the first to speak. Saturday afternoon came ; the audience was assembled, the room quite full, and as soon as the rabbi had entered the "Kopenhagen-man" stood

up before him and began to speak, well remembering my advice. He had scarcely spoken a few minutes, when his comrade interrupted him, crying out: "But this is *my* Pshetl (lecture). That was, what *I* wanted to say." This scene was repeated several times and naturally elicited peals of laughter. When the first speaker had concluded his comrade's turn came, but to the great amusement of the audience it became evident after a few minutes that he could present nothing else but what had already been said. This event caused a lively discussion among the audience, and during the Mincha prayer it entered the head of one of my colleagues to buy the "Alioth" and instead of giving them to one of the lecturers, as was the custom, I was called to the Thora. What put this idea into his head, and how he came to guess the truth, I never found out. The rabbi was very angry about this affair in his beloved school, and so I lost his favour for a long time. He prepared to move to Berlin, but I no longer counted among his favourite disciples, whom he had promised to take along with him to the new school he was about to start.

After this I went to Vienna where I begged Dr. Güdemann to enable me to acquire secular knowledge. A railway official, called Baranek, in a subordinate position, but a man of learning, an historian, Talmudist and Arabist, declared himself ready to teach me. Güdemann himself wrote to Hildesheimer for information about me but received no encouraging answer. I, therefore, wrote to him to Eisenstadt saying that I thought his behaviour very strange, and that he would be responsible if I had to address myself to neologist rabbis, like Dr. Jellinek, in Vienna or Dr. Aub in Berlin. These words not only vexed him, but he was frightened and he wrote a confidential letter to one of his disciples in Vienna, a man called Friedmann, and told him to call on me and persuade me to treat it as a matter of conscience not to go to Jellinek, literally adding that this was no trifling matter and that it ought to be prevented by all means that a young man so highly gifted should fall into the hands of this man. Friedmann was to do everything he could to persuade

me to return to Galicia; he, Dr. Hildesheimer, had already written a week ago that I was to be given an appointment there.

Many years later Friedmann who had in the meantime gone to America where he managed a great factory sent me the original letter he had received from my venerated teacher; he had kept it as a souvenir and it is now lying before me, whilst I am writing these lines.

As I was not to go to Jellinek, and Gudemann had turned his back on me I left Austria and went to Breslau. At that time Breslau was the principal seat of Jewish erudition. Frankl, a man of prodigious learning and with a peerless gift for research, stood in the foremost rank. Next to him was Master Grätz whose historical work thrilled all hearts. Then came men like Dr. Benno Zuckermann and Dr. David Rosin, both active helps to their great leader. I met with a friendly reception, and Frankl conversed with me on Talmudic themes. I had too little rudimentary knowledge in the secular branches of learning to be admitted to the seminary of rabbis. Grätz invited me now and then to dinner, and once he said to his wife: "He was born half a century too late." He meant to say that my knowledge of the Talmud would have been valued a great deal more fifty years ago. He advised me above all things to learn German so as to be able to make myself understood. On my artlessly asking whether I did not speak German, he observed that the language I spoke certainly had more resemblance to German than to French. Finally he advised me to go to one of the smaller German provincial towns, to go in for elementary instruction there, and then to go to a college. For this purpose he gave me a letter of introduction to the Rabbi Dr. Landsberg in Liegnitz who was very kind to me and helped me to get lessons and financial aid. I now gave myself up with great energy to the above mentioned branches of learning, and I gratefully remember the old professor who gave me lessons in Latin. For some time I stopped in Liegnitz, but when the money I needed grew scarce I went to Magdeburg; need and poverty drove me from one place to the other. To make some sort of a living I accepted situations with rabbis who desired to increase their knowledge of that Tal-

mud and "Shulchan Aruch"; I gave them these lessons, and in return they taught me what was necessary for college. It was like this at Dr. Lowenstein's in Gustrow in Mecklenburg (after I had been recommended there by Dr. Hildesheimer) and also with the Rabbi Dr. Lewin in Zurich, afterwards rabbi in Nürnberg. I look back with pleasure to the time I spent in the houses of these men. I profited a great deal by their instruction. At last I was ready to begin my university career. In Zurich I attended the lectures of Johannes Scherr and Gottfried Kinkel. Later on I went to the university of Munich, where I spent many an hour at the house of the hospitable Merzbacher and with the learned Rabbi Dr. Josef Perles; there I often met the erudite R. N. N. Rabbinowitz.

I attended the lectures of Döllinger and Huber, heard Prantl on the history of logic, Riehl on social evolution, Carrière on esthetics, Jolly on physics, Liebig on chemistry, Holtzendorff on political economy. I worked in the historical seminary of Giesebrecht and received a scholarship there of 300 florins for a treatise I had written. At Munich I at last began scientific work. I wrote a study on Koheleth, a short History of the Jews in Spain, a history of the collection of ancient Hebrew literature, works which were printed (in part) much later, but which I showed to some professors of the university in manuscript. These works attracted attention, and Professor Johannes Huber, beside Döllinger one of the eminent leaders of the Old-Catholics, invited me to his house, and we read the "Sayings of our Fathers" together. Could I have done, as I wished, I should have remained at the university longer, but dire need and poverty held me in their clutches; I was often hungry; once I helped to carry bricks so as to be able to buy a loaf of bread. I was obliged to look out for a situation as quickly as possible so as to earn my bread. In the beginning of 1874 I applied for the situation of a preacher and headmaster in Rendsburg (Holstein). I was asked to come on trial, and after the first sermon I was accepted. The election had to be approved by the Royal Gouvernment in Sleswick which always applied for a report on the person concerned to the chief-rabbi of Altona. At the time the chief-rabbi of Altona was Dr. Löb,

a highly cultured charming man, but a strict orthodox observer. I presented myself to him and gave him my certificates, particulary those from the head-rabbis of Cracow and Ujchely, from the Rabbi Ganzfried and the chief-rabbi of Lemberg Dr. Nathanson; but for all that he ordered me to come for an examination next Sunday fortnight. I did not mind that, it was of more interest and importance to me that I now had money in abundance, for the parish refunded my travelling expenses and paid a quarter's salary in advance. I now possessed sums which I had never even dreamed of. On the Sunday appointed I came for my examination at 9 o'clock in the morning, and had to wait till the college of rabbis had assembled, and the examination then lasted till 12 o'clock. At the end Dr. Löb congratulated me on my success and ordered me to come at 10 next morning to receive my certificate; it would be prepared and ready by that time. I had to remain in Altona and, having plenty of money in my pocket, I thought it the proper time to become thoroughly acquainted with life. In the afternoon and evening I visited various cabarets and music-halls; this sort of life was new and perfectly strange to me, and interested me immensely. I returned to my hotel at about 1 o'clock at night, but I got up in time in the morning and appeared punctually at 10 o'clock at the head-rabbi's to fetch the promised certificate. He received me, telling me that to his great regret it was impossible to him to give me the certificate. At the first moment I was dumbfounded; it seemed doubtless that my various visits of the preceding night had caused the rabbi to alter his decision. However, how did he come to know? Had he himself perhaps seen me? That seemed quite impossible! On my asking for his reasons, I received evasive answers. At last he spoke out and told me that on having telegraphed an enquiry to Hildesheimer's he had received an answer saying that my orthodoxy was by no means beyond doubt. On my return home I wrote a detailed account of what had happened to the president, viz about the examination and its result and my having already been told to come for my certificate, and then about the sudden change of mind, in consequence of a wire he had received from Berlin. My

account was sent to the Royal Gouvernment at Sleswick, and after a few weeks I was confirmed without any further objection. But I got embroiled in deplorable quarrels in the congregation which had been going on for years, and so I was obliged to accept a situation as preacher in Gustrow in Mecklenburg. After some months I received an appointment as rabbi to Kobelyn in the then German province of Posen. On the first of August 1877 I returned to Austria as rabbi and preacher for the congregation of Brüx in Bohemia. During the years I spent in provincial towns I made use of my leisure to improve my scientific knowledge. I successively published a number of scientific works — a "History of the Jews in Spain" — a "History of the Collection of Ancient Hebrew Literature" (which afterwards brought me the title of Doctor of the University of Zürich) — and a much maligned book on Esther under the title of "Hellenistic Elements in the Bible Canon", then two lectures held in the "Afike Jehuda"-Society in Prague, one on Lessing's "Nathan", and the other on Jean Bodin, a French statesman and professor of law of the 16th century; finally also a series of critical works on the Bible and the Talmud in the "Literaturblatt", then edited by Rabbi Dr. Rahmer in Magdeburg. My works found a friendly reception with the exception of the revolutionary essay on Esther which provoked violent debates. From among the notes of assent I received to my (for the present) rather strange views on the subject I only mention one from the professor of Hebrew Archaeology in the university of Strassburg, Eduard Reuss, and one from the District-Rabbi Dr. Grünebaum of Landau. Gradually I began to be known in Jewish and Protestant circles, and when I was elected rabbi of Floridsdorf near Vienna, I got an appointment for the Vienna Beth-Ha-Midrash, where by the side of the famous lecturers Eisig Hirsch Weiss and Maier Friedmann I gave lectures during two years on the book of Job, and on the history of the origin of the Mishna and Tosephta.

I was obliged to give up these lectures later on, when political and editorial duties more and more absorbed my time and energy. Quite unexpectedly politics got hold of me.

The Political Situation.

In the seventh and eighth decads of the last century the Jews in Austria absolutely sided with the so-called liberal constitutionalists and were attached to them for better for worse, so much that any diverging opinion was looked upon not only as heresy but as treason against the Jews. It was the party of the higher bourgeoisie, the educated middle classes, to these belonged the great financiers and the university professors from among whom the Cabinet Ministers were levied; and yet this faction was described only too well as being "the most stupid and unable of the whole world". They had no idea of the importance of the labour question and lacked all understanding for the social needs of the lower classes. One of their leaders, the Secretary of State Giskra, originated the notorious bon-mot: "The social question ends at Bodenbach" (German-Austrian frontier).

The leaders of this party had neither ears nor eyes for the movement spreading among the small tradesmen and not the slightest understanding for the national feeling of the Slav peoples; they saw their sole task in defending "the German position" without examining whether this "position" bequeathed by absolutism was still tenable and whether the Slav nations, which had now come of age, were not entitled to claim equal treatment in the State. Liberalism exhausted itself in free thought which filled the columns of the Vienna daily papers chiefly edited by Jews. This was not very wise and naturally gave rise to opposition. The conservative feudal nobility never made a secret of their aversion from upstarts, financial aristocracy and the bourgeois ministers. Already in 1867 a

half-pay lieutenant, Karl Ritter von Zerboni di Sporetti, had the idea to found a "Christian bank"; he made the acquaintance of Count Beust who employed him in his negotiations with the socialist faction and appointed him as an official in the ministery of foreign affairs.

Zerboni agitated in the circles of the nobility to "rescue the State and the people from their dependance on the Jewish money-market". As he carried on this agitation with too much eagerness and declared the "dependance of Austria on the stock-jobbing Jews" to be a misfortune he was obliged to quit the ministery.

Now, in 1879. Bontoux of unblessed memory had taken up the plan of a Christian bank and had a great following among the clerical leaders who gave out the parole of the deliverance of the State and the people from the yoke of Jewish bankers. Numerous ecclesiastics in high places had suffered enormous losses in consequence of this experiment. When the Bontoux crash came the Count of Chambord and his wife. the Archduchess Maria Theresia, were among the victims; they had both given great sums for the Bontoux undertaking. The archduchess especially was furious and allowed herself to be persuaded that the Jews were the cause of this disaster of the Christian bank. Zerboni availed himself of this, and on his occasional visits to Frohsdorf he endeavoured to persuade the archduchess to take energetic measures against "the ascendency of the Jews". The next day the archduchess sent him a sum of money through her majordomo Mr. Huit de Pavillon to support his idea. Zerboni communicated with Istoczy in Budapest and then went to Berlin to study the antisemitic movement. He there conferred with Ruppel, Glagau, Dr. Forster, Stocker, Aman, Henrici, and Pickenbach, and returned to Vienna bringing a quantity of antisemitic pamphlets with him; he intended to form an antisemitic society and to publish an antisemitic paper. His means, however, were exhausted, and again it was the archduchess who put the necessary funds at his disposal, so that in 1881, backed by the feudal nobility, the "Oesterreichische Volksfreund" ("Austrian Friend of the People"), the first antisemitic

newspaper in Austria, appeared. But the leading clerical circles also looked with favour on the new movement, for they hated liberalism which had alarmingly undermined the religious sentiments of the masses and reduced the attendance in church. The anti-Jewish agitation was to be the means of winning back the masses to regular church-attendance. The movement, however, made hardly any progress, and in order to make the agitation more efficacious Dr. A. Rohling from Munster — on recommendation of an Austrian prince of the Church — received a call to the university of Prague. Great hopes were put on Rohling. With the greatest attention the evolution of the so-called Berlin movement was followed in which Court-preacher Stöcker and Professor Treitschke were the leaders. These two worked in Berlin in tumultuous assemblies, while Rohling in Munster by his secret agitation, according to the testimony of the old Geheimrat Franz Delitzsch in Leipzig, did more to spread the antisemitic venom among the German people than all political agitators taken together. His incendiary pamphlet, the "Talmud Jew", appeared in 17 editions; no notice was taken of refutations. In a trial the editor of the "Westfälische Kurier" stated that from the 6 th edition alone 38.000 copies of the "Talmud Jew" had been distributed gratis in Westfalia by the Bonifacius-Society. Since Rohling had come to Austria the venomous literature here also began to circulate enormously. The contents of the pamphlet may be summarized in one sentence, printed on page 4 in one of Rohlings writings — it literally runs thus: "The Jews are authorized *by their religion* to take advantage of all non-Jews, to ruin them physically and morally, to destroy their lives, honour and property, openly by force, as well as secretly and insidiously; all this the Jews are allowed to do, nay, they even should do it *for the sake of religion*, so as to acquire power and domination over all the world for their nation." — This is plain speaking. Thus every Jew who is steadfast in his religion, is bound to bring harm and damage to the life, the honour and the wealth of every non-Jew, to rob and kill him. Such words can be understood by every child. If a

Christian reader of this work considers that the author is a professor, consequently a person who must have some knowledge of these things he can never again associate with a Jew without a feeling of deep distrust. At this time the drama of Tisza-Eszlar in Hungary caused great excitement; a girl of fourteen years of age, called Esther Solymossy, had suddenly disappeared and was said to have been murdered by the Jew Joseph Scharf and his comrades for a ritual purpose. In this lawsuit the son of the accused had been summoned as chief-witness against his father. The antisemitic press of all countries discussed the case with a passion characteristic and worthy of the middle-ages. A great antisemitic congress took place in Dresden and the Hungarian agitator, member of the "Landtag" Geza von Onody, appeared there, bringing an oil painting of the Jewish martyr Esther Solymossy done from memory for agitation. Looking up triumphantly to this picture the whole assembly accepted the following resolution: "The persons, assembled in Dresden on September the 11th and 12th in an international anti-Jewish Congress are fully convinced of the impartiality of the Hungarian judges and are perfectly sure that in this affair of Tisza-Eszlar — followed with the greatest interest by the entire non-Jewish world — they will be mindful of their responsible calling and not be influenced by the great and pernicious power of the Jews". The common people did not wait for the universally expected sentence and destroyed the Synagogue in Tisza-Eszlar and the house of its caretaker. Rohling of course tried to touch up the events in his "erudite" way. His pamphlets which were diligently and carefully spread over all the Austrian provinces were to produce the proper atmosphere for the sentence in this lawsuit, an atmosphere of hatred against the Jews. In the Austrian colleges fabulous stories had suddenly become the fashion among the professors; a young philologist who had been engaged as assistant master in a college of Lower-Austria related that he had been very much chaffed by his colleagues, because he had been utterly unacquainted with the works of the great "Talmudist" of Prague and he was promptly offered a gratis copy of Rohling's book.

At that time I was rabbi in Floridsdorf, a small manufacturing town with a numerous working population distinguished by a certain hunger for education. Even the policemen sent their children to the school of languages which had been founded by the metal and iron workers. Now, a dreadful thing happened: a police-officer, named Bloch, fell a victim to an anarchist outrage. The whole labour party was made responsible for the crime. The leader of the feudal nobility, Count Egbert Belcredi, gave money to the agitator Ernst Schneider that he should communicate with the Anarchists and make them turn the fury of the hungry mob against the Jews, the "pillars of capitalism". In pamphlets and assemblies the same words, the same speeches were repeated over and over again: the Jews are the "pillars of capitalism", the inventors, supporters and sole beneficiaries of the present state of affairs with all its evil drawbacks. The Talmud trains the Jews to a capitalistic way of thinking and the whole produce of the workers' industry goes to the pockets of Rothschild. If you want to fight capitalism, you must begin by fighting the Jews. In Preßburg, quite close to Vienna, excesses against the Jews had already begun — and it was expected every day that the example set there would be followed in Floridsdorf. The labour party was under grievous oppression; the police had taken most severe measures against their leaders — some of the public speakers were imprisoned on trial — substitutes could not be found because everybody wished to avoid having anything to do with the police. Thus it happened one day that the workmen of Floridsdorf invited me to hold a lecture. I accepted at once. The chance of speaking in the presence of a mass of workmen was very tempting and put aside any misgivings I might have had. Naturally I wanted to speak about the Talmud. I felt it my duty to say a word of enlightenment on this much calumniated book. But could one risk offering such a theme? The leaders of the workmen's union would doubtlessly request me politely and precisely to choose some other theme, for what does the Talmud concern them? I, therefore, announced a lecture on "The workmen at the time of Jesus Christ", a theme that was sure to interest

every Christian of whatever faction or rank. And this announcement really attracted and interested the people. On the 12th of August 1882 working men and women came in masses to hear about their fellow workmen at the time when Christ walked on earth. The largest hall of Floridsdorf was crowded and during my speech the interest of the audience rose from one minute to the other; they were thoroughly gripped, their eyes flashed, and their enthusiasm broke out into loud manifestations of applause during and at the end of my lecture.

The Workmen at the Time of Jesus Christ.

The old country of Palestine is the subject of my lecture and I intend to speak to you about its workmen to-night. A small and narrow track of land on the coast of the Mediterranean, an unimportant appendix of Syria, scarcely noticed, surrounded by the gigantic empires of the ancient world, this small country of Palestine was the birthplace of monotheistic worship, the native country of the Jewish prophets, and the Christian apostles; every foot of this soil is hallowed by the religious belief of the people; there is scarcely a house without its pious legend, a stone that does not bear some holy association, a grotto or well that had not been the scene of some holy tale. Nowadays you will find the name of Palestine in sacred books only, or hear it from the pulpit in sermons and homilies — or, perhaps, when news come to Europe from the Holy Sepulchre — generally telling us of some pious scuffle on hallowed ground or of a sudden attack of wild Beduins. To-night Palestine will speak to us of its old glorious days and of its workmen, enlighten us on the vital questions of our living life by its own experiences, questions which hold the higher and lower classes of society in continual suspense and unrest, startle us daily, engage talents, and move all thoughtful men: A deep and serious problem which will never be solved by the wisdom of the State police — and could only be mastered by the united efforts of civilisation, humanity and science, requiring equally the genius of statesmen and the most altruist self-denial and deepest insight of the peoples, because the free and progressive evolution of a modern state solely and entirely depends on the success of this work. It is you, ladies and gentlemen, who represent this problem, the problem of your rank and position in society and in the state. My lecture solely pursues scientific and educational purposes. I will neither criticise nor allude to the present times. I will only give you an authoritative picture of your past based solely on historical documents. The past alone makes it possible to understand the present, it gives us insight into the origin,

the gradual growth and the ripening of the defects and ills which so deplorably characterize our social order. History is the greatest teacher: whosoever cannot learn by it or by his own past may take it for granted that his fate is sealed. The past is the mother of the future, and only he who is mindful of the past and the lessons taught by it may expect to find favour with the future. Should a proof be needed of this knowledge living within the intelligent Viennese workman I need only view the present assembly. You came here in such numbers wishing to hear about your past, about the past of the working classes in the midst of the three most important nations of antiquity, the Greeks, the Romans and the people of Palestine.

I.

All the accounts we have about Greek and Roman workmen show a picture of deep degradation and shame, of torment and oppression, of revolting cruelty and terrible hardness: no justice — no protective rights. What was the workman's lot among the Greeks whom we admire so greatly and whose art and genius are praised in lyric songs, whose philosophy we worship and to whom we are accustomed to look upon as the prototype of humaneness and the ideal of mankind? And what was the workman's position among the Romans so eminent by their military efficiency and political talents, whose legislation up to our days dominates our European law and jurisdiction? They had no workmen, only slaves and helots; their social organisation was founded on slavery and cannot be imagined without them. Lycurgus' legislation had made helotism an everlasting element of the state. The slaves possessed neither rights nor property nor protection, there was no law to shield them, no security for their lives. The law provided no punishment for him who killed a slave. Thucydides relates of a time of peace and quiet when within the walls of Sparta 200 of these unhappy helots, men of their own race, the original inhabitants of the country, were slaughtered like wild beasts, simply because there were too many of them and one could do without them.

Slave hunting was a favourite pastime of the Romans; even the emperor Titus indulged in it — he in whose praise the venal historians of his court reported that he considered every day lost on which he had not achieved some noble work of humanity. A clever French historian gives us a vidid picture of the immorality and wickedness of this man referring to documents for the truth of his narration. The Greeks and Romans valued man's life less than that of an animal. In the times of Demosthenes a horse was twice the price of a slave. Animals met with a better treatment; humanity was outraged in the slave; subtle cruelty and deliberate arbitrariness characterized the treatment of slaves. For any trifling damage, as Seneca tells us, a slave's hand would be cut off, for any small misdemeanour or untimely word he would be cruelly punished —

imprisoned, put in the stocks, whipped, branded, tortured or crucified. If it suited his master he could also punish him by the so-called "leg breaking" which means to thrash the bones of his thighs with iron bars till they were smashed. But if ever a master was murdered by a slave all the slaves of the house had to answer for it — by dying a cruel death. Medius Pollio had his slave given as prey to the fishes only for having broken a vessel. Nobody was obliged to keep a promise or pledge given to a slave. If a Roman feared the testimony of his slave when called up as witness he — as Cicero tells us — simply had his tongue cut out; later on when the people of Palestine came under Roman rule, they took measures for their defence against such cruelties.[1])

Cato[2]) prided himself on treating his slaves cruelly and even the Stoics could not agree on the question, if in case of a shipwreck it were not better to save a costly horse[3]) instead of a cheap slave. Excuse me if I do not go into further details about the cruel sufferings the slaves had to undergo in those times and in all countries. If I should try to give you a picture of the cruel aberrations man was capable of — even well-attested truths would seem impossible, and you would cry out: No, man never can have sunk so low. Well, Europe accepted slavery without feeling any indignation, without being shocked, without saying a word in protest; it fostered slavery for more than a thousand years and may pride itself on having brought slave-traffic — where men are bartered like goods — into a commercial political system with international exploitation of one race by the other. Jean Bodin, a Statesman of the 16th century, was one of the first in Europe to make head against this ignominy with all the ardour and moral indignation of a warm-hearted man; his pious adversaries secretly whispered: "Who knows if he isn't a Jew." More than two hundred and fifty years had to go by before slavery was abolished in the civilized world. We all still vividly remember the war of the American Union and its causes; the strange pamphlets that appeared in defence of slavery appealing to the authority of the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle, and the testimony of the great Christian theologians Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, who declared it to be an act of Divine Justice. They came from the same source and flooded Europe at that time as the antisemitic papers and pamphlets do nowadays. Nations and states without slaves were unknown in ancient times with the exception of a single little country and of one small and insignificant nation: Palestine.

II.

Language gives us a clear and bright mirror of the life and the soul of a nation. In this mirror of language you will perceive all characteristics and peculiarities of a nation, its merits and its weaknesses, its political and religious institutions, but also the defects

and faults of its organism. Language ruthlessly exposes every beautiful or ugly secret we bear in our hearts. A vice for which there is no word in the otherwise rich vocabulary of a nation was unknown to this nation. The stock of words a nation possesses contains the number of its ideas and the sum of all the spiritual and temporal phenomena of its life. Now, gentlemen, take a Hebrew dictionary, the most voluminous you can get at, and try to find this peculiar word "slave". Try to make yourself acquainted with the wide range of Hebrew literature and endeavour to translate into Hebrew with some exactness the word "slave". Gentlemen, you will not succeed. You will always find the word "Ebed" — the workman (from "abeda" work). The Hebrew language has about thirty words to express justice and humanity, but not a single one for "slave". Neither the Greeks, art-loving and philosophically schooled as they were, nor the cunning Romans, well versed in jurisprudence, wanted workers — they only wanted slaves. But the Palestine Hebrews, called Semites, knew nothing of slavery and only had free workmen, and this alone makes it possible for me to speak to you to-night of a working class in ancient times.[4])

III.

Inseparable from slavery are slave revolts, the bloody endeavours for liberation and the revolt of serfs against their cruel oppressors. The imminent danger: "Your slaves will begin to count you" (Seneca) always overshadowed the life of the Roman nobility. History taught them that this fear was not imaginary. The ancient history of all cultured countries tells of slave revolts and wars with the helots — all save one: Palestine, whose history has not one chapter containing slave revolts or peasant wars. The remarkable phenomenon of Palestine having no slaves seems incredible to many on account of the striking contrast to the universal character of antiquity; it appears as a marvel of Providence, yet it was only the natural consequence of historical evolution. The Palestine Hebrews always remembered the days they had spent in Egypt. There, in the land of "Castes" they had during long centuries borne the heavy chains of thraldom. Their flesh still showed the scars made by the iron fetters of Egyptian slavery; there they had learnt to suffer ignominy and degradation and had felt the bitterness of groaning day by day — without pause or rest — under the yoke of despotism and under the cruel scourge of tyranny which was dictated solely by selfishness and arbitrariness and alien to every feeling of mercy and justice. It had been brought home to them early in this school of hardships that it is heartrending to go on working everlastingly without a blessing on your labours — without wages, the produce of your labours being always reserved for others, your so-called masters who idle away their time in laziness, revel in costly pleasures and dissolute enjoyments only

intent on satisfying their unbridled passions. When after hard fights they had gained their liberty and laid the foundation of their own State they remembered all they had gone through in the sad past and abolished the institution of castes and slavery; they impressed the duty of working on all the rich and the poor, the highest and the lowest, the people of rank and the humble — in a word: everybody who wanted to live and have his daily food had to work.

IV.

Necessity, however, was not only an excellent teacher in national economy but also a good school of a high moral standard. Gentlemen, the Greeks would ardently have protested if anybody had imputed to them a relationship with the neighbouring nations, or any blood-alliance to Barbarians upon whom they looked down with so much haughtiness; but if anybody had dared to say that the despised and illtreated helots were their brethren, of the same origin, with the same ancestors, they would have taken it as a personal insult and as an insult to the honour of the nation — calling forth their wrath and revenge. The people of Palestine, called Semites, viewed life and the world from the principle that all men, should they differ ever so much in language, culture, habits of life or in religion and morals, are descendants of one couple.

In consequence of this fact slavery was once for all robbed of even the faintest semblance of any right of existence. Once it comes home to you that all men are the children of one father and of one mother, then you will feel that freedom, rights and duties must be alike for all, and all men are the equally entitled heirs of our mother earth. The legislation of Lycurgus, in accordance with the custom of all the ancients, enforced the duty of labour exclusively on the helots; a free Greek was not allowed to work, he was in the world only to enjoy himself. The people of Palestine, on the contrary, having but just heard the words of the prophet: "Have we not all one father? hath not one God created us? how should a brother be unjust to his brother?" (Malachi 2, 10) could not very well say to their comrades: Brother, thou shalt work, shalt work hard and do heavy labour, but I, I shall enjoy myself as much as ever I can, I shall delight in art, enjoy this beautiful world, listen to the harmonies of nature or to the songs of the spheres; or perhaps I shall be a politican, sit in council on the affairs of state and, therefore, I need peace and quiet, time for recreation and reflection, in short — idleness.

The Greeks and Romans really did speak so, for themselves they demanded power and enjoyment; the part allotted to the helots was — work.

Gentlemen, you will hear in the course of this lecture that in Palestine it was the workman who led the political parties, who was consulted in affairs of state and who controlled the legislative.

V.

The intrinsic nature of labour is the operation of liberty in the shape of self-determination of the personality, the mastering of nature by free will. It is the most glorious expression of human power and sway. Enforced labour, or labour done with a bad will, is absolute nonsense — a truth the classical logicians overlooked. The Greek and Roman slaves had neither the right nor the duty to work, they received no wages, they felt no desire or impulse to work and on their work there was no blessing. In spite of all this the unfortunate helot was a worker. It was the greatest curse of slavery that work had become dishonourable whilst wealth enjoying itself in everlasting idleness was by public opinion crowned with the laurels of honour and distinction. Where the slave works labour becomes slavery and is tainted by the stigma of degradation. In the State of Lycurgus to earn one's living was considered dishonourable and forbidden to all free citizens. With undisguised contempt the Greek looked down on labour and gave the workmen ugly names.[5]) Even Aristotle declared labour as unworthy of a free man,[6]) and agreed with Plato that a good republic may not confer rights of citizenship on an artisan. The old Romans called the workmen "labor" which means pain; the slaves took care of their estates and properties, and down to the middle ages work was looked upon as degrading for knights and noblemen. To live on the labour of others, to benefit by their exertions, to enjoy life by the providing of others, that alone was considered to be chivalrous and noble. Knights were allowed to lie in wait for merchants coming along the road to sack and pillage them, or to make a raid into the houses of peaceable citizens — such tricks were no taint on a nobleman's name.

Gentlemen, you will admit without further parley that the respect we have for any rank or class of population is equivalent to the respect we bear to the position of the calling represented by that rank or class. The high authority and eminent position the army enjoys is owing solely to its being a profession of arms; to this profession all due honour is rendered, but not to the personal courage and valour of the individual member; therein common workmen often surpass them. The workman doing service in the army participates in the respect and homage rendered to the military order, but in the eyes of the multitude he loses his prestige on doffing his uniform and returning to a peaceable occupation. Now he is nothing but "a workman". It is not the man, not the individual, but the vocation or employment that gives rank and position to a class as well as to a single individual. You will now understand that it was of the saddest consequences for the working classes that Greeks and Romans, the ancient classical nations who so shamefully misunderstood the worth and dignity of labour degrading it even to slavery are now the model and prototype of our modern Europe. The diseases of our society which graze at the very marrow of

its bones and are vainly combated by the humanity and the efforts of judicious men are the inheritance of our classical teaching; it is an hereditary evil deeply rooted and therefore so hard to extirpate.

VI.

Gentlemen, Palestine was the birth place of a great saying which only future times will be able fully to appreciate: "Earth feeds only him who serves her."[7]) In this small country of Palestine labour was from primeval times hailed as a prerogative, an honour, a distinction of man, daily labour was hallowed by a high moral sanction Labour alone, so says a Palestinian,[8]) as an expression of liberty and domination of nature, raises man over the beast; only by productive work man truly becomes the image of his creator. That beautiful hymn of praise on the worker cheering with a threefold hail him who with the work of his hands and his industry maintains his wife and child, this song, gentlemen, which you may still find in the psalms could not have been written by any but a Palestinian poet. He recognizes labour as the greatest teacher, tutor, and benefactor of man, the mother of our culture, the sister of morality, the friend of progress. Labour, the Palestinian says,[9]) not only nourishes man, but also ennobles and exalts him. All the creations of his mind show the marks of labour; everything great, strong, and beautiful owes its greatness, beauty, and strength to labour. Labour, he says, hallows man, it guards him from sin, vice, and evil passions;[10]) indolence and inactivity only lead to lewdness and cupidity;[11]) idleness ruins our health and hastens death.[12]) Labour is the mother of every blessing. With her kind mother's face she cheers every sad heart; grief and trouble hide from the bright glance of her laughing eyes, with motherly encouragements and an inexhaustible power to console she heals every suffering. Labour is the sublimest daughter of God, she mediates between God and Man.[13]) Who is too great or too noble to put out his hand to her? Therefore you are to love labour and to be ever careful not to treat it with contempt or disdain.[14]) The labour of your hand, a Hebrew pun says, "Meluche melucha" is the kingdom to which absolute dominion is assured in civil society. Labour, says the Palestinian, is the purest goodness, the most sublime piety;[15]) he did not say: "work and pray", but "to work is to pray". Again, gentlemen, I cannot withhold a linguistic curiosity from you, "to work" and "to pray" are expressed in the Palestine language by the same word.[16]) The function of the High Priest in the sanctuary of the temple and the day's work of the common labourer were expressed by the same word;[17]) the idea of work and prayer was identical to the Palestinian. The Greek had ugly words to express work; the Palestinian could not think of any word of higher distinction than to call a man a worker,[18]) if for no other reason than because their ancestor Abraham, their great prophet and legislator Moses, and their glorious king David called themselves thus.[19]) Whilst the people of

India held everything worldly contemptible as being unclean and called it apostasy, the Palestinians publicly taught in their schools that handicraft and labour were holy revelations of God. Just as God descended to man for the sake of teaching him religion so he came to him to show him and teach him handicraft and every kind of work. Thus they meant to express that in labour we are to recognize and venerate the divine in human nature.

VII.

The intellectual intercourse among nations was at all times very lively, in spite of strong political antagonism, conflicting interests, innate hatred and national or religious differences. Along with articles of traffic, trade and industry all sorts of healthy as well as unwholesome ideas were imported or exported. Along with inventions also political institutions spread from one country to another. It is curious to see how political tendencies and movements are artificially created, roused, nurtured and fostered in some place till one day they cross the frontiers, a sort of some spiritual epidemic saturating the neighbouring states with their poison. That strange morbidity which delights in political man-hunting as in some favourite sport, those persecutions of Catholics, Socialists and Jews succeeding each other in wild disharmony have left their mark on us. The coldhearted leader of a dreaded military state is the author and commander in chief of all these tendencies and vibrations, in whose iron grasp the electric wires embracing all Europe meet. Whether he be hand and glove with the educated and well-to-do middle classes stigmatizing the Prussian Younkers, or arm in arm with the royal Court Chaplain fighting progressive "republicanism", whether he feign liberalism taking up its war-cry, or side with the reaction — always his war-cry will find a thousandfold echo among us and we are unable to rid ourselves of his influence which stirs the depths and convulses the surface. The varying moods and political fits of this powerful man are looked upon as revelations of wisdom; they find deep admiration, a thoughtless echo and bad imitations. Please, keep this in mind, gentlemen, when judging Palestine.

Bordered by three continents of the old world, surrounded by mighty slave states the powerful commands of which compelled obedience and which dazzled all by their false glory and enforced submission upon all, this small country of Palestine was weak and defenceless against influences supported by invading victorious armies. The imitative instincts of small minds had learnt from great models on whose authority they now allowed themselves some ventures. Foreign slavery came in and triumphed over the laws and customs of the country. They now had to discern between the native free worker and the foreign "perpetual worker", an expression the Palestinians had invented from lacking a word of their own. However, the teachings of a period of suffering during many

hundreds of years had not entirely dropped from their memory. The prophets and public speakers did not tire of preaching against this shameless violation of national morals and scourged sinful slavery with flaming eloquence. With never failing courage they watched over the slaves and their fate. The legislator also took up the fight against this low foreign institution with reckless energy and this persistent struggle for humanity and culture lasted till the fall of the state, and even some time beyond. You may read in the 2nd Book of Moses, chapter 21, verses 26—27, a very efficacious fighting law of this sort. According to this a slave was immediately liberated if a master had been guilty of having inflicted any physical damage, for instance by breaking out a tooth, or hurting his eyes. If you remember the sad lot of the Roman serfs you will be able to estimate the consequence of this law against the immorality of slavery. The chief blow, which had an annihilating effect was dealt by this law permitting foreign slaves to enforce their liberation according to their liking. If a slave had taken refuge in the house of a Palestinian the latter was under no condition allowed to deliver him up to the master from whom he had fled. The law still added: Let him stay with you, or there, where he may chose his abode, no matter if it be in one of your towns, or wherever else it may please him; you are not to oppress him (5th Book of Moses, 23, 16 and 17). So the slave had but to flee to the house of a Palestinian in some other town and he found a safe retreat; he had got rid of his master for ever and could choose his domicile at his pleasure. Even the attempt of selling the slave — who had by these laws become a rather doubtful property in Palestine — either to a foreigner or to such Palestinians as, living abroad, stood unter the security of other laws than those of Palestine, was considered to be an unlawful wrong to the slave and the result was his being set free. A slave who had been sold in this way had by legal compulsion to be rebought by his mater and then to be set free.[20]) If the slave thus liberated wished, however, to become a serf, his ear was pierced, as a conspicuous stigma of his slavish soul. That was the Palestine law in respect to slaves, or more correctly expressed, in respect to the liberation of slaves. But if so many slaves did not strive or long for liberation, and chose, without profiting by the benefits the law offered, to remain with their masters, then these Palestine masters can scarcely have illtreated them. Job, as a mighty land-proprietor, enjoying great authority and reputation asks:

> "When did I despise the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me? Did not he that made me in the womb make him? and did not one fashion us in the womb?"
>
> (Job 31, 13.)

Never did Greek or Roman speak thus; only a Palestinian could speak thus!

Even then when Roman legions and Roman law with its train of Roman ways and immorality, such as horrible slavery victoriously marched into Palestine that lay broken and down-trodden, bleeding from a thousand wounds, when finally the independence of the State was ended — even then the Talmud legislators did not cease from exhorting the people to remember the blood-community of all mankind:

> "Not to make heavier the yoke of the slave, not to embitter his life, to let him have the same food as the other inmates of the house, not to treat him contemptuously by word or deed — because he is here for work, not for degradation." (Maimonides, About Workers — End.)

The wealthy Romans, owners some of them of about 4000 slaves who worked in fetters and slept foot-bound and packed together in deep underground caves observed with discontent and displeasure how humanely slaves were treated by the Palestinians. They did not long remain idle spectators; hatred and brutal selfishness expressed themselves in violence, and they were quick to calumniate and accuse. In his endeavours to emancipate the working classes Ferdinand Lassalle found predecessors congenial in mind in his ancestors of 2000 years ago. A Palestinian, Lazar Prata, was — like him — brought before a court of justice, and put under accusation for having set free his own numerous slaves.[21]) This was antisemitism among ancient Aryans.

VIII.

What gave every kind and class of Palestinian workman a better and happier lot, what distinguished them from other fellow-workers, gave them moral strength, preserving in them the dignity of man, and even promoting their morals and culture — was the weekly day of rest, the peace and quiet of every seventh day for which European mankind has to thank the Palestinians. It was no less a personality than the renowned friend of the workman, the French philosopher Proudhon, who recognized and brilliantly explained the great civilizing importance of every seventh day being a day of rest. Our modern intellect, says Proudhon, with its sterile theories on political and civil rights, its constitutional sophisms and its attempts at liberty and equality has not created nor thought of a single institution in the least comparable to the benefit of the law which ordains every seventh day to be a day of rest. Proudhon examines the beneficial influence of this institution as to its civil, domestic, moral and hygienic influence, and he demonstrates that it takes liberty and equality for granted and that the consequence of this institution was a higher evolution of society, higher morals and physical as well as spiritual health. I have already mentioned that the world owes the weekly day of rest to the Palestinian workers for in fact it was for the sake of the workers that legislators had made this law. Gentlemen, consult the 5th Book of Moses, chapter 5, there you will find the original text

of the Sabbath commandment and you may read the genuine text of the ten commandments, inaugurating the seventh day of rest

> "That thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest and remember," the legislator adds, "thou hast been a slave in Egypt."

The wealthy upper classes did not need this institution; to them every day was a Sabbath or Sunday and is still so up to the present day. But for the worker it was necessary; he who throughout the week carried heavy loads on his shoulders and tormented his body by hard work, by incessantly swinging hammers or wielding the axe, his face burnt by the glowing fire or by the oven, penned in small unhealthy working rooms destructive to the lungs, he well knew how to appreciate and value the benefit of this one single day belonging to him and his family, this day of rest and recreation and companionable amusement — in short this one day on which he too was allowed to be a free man!

The Sabbath was originally not a day of the Church or a day of prayers.[31]) religion turned it into a holy day later on; the name of "Sabbath" protests against it, the word meaning: rest from work! It was a day on which work was forbidden throughout the State, so that all who had worked should rest. Gentlemen, the Sabbath and the Sunday represent a good bit of socialism without society having ever recognized or even wished to recognize its importance. In plain words, this Palestine Sabbath-law means nothing less than the legal regulation of working-time by the State.[32]) This weighty principle was incorporated by the Palestinians into their legislation and it diminished all work performed by all the other nations of antiquity by a seventh part of the week and legally reduced labour to the maximum of six working days. There were many also in Palestine who would have preferred to let their workers labour seven days instead of six; but the State considered the settling of work-time to be a public affair of eminent importance for the State and for legislation; for it could prevent the gradual degeneration and decay of the race and, therefore, this maximum was fixed and not allowed to be surpassed. Herewith a principle had been set up and commonly accepted which would have been of vital importance and benefit to the labouring classes had the nations who entered history as successors of the Palestinians also been heirs to the kindly spirit the Palestinians had borne towards the workers. Now all there was to do was to draw the consequences of a law already in force by applying what the Palestinians had done for weekly labour to daily labour and to settle the maximum number of working hours. Four thousand years have gone by since the Palestinians regulated weekly work; labour has since then become harder and more enervating; the numerous nations who have successively followed each other in history, all their legislators and statesmen, their poets and thinkers, writers and philosophers have not ventured to advance

by only a single step the alleviation of the workers lot. About forty centuries have elapsed — it surpasses the eloquence of any speaker to describe the progress the human race has achieved since then in every possible sphere of activity, of life or enjoyment; the worker alone sees no improvement of his situation. Up to this day this class owns nothing that the care and insight of the Palestinians has not done for them. Do you know, Gentlemen, where the hidden reasons for this faint-hartedness of the nations lie and why no advancement in favour of the workers has been made? Again the deafness and hardheartedness to all their complaints show that the peoples of Europe have not inherited the spirit of Palestine, but of the Greeks and Romans, a spirit depriving them of the benefit and profit the Palestinians had gained for them through their sense of justice — by Sunday-work. The Jewish legislator wisely addresses the employer; he is forbidden to have any work done for him on this seventh day — be it by whomsoever.[24]) Sunday-work was a thing utterly impossible in Palestine.

If I rightly understand the movement of the working classes of to-day I consider the workers' struggle to be exclusively turned against the spiritual inheritance of the Greeks and Romans, poisened as it is by the idea of slavery. The Greeks and Romans could scarcely be expected to understand this weekly day of rest which the Palestinians had. This institution was in dire opposition to their Aryan conception of the world; they laughed and jeered at this mysterious day. Writers like Plutarch, Dio Cassius, Petronius, Tacitus, Svetonius, Juvenal, Martial, Persius, Justinius and Rutilius Numantius ridiculed this institution; they could not understand why the Palestinians made a present of this seventh day to their workers, thus curtailing the private rights of the employer; they, therefore, called them idlers; plays used to be acted in the Roman national theatres in which the Jews and their resting day were carricatured,[25]) just as it may happen nowadays in reference to other things. Truly, Gentlemen, this seventh day of rest, which four thousand years ago was the beginning of a legal regulation of the duration of labour, had a hard battle to fight against defiance, scorn and carricature; in spite of all obstacles it has in the end conquered the world in a threefold form: the Palestine Sabbath, the Christian Sunday, and the Mahomedan Friday.

IX.

The Palestinians made no difference between artists, craftsmen or workers; the system of castes, guilds and corporations by which the free development of labour is cribbed and cabined was totally unknown to them. Labour was free. Every mans right to labour was not allowed to be stinted on any pretence. The Palestinians had not even heard of beggars lacking employment or unwilling to work. Again I give the Hebrew dictionary as witness.[26]) According to European customs wages are paid only at the end of the week. The labourer is obliged to buy the neces-

saries for his household on credit. Whoever is acquainted with human selfishness well knows that this dependence on a creditor, this being obliged to buy in a certain shop will show in the quality and quantity of the goods. The Palestine labour law had declared that every worker, to whatever class he belonged, had to have his wages paid out at night. If the wages were withheld only over night the employer had to pay the incurred penalty at sunrise the next day. Like all Palestinians the worker was likewise a cosmopolitan and world-citizen. He abhorred nothing more than the detestable disputes among races, nations and tribes. In the metropolis as well as in the country Syrian and Aramaic was more frequently spoken than the vernacular without any offence being taken by the patriots.[37]) There was a saying in Palestine that when God, the Creator, began forming the first man from dust he collected earth from all the continents — this was mixed and thereof was man formed; therefore no country is to be alien or unsympathetic to him. Everywhere will he find the same mother soil to which he owes filial affection.

Palestinian workers were much sought after on account of their intelligence, skill, and perseverance. Abroad they were also always on the best terms with each other, they helped each other and showed a solid front. In the early Christian times there were in the city of Alexandria — which is nowadays again attracting the attention of the European powers — so many of them that they fitted up a very beautiful temple in a splendid building — Basilica — in which Divine service was performed especially for guilds and corporations. The workers in gold, silver, copper, and iron formed one corporation; they had their seats in the first row, behind them sat the weavers, &. A newly arrived workman would without further ceremony go to a seat of his guild and he and his family would be provided for.[38]) Palestine was an agrarian State; agriculture was widely spread and the chief employment of the population. As a matter of course they had a great many serving men and maids. What was the position these held in the family? How were they treated in the times of Christ? I am going to read to you the literal text of the common law for servants:

> "Whoever engages a labourer — man or woman — is ever to be mindful of treating him or her like a brother or sister; he must give them the same food, drink, clothing and lodging as his own; thus it is not permitted for the master to eat white bread and to give the servant black bread; nor is the master allowed to drink good old wine and give the servant bad stuff; neither may he lie in a soft bed with pillows and let his servant sleep on a pad of straw, or do anything similar to his disadvantage."[39])

This is the verbal rendering of the Palestine law about servants which you may read any day in the Talmud; our good society which complains so much about our Austrian servants' law would have been much

less pleased with the Palestine one. Ought one not to burn this nasty book which contains such laws for labourers? . . .

X.

Tradesmen and workers were so numerous in the metropolis of Palestine that they lived in streets and quarters of their own; but the government or police did not have to dread any danger for the safety of the city. The potters had their quarters; there was a town gate for carpenters, a washers' and dyers' street, a ward for baker's men &c. There were so many copper-smiths that they erected a magnificent building where they had special meetings for Divine service. We have, it is true, no detailed accounts of the safety of the metropolis and its surroundings, but it is certain that murder and homicide rarely occurred; for if a court of justice once had to pass a sentence of death public opinion was greatly excited by the occurrence. Such a court of justice was considered to be sullied, and the people named it the "death court";[30]) this is reported by the Talmud with approval as a verdict of the people. — A workman, a woodcutter named Akiba, proposed the abolition of death-sentences[31]) and he certainly would by his intelligence and great influence have succeeded in securing legal authority for this principle, if the Romans had not taken away penal jurisdiction from the Jews.

Our modern times have repeatedly tried to abolish capital punishment; great agitations were organised in favour of this principle, and many juridical and historical pamphlets published without success; but probably nobody guesses that the merit of having been the first to suggest this humane idea is due to a Palestine labourer, a woodcutter, whose juridical ideas are preserved in the Talmud. If a person guilty of murder was not discovered (as is bound to happen and is said not to be rare elsewhere either) a rather singular law was practised. The eldest inhabitants and principal representatives of the town in which the crime had been committed publicly made an expiatory sacrifice to atone for their moral responsibility. The eldest of the nation and the representatives of the town had to bring it home to everybody that — as the Talmud states — the whole social organism with all its errors, faults and defects, with its selfishness and greediness for enjoyments, in short with its poisoned spiritual atmosphere is responsible for every crime and vice. In Palestine the community never would have dared to stigmatize a class of people or a political party for the crime of a single individual. Wherever the cradle of the murderer had stood, be it in a palace or in a low hut, whether he associated with the circles of the rich or the poor, society is to be charged with the moral participation in his guilt, according to the statements of the Talmud,[32]) the highest circles no less than the lowest.

The Talmud, Gentlemen, a work of six centuries' growth, with its juridical and economical essays, its medical hints and advice, its moral teaching, tales, parables and legends, its social communications, this work now shares the fate of our daily papers. One person reads the leader, another the feuilleton, a third skips the first pages and only looks out for political news from home or foreign countries, a fourth devotes himself to municipal affairs, to club or union matters and reads local news with special attention, a fifth gives his interest to art and science and wants to inform himself about music, theatres and lectures.

Finally there is a blockhead too jaded to take an interest in all that or too stupid and without any understanding for what is going on in the world; day by day he will only read about trials, accidents, burglaries, murderers and thieves. To him the paper contains nothing but an account of "the corruption of the world" — the filth collected in a great city. What do you think of such a blockhead? Well, the Talmud also found such fools who never set their eyes on the book, who would not even be able to read the text — let alone understand it, but who collect from wilfully misleading translations the stories of murders and then cry out about its "corruption".

XI.

The workmen of Palestine were well educated and often very learned men; these Palestinian workmen are a strange and unprecedented phenomenon in social history. It was nothing uncommon, and a thing of repeated occurrence during centuries, testified by historical facts, that labourers gave clever and most learned lectures in the academies and universities of Palestine. Common workmen who had throughout the day carried heavy loads, swung the hammer or hatchet, or sat at the loom or mill stone, or perhaps worked with the needle in a tailor's shop, or may be had ploughed the field, came to the academy in the evening and occupied the lecturer's chair. In solemn academical meetings you could be sure to see in the first rows and benches — not the powdered wigs and the red and gold collars or gowns covered with orders, but the soot-blackened faces, rough hands, and pricked fingers of the workers. It was nothing unusual that a labourer should be elected rector, leader of the academy. Difference of rank did not exist. The Sadducean priest-nobility had for some time usurped also the worldly powers and they were very proud of the purity of their descent — their "blue blood", but in the academy of science as well as in society the significant principle of the Talmud was accepted: "A bastard of some learning is superior to and has the precedence of a High-priest, if he be ignorant." Workmen held the highest offices of State and honour, they were the confidential and most distinguished counsellors of the people, and had authority and influence on the legislative. The workmen had not to humble themselves or

to stoop to the rich and upper classes — they were their equals. In the labouring class there were even men of royal descent. When Hillel, a legitimate scion of King David's dynasty, became a woodcutter the royal family did not feel dishonoured, and nobody thought it in any way strange or offensive, shocking or scandalous. In Palestine nobody was allowed to say:[32]) "I am too distinguished to work or I am too distinguished for this particular work."

XII.

Gentlemen, Allow me to introduce you to some Palestinian workers. I first mention the labourer Hillel, a woodcutter thirty years B. C. What is a woodcutter, what can he be in Aryan Europe? Certainly nothing but what he had been among the Greeks and Romans, *i. e.*: Nothing! Who knows him, who speaks of him, hears about him, notices him? The woodcutter Hillel, however, was the most renowned man in his country, the head of the academy, founder of a school, the disciples of which for more than a century bore his name and glorified it. In later legends and national chronicles Hillel appears as the ideal of mildness, patience, and gentleness. He had a decisive influence on the legislation of his time; his proposals were always accepted. His fame was spread also among the heathens, and a heathen one day appearing before him because he wished to have the essence of religion clearly and precisely explained to him in a single sentence, Hillel answered with the adage famous since then: "Do not unto others what you do not like yourself." That is the fundamental principle of all religions. Gentlemen, you all have been acquainted with this sentence for a long time, but you did not know that it was a workman who thirty years B. C. first taught and lived up to it. Another woodcutter was Akiba, a hundred years A. C.; he too founded a school. From all parts of the country and from the neighbouring Gentile states thousands of disciples flocked together to sit at his feet. The daughter of one of the richest patrician families in Jerusalem was his wife. He organized and was the political leader of the famous revolution against the Roman emperor Hadrian, together with Bar Kochba, who two years before had valiantly fought against the Roman legions. He died the death of a political martyr and bore the infernal cruelty of the Roman executioner with serene indifference which was much admired.

When the people of Palestine sent a national delegation to the court of the Roman emperor to obtain some alleviation from their oppressors, there was among the leaders of the delegation a blacksmith Josuah ben Chanania, a man living but poorly by his work but very celebrated for his wisdom. Sparks of fire had burnt his face that was blackened with soot; the daughter of the Roman emperor who liked to amuse herself

with the clever and witty Palestinian asked him one day (without having the slightest suspicion of his being a workman) with the thoughtlessness of a young princess, why his clever and witty head bore such an ugly face. The workman promptly replied with another question: Why did her imperial father keep his costly wine from Spain and Cyprus in such common casks instead of putting it into golden casks? "Why, don't you know, you clever man," the princess exclaimed in surprise, "that the best wines easily get spoiled in golden vessels?" "Well, it is possible my creator thought the same, and, therefore, I don't mind my ugly face and feel contented as I am." Another workman Papa ben Chanan, by profession a brewer of date-beer, founded the academy of Nares of which he became the rector. He was chief-justice about the year 300 a. D. and was celebrated for a classical sentence he passed in the famous lawsuit of "Tobias and Sigmund". Sigmund was a very pious man, who wished to be admired by everybody for his piety; he hated the godless and criminals from the very depth of his soul; now he happened to witnes an illegal action, of which Tobias, an impious man, had been guilty and he hastened to inform the judge, of what had happened. The next day the accused and the witness were summoned; Sigmund told his tale, giving a very detailed account of what he had seen. Tobias denied everything, declared himself innocent, and that he knew nothing about the matter. A Talmudic judge was not allowed to imprison anyone on trial and far less was he permitted to torment or torture anybody in order to enforce statements to his taste; he had to give his decision without delay and after having heard the withnesses. After a short deliberation the judge and workman Papa passed the sentence: Tobias was acquitted, the pious Sigmund, however, met with severe punishment. According to the Palestinian law a sentence could only be passed on the evidence of two credible witnesses both of whom had to be of age. In this lawsuit evidence stood against evidence, witness and accused were of equal credibility, the accused was not convicted and had to be acquitted; for the informer matters stood much worse: he had expected praise and acknowledgement and received a hard punishment. By the Palestinian law nobody was obliged to denounce a crime not even one on which there stood pain of death. Whoever wished to prevent evil was to exhort and teach the criminal, but not to tell tales. Information far from being rewarded was despised by the law and considered odious. The 3rd Book of Moses, chapter 19, verses 16—18, runs as follows: "Thou shalt not go up and down as a tale-bearer among thy people; neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbour... Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him. Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people; thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

Odious tale-bearing can scarcely be condemned with more severity. The judge punished the pious Sigmund because he had grievously violated this law. Gentlemen, the art of government practised by

reaction has always worked hand in hand with informers and tale — bearers. The history of the last years up to the present day can tell many a black or blood — red tale on this subject. Can you now understand why all the apostles of reaction are so furious against "Semitism"?

The Talmud tells of another very interesting lawsuit against workmen in the treatise Baba Metsia: One day some labourers broke a cask of wine belonging to a learned wine-merchant;[35]) to make up for the damage he took their smocks as a fine. The labourers lodged a complaint; the judge was a Talmudist[36]) and ordered the wine-merchant to return the clothes immediately. The merchant asked the judge in surprise: "Is that the law?" "Yes, certainly," said the judge, "the law of humanity!" The labourers, however, were not satisfied. Poor, hungry, they had spent all day with this petty dispute and had not had time to earn anything. They, therefore, demanded their day's wages. "This demand is not unjust," said the judge, "pay them their wages." "Is that the law too?" the merchant asked ironically. "Certainly it is, the law of pious humanity," answered the judge, quoting sentences from Holy Writ in which mildness, indulgence, forbearance and compassion towards workmen are ordained. Such are the contents of the much calumniated Talmud! The legal conception of property in the Palestinian code is so much milder than the unmerciful, unrelenting, inexorable Roman law. With the Romans the idea of possession stood above the idea of humanity; the rights of possession were more sacred to them than the rights of man. Man himself could become an object of possession. To the Palestinian, humanity stood above the formal right. The unbending, inexorable law to insist on one's rights, the rights of possession, its inhuman despicable way of turning everything to one's own advantage and thereby prejudicing not only one's neighbour, but all mankind, could not be treated more severely than by the words of the Talmud: "Who sayeth mine is mine and thine is thine, speaks like the people of Sodom."[36]) Modern exploitation of the worker by fortunate owners is not Palestinian but Aryan: It is the tradition of the Roman empire with its army of slaves. And did you know, Gentlemen, that workmen figure among the most eminent authors of the Talmud, that workmen have composed, taught and spread the book? They were mainly labourers, charcoal burners, bakers, millers and carriers, whose learned lectures, juridical debates, decisive sentences and moral teaching the Talmud has faithfully preserved. In the Talmud the workmen appear as learned encyclopaedists with great knowledge of the world and its nations and with a profusion of rare erudition. But our time has treated these learned labourers badly as it does Pegasus in Kaulbach's brilliant drawing. Here is a wonderful racer of exquisite beauty with sparkling eyes and wide spread wings of an angel — flying upwards, commanding attention, admiration, and wonder from the spectators. A miserable little critic stands down below, collecting the horse dung, presenting it on

a little plate to the public and crying out again and again: "What a dirty beast!" The cloak of many a professor who has somehow sneaked into his chair hides this half silly, half cunning obtuseness which does not admire rare beauty or noble breed, but only looks for the animal's dung. The best of racers must throw their dung, Gentlemen, but that is no reason why they should be bad horses!

The Talmud which was composed by workmen meets with such critics every day; but the book, as you may judge from all I told you — it is in spite of all the most admirable document glorifying the spirit and intellect of the workmen.

XIII.

Among the diplomatic chargés d'affaires and ambassadors of earlier and later dates there used to be many a strange dispute about precedence; on solemn occasions one or the other agent may have taken a precedence not due to him and thereupon a diplomatic correspondence ensued. Agadic Talmudists tell of a dispute about precedence in the early times of Christianity. On some public occasion the president of the senate, at the time we are speaking of a still very young scholar, met a well digger — a tall man with broad shoulders and a grey beard. The president passed by him without saluting. "Why do you take the precedence?" asked the labourer. "I am the president of the senate." "And I am a workman," replied the other, "and for the public welfare the labouring class is of more importance than the public functionaries and judges."[37]) Thus spoke the proud assertiveness of the Palestinian workman. Again I have asked myself if such a pretentious attitude, such pride, such far-going claims from the labouring class were not apt to prejudice the other classes and to be of disadvantage to the State. The answer may result from the following facts: Palestine has at the present day not quite a million of inhabitants, and the soil, squeezed and starved as it is, is not able to feed even this small population. Every year enormous sums are sent there by Catholics, Protestants, Anglicans and Jews to save the people from starvation. The Rothschilds and the British philanthropist Sir Moses Montefiore founded orphan asylums, hospitals, almshouses and other charitable institutions, and maintain them. The inhabitants of the country are degenerated, impoverished, and literally helpless. At the time when Palestine was an independent State, when labour was looked upon with respect and veneration, this same soil, in spite of the lack of any kind of industry, fed five millions of men richly, and gave them considerable wealth. The prophet Isaiah who was afraid that increasing wealth would bring on effeminacy and a relaxation of morals exclaimed: "The land is full of silver and gold and treasures without end!" (2, 8.) At the time of the last revolt against the Romans, after the country had been mercilessly exhausted through several generations by the Roman pro-consuls and vice-gerents, after civil wars had utterly ruined it, there were in spite of all quite a number

of rich families in the metropolis who, considering the change of circumstances as to time and money, would have been able to rank among the most eminent of our present nobility. These simple facts are more impressive than any rhetoric. Gentlemen, am I not right in saying that our society with all its apostles of humanity and fraternization of nations gives us the spectacle of fierce hatred among races and of cruel wars, that with all its astounding progress in industrial evolution, the wonderful machines, electric wires, aeroplanes and motors it is not able to help the labouring classes in their increasing poverty and distressing situation, because this society of ours has unfortunately learnt a great deal too much from the Romans, ever thirsty of conquests, and from the Greeks, ever revelling in art, and has profited too little from the teachings of the sober and hard-working Palestinians? It would be of eminent benefit to the working classes and would also promote the welfare of the State, if they did not fight against, but much rather for Semitism.

*

The lecture had deeply impressed my audience and the workmen of Vienna also wished to hear it. I proposed some other themes, but they refused and insisted on my repeating the lecture of Floridsdorf. I composed and gave the lecture on the 20th August 1882 in the hall at the "Grünen Jäger" in Vienna. I had become rather popular in Floridsdorf also in Christian circles, for the success of my lecture was much spoken of. The group of the "Deutscher Schulverein" in Floridsdorf invited me to become a member of their association; I declined. But on being invited to give a lecture there I accepted and chose for my subject: "Schools at the Time of Christ." Similar to the first as to its arrangement and plan this lecture brought a comparison of schools, ways of teaching and the position of teachers among the Jews in Palestine with the reports we have from the Romans and Greeks; finally I gave a selection of educational principles from the Talmud. But I was obliged to refuse invitations from other Workers' Associations, because the Police Head Quearters gave me a hint not to lecture any more to workmen. The workmen, however, published the lecture in their various papers, and later on it was repeatedly read in assemblies. Only some years later — on occasion of some dispute in the antisemitic camp — it was disclosed how much my lecture had done to dissuade the labouring classes

from being exploited for antisemitic purposes. In 1882 Clericals and German Nationalists were united, but later on they separated and constituted individual groups. In a private feud between the German Nationalist Kornelius Vetter and the clerical agent Ernst Schneider the former published a pamphlet entitled "Only for the Mechanican Schneider" (Vienna 1886, by Kornelius Vetter, Vienna, III., Hauptstrasse 22). This pamphlet says:

„Bloch succeeded in convincing the workmen of Floridsdorf that the Jews and the Jewish manufacturers were the benefactors of mankind and the labouring classes in particular. This opinion had to be opposed, but how could it be done ? Perhaps by opposing in an assembly openly and honestly the principles of the wonder rabbi, and teaching the labourers to know better ? They did not think of doing that, but preferred cunning and roguish ways."

Mr. Kornelius Vetter, then, boasts of not having yielded to the proposals of the mechanician Schneider to put me out of harm's way as he had been advised to do. He accuses Schneider of having tried to ruin him — and his family.

„You would in cold blood have brought ruin upon an innocent family had they not been warned betimes by a true friend!"

When after some time the police official Hlubek in Floridsdorf fell a victim to an anarchist outrage — the second in the town — I was denounced by the antisemitic agitator Pater Eichhorn as the author of the attempt. In number 47 of the "Austrian Friend of the People" ("Oesterreichische Volksfreund"), 1883, Eichhorn writes under the heading "On the murder of the police official Hlubek" as follows:

„The noble Jewish preacher Bloch held a lecture on August 12th 1882 for the workmen of the factories of Floridsdorf, and on August 28th 1882 another for the workmen of the iron and metal industry and for assistant workmen in the hall of the "Green Hunter" (zum "Grünen Jager") branding Christendom as the source of every misery the labouring classes were suffering. This miserable

rabbinade (!?) told the workers in a series of lies that it was quite obvious that Christendom had from the very beginning been waiting to oppress the workmen whereas the Jews are described by the rabbi as being the apostles and martyrs of the freedom of the "workers". He calls the Talmud the most glorious monument of workmen's intellect. The lecture contains about 200 Semitic lies and misterpretations on thirty-six pages, if you examine it critically, that is, to say from a Christian or honest point of view as to its scientific value. At the end the speaker calls upon the many thousand workmen among his audience to fight for Semitism; it would be of the most beneficial consequences for the labouring classes and for the welfare of the State, he says, not to fight against Semitism but for it. This lecture was spread among the workmen in thousands of copies — the papers of the socialist democratic party printed it without a remark and it has since become the source of many lectures held by labour leaders. Also Schaffhauser who had been employed by a Jew called John gave a lecture in Klosterneuburg after the above example.

"This rabbinade is thus an accessory to the murder of the government delegate Hlubek, though the rabbi may personally not have known or guessed the consequences."

Eichhorn then relates that Franz Hlubek had been denounced at the imperial police presidency on account of "antisemitic intrigues" so as to cause his dismissal. "What could not be achieved by Jewish informers a bullet did. Can there have been any connection between these two misdeeds? I should say there was. Not "post hoc, ergo propter hoc", *i. e.* not because of what followed the denunciation, but because the rabbi had instigated the workmen." After more than ten years it was found out what had decided one of the two Floridsdorf anarchists to choose anarchism and crime. An official of the northern railway with a very numerous family had rented a field in Floridsdorf to eke out his income. One day children found a bomb on the dung hill of this field. Very naturally such a discovery caused great excitement and the bomb was deposited at the police

station and a severe enquiry ensued, the police believing it to be an anarchist plot. The tenant of the field was transferred, his lease annulled, and he was economically ruined. His son was a workman; up to then he had been a harmless fellow who had only now and then got excited by the instigating sermons of his Christian-Socialist chaplain. The economic ruin of his innocent family flew to his head, he became an "active anarchist", a criminal fanatic, so as to be able to procure monetary help to the revolution party. After some time Dr. Altenberg, a clever Vienna police officer, came to the police office at Floridsdorf and found the bomb in the inventory. He sent it to the artillery committee which declared it to be a French missile from 1805! Missiles were often found in the bed of the river Danube and its surroundings from the times of those battles. If the police had had the bomb examined earlier many people would have been spared torments and suspicions, and the unfortunate Kammerer would probably have remained a harmless man to the end of his days and would never have been executed. This tale shows the way anarchist are made.

Adolf Fischhof.

It was an encouragement for me to receive the following letter from Adolf Fischhof :

"*Will you, please, accept my warmest thanks for the pleasure I had in reading your excellent lecture. Your comparative survey of the estimate of labour and the social position of the workers among the Greeks, Romans and Palestinians opens perfectly new and surprising views as to the high ethic importance of Mosaism and its adherents. The workers who are even now bravely resisting the allurements of antisemitsm will in consequence of your enlightenment most certainly turn away with loathing from people who preach hatred of those whose religion, like no other, appreciates the moral and cultural importance of labour, and, like no other, demands an honourable social position for the worker. May your remarkable lecture be widely circulated.*"

Adolf Fischhof had hitherto followed my political work with great benevolence ; I am indebted to him for manifold suggestions. He was one of the most eminent men of the Austrian liberal-minded generation of the second half of the 19th century. A man of an antique mould, prophetically foreseeing the final breakdown of this State of many nations — and incessantly endeavouring to avert this fate — ever impressively urging the necessity of transforming Austria into a liberal State of nations so as to make it a real home for all its various peoples. His endeavours were thwarted by the chauvinistic narrowness, the selfishness, and short-sightedness of the German leaders of Austria. Fischhof (born in Budapest 1816) showed from his earliest youth

a vived sense of justice. He went to college at Budapest. In the beginning of the fourth decennium of the last century there still existed a Jews' bench — on this Fischhof had his place. One day one of the professors sent Count Bela Wenckheim, a school-fellow of Fischhof's, by way of punishment for some mischief he had done, to the Jew's bench and told Fischhof to change places with the count for the time of his punishment. Fischhof refused to obey declaring point-blank that as long as Jew's benches existed he was not going to separate himself from his Jewish comrades. "The counts should remain in their places, we Jews remain together." It is a fact characteristic of Fischhof's personality that with the exception of the short episode of the revolution in 1848 and 1849 he never had a seat in Parliament, nor had he any political function or position in Government — and yet his authority was so high that his advice was taken in every question of importance. In later years he retired to a remote village on the Wörthersee, leading a secluded life far from the centre of public affairs; politicians, publicists, members of parliament of sundry factions and nations, and even now and again a Secretary of State, would appear at Emmersdorf, regardless of the distance and the rather trying journey, to converse with the "sage of Emmersdorf" — as he used to be called — and to enquire for his opinion on important State matters. He declined all invitations to take office in the Government. Not that he feared the responsibility, for he did not lack courage. In the year of revolution, on the 13th of March 1848, it was he who first spoke an open manly word which thrilled all hearts; and after the flight of the emperor and the Government public confidence called him to the head of the Safety Committee. One day a foreign deputation came to greet the Safety Committee, which was then holding a meeting in the rooms of the Academy of Music. "May these rooms," Fischhof answered, "hitherto dedicated to the harmony of tune, henceforth be dedicated to the harmony of nations." He never ceased to wish for a peaceful union of all nations. It was he who on the 15th of May 1848 advised the students and workmen to

give up assaulting the Hofburg (Imperial residence). He had a seat as member of the first Constituting Parliament of Austria in Kremsier, and worked for a reconciliation between the Germans and the Czechs. When the reaction came and the coup d'état, many members of Parliament fled. Fischhof declined to flee because he did not feel conscious of any guilt. He was, however, arrested and imprisoned upon trial ; after eight months he was set free, because there was absolutely nothing to tell against him.

He developed untiring publicist activity for the sake of bringing about an understanding between the Austrian nations; books, pamphlets, articles, memorials, drafts of bills followed one another. When Count Potocki was nominated Premier he urgently requested Fischhof to join his Cabinet; but after a discussion between the two men it was evident that Potocki intended to bring about a settlement in favour of the conservatives — upon which Fischhof declined. Towards the end of 1878, together with Dr. Ladislaus Rieger, a Czech leader, and with a leading German publicist, he succeeded in drawing up a document, the famous "Emmersdorf Memorandum", which was to form the basis for a reconciliation between Czechs and Germans. This memorandum was the first to suggest that national rights can no more be determined by a parliamentary majority than religious convictions. Finally self-government by political functionaries elected from out of their own nation was demanded. The leader of the Germans, Dr. Herbst, was invited to partake in the conferences and to use his influence in bringing about a reconciliation between the Germans and Czechs. Now it happened that a new bridge was being built at Prague, and the Germans wished it to be called the "Crown-Prince Rudolf Bridge", the Czechs wished to call it "Palacky Bridge". Hereupen Dr. Herbst flatly declared that the Germans could not enter into a league with a nation that refused to have their new bridge graced by the name of the Crown-Prince.

The emperor nominated Count Edward Taaffe Prime-Minister, entrusting him with the mission to reconcile the Czechs with the idea of the Austrian State, and to prevail

upon them to become members of the representative bodies from which they had hitherto kept aloof. He believed to be able to achieve this and invited the Czechs, Poles, and Slovenians to form a majority in Parliament. The German liberal party which called itself "constitutional" ("Verfassungstreu") instantly announced a strong opposition which made the feudal clericals triumph; they hoped that the Government would now be obliged to look for support from them. This induced Adolf Fischhof to make the trial to unite all liberal elements, from among all nations of Austria into one great party which was to be named "the Party of the German People" ("Deutsche Volkspartei").

Robert von Walterskirchen, one of the most eminent German politicans, joined Fischhof in this self-imposed task. On the 16th of July 1882 the working committee called for this purpose a mass meeting in the rooms of the Academy of Music where Fischhof's programme was read: an association of all liberal Germans with the non-German democrats, taking a national understanding for granted. Austria being a State peopled by many different nations it cannot have the constitution of a national State, it must learn from States with various nationalities, viz. Switzerland or Canada. Dr. Theodor Hertzka, chief-editor of the "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung" ("Vienna General Newspaper"), Dr. Newald, Mayor of Vienna, the well-known democrat Dr. Ferdinand Kronawetter, Dr. Karl Lueger, Professor Benedikt, and many other noted men were present at this assembly. I was likewise among the audience, and I remember with melancholy regret the breaking-up of this assembly, which had promised to be such a blessing for the Austrian nations. This was caused by the so-called Young-German party-men and by a band of Jewish students who had come with their leader Dr. Heinrich Friedjung, then editor of the "Deutsche Wochenschrift" ("German Weekly"). Not only the leading daily papers of the German liberals but the Jewish population of Vienna as well spoke of Fischhof's attempt to prejudice the soi-disant privileged position of the German in Austria with the greatest anim-

osity. The stentorian voice of passion overawed common sense. Fischhof, who was suprised and shocked, because so many Jews had joined in these attacks, remarked to the writer of these lines : "The Viennese Jews do not guess what an awful reaction will break out and that it will certainly be accompanied by furious antisemitism ; my efforts to form a democratic party would probably have prevented all that. Now the Jews themselves prevented this attempt to save them." Most of the leaders of this movement retired from political life, banished and persecuted — angry at having met with so little understanding; the democratic party dispersed, and its members later joined the antisemitic camp under Dr. Karl Lueger's command.

On the 4th of December 1885, when Fischhof celebrated his seventieth birthday, the member of the Municipal Council Dr. Mandl, a democrat, proposed in a confidential sitting of the Viennese Corporation to offer the congratulations of the city of Vienna to the eminent champion of liberty in Austria. Dr. Lueger, afterwards antisemitic Mayor of Vienna, observed in the ensuing debate, "that nobody in this room could compare with Adolf Fischhof as to his integrity of character or to what he had done for the town of Vienna." The motion was declined. At that time the majority consisted of "German liberal" party-men. Henceforth Fischhof lived in peaceful solitude at Emmersdorf near Klagenfurt, a friend and counsellor to all who sought advice or help from the celebrated physician or from the high-minded man. He never accepted a penny for medical help, but he visited the miserable huts of the peasants and brought refreshments and words of comfort to the suffering. He died in March 1899 with the "Sh'ma" on his lips, and when he had closed his eyes the church bells of Emmersdorf and its surroundings were rung. The people knelt at his deathbed, and a leader of the labourers apostrophized him as "father of the labourers"; they said "the Lord's Prayer" in the Jewish synagogue and wept in the streets. When the corpse was brought to Vienna political parties and authorities, men of science, art and literature vied

with the leaders of public affairs in paying homage to his earthly remains so that involuntarily one thought of the words:

"Why for thy dead doest thou strew incense?
Would kindness in life not have been of more avail?"

Fischhof's prophetic misgivings about the breaking out of wild antisemitism unfortunately came true; and Ferdinand Kronawetter, the last genuine democrat, gives us, in a lecture he gave in 1898 at the Austrian Israelitic Union (Oesterreichisch Israelitische Union) a sketch of Adolf Fischhof's life work, the reconciliation of the Austrian nationalities; and he also describes the failure of the foundation of the "German Democratic Party" (Deutsche Volkspartei). He then adds: "I must, however, openly state that the "German Democratic Party" has not met with any encouragement on the part of the Israelites and that we have had to submit to vehement attacks precisely from that side. Whether they acted wisely or no, you may judge better to-day than in 1898. I suppose you have a different view of the matter to-day than you had in 1882."

Rohlings Untiring Agitation.

The year 1882 was not yet ended when a furious agitation against the Talmud raged through the streets of the Austrian capital, and that came about in the following way.

An antisemitic agitator, Franz Holubek, who disappeared form public life a few later, had on the 4th of April 1882 under the presidency of Georg Ritter von Schonerer summoned a meeting of the Christian tradesmen at the "Three Angels", a large hall in Vienna, 36 Große Neugasse where he made the following speech:

"The Jews are no longer our fellow citizens, they have become our masters, oppressors and tormentors.

The Christians are to be weakened. annihilated, defamed, in the metropolis of the Empire of the Habsburg. Matters have come to such a pass that we must tremble to confess ourselves Christians.

A nation which was already signally stigmatized by Tacitus has set up as our master, and is there nothing left for us but to bear this yoke?

Judge if such a people has any right of existence amidst civilized society. I don't intend to stir you up, but hear and judge! This book, the Talmud! Do you know what this book contains? The Truth! And do you know how you are described in this book? As a herd of pigs, dogs and asses!"

The Public Prosecutor of Vienna looked upon this speech as a "breach of the peace" liable to punishment by § 302 St. G. (State Law). On the 28th of October 1882 at the trial by jury the president Ritter von Karajan on behalf of the

defence quoted the following passage from Rohling's book "The Talmudic Jew":

"Yes, indeed, the Gentiles are dogs to the Talmud, because it is written Ex. 12, 16 of the Holy festivals", they are for Israel and not for the alien, not for the dogs" (Treatise Megilla 7, 2). R. Mose b. Nachmann repeats this with a variation: "For you, not for the Goyim, for you, not for the dogs are the festivals" (F. 50, 4 par B). Rashi has the same in the Venetian edition, Ex. 12, whereas in the Amsterdam Pentateuch he omits the addition "not for the dogs". The Gentiles are not only dogs, they are also asses. (Tr. Berach. 25, 2). And Abarbanel says: "God's elect are worthy of eternal life, the other peoples are like asses" (Hos. 4, fol. 320, 4). The houses of the Goyim are homes of beasts (Leh Tob 46. 1), and Ben Sira answered Nebuchodonosor, when he offered him his daughter in marriage: "I am of human race and not a beast" (Sira f. 8. a.)."

Julius Edler von Soss, counsel for the prosecution, remarked: "I do not object to the reading. *I cannot deny that this passage is in the Talmud.*" As may well be imagined this concession made a great sensation among the audience as well as among the jury. To the question of counsel, why he had chosen this very quotation from the Talmud, so very apt to embitter the audience, saying that all Christians were a herd of pigs, dogs and asses, Holubek replied:

"I believe, that to state the fact that such things are contained in a religious book can scarcely be considered a culpable instigation. But I should rather say that he is an instigator who acknowledges such or similar principles. This quotation is based on truth and I refer to the authority of Dr. August Rohling, Professor at the University of Prague, who has promised a prize of 1000 Thaler to anyone able to prove to the German Assocation of Orientalists that a single quotation from his book "The Talmudic Jew" is false. Curiously enough up to the present day no Jew has tried to win this prize. I think, any society based on principles like these I

have quoted from that book would not be allowed now-a-days. I therefore suppose everybodys is entitled to criticize such sentences."

The Jury *unanimously acquitted* Franz Holubek. The whole population of the metropolis had been interested in this trial; in order to parry the fatal impression, the two ministers of the Jewish Congregation in Vienna published in all daily papers the following declaration they had jointly composed in a conference:

"In the trial by jury on the 28th of this month it has been asserted on the authority of Rohling's book "The Talmudic Jew" that the quotation of Christians being dogs and asses was contained in the Talmud. We, the undersigned, declare most decidedly that Rohling's words, which by the way are copied from Eisenmenger's "Judaism Discovered", contain an absolute untruth as such a passage does not exist anywhere in the Talmud. At the same time we declare that the Talmud contains nothing hostile to Christianity.

Vienna, October 30th, 1882.

Dr. M. Guedemann. *Dr. Ad. Jellinek.*

With *this* enunciation the Talmud dispute in the Viennese press was de facto started. As was to be assumed and must have been expected the aggressive professor of Prague would not fail to reply to *this* declaration; he could not but be glad of the opportunity to transfer the scene of his literary incendiarism to Vienna partly to make himself more conspicuous and partly because the metropolis offered a larger field of action to the literary war of annihilation against the Jews. On the11th December 1882 there appeared in the now defunct "Tribune" an incendiary article by Rohling as an answer impudently branding the above declaration of the Viennese Rabbis as "cunning knavery"; on the 13th of December this same article was published a second time, and on the 14th of December it was enlarged to five columns of the same paper. Whoever comes across these articles collected by Rohling under the title of "My Answer to the Rabbis" will fully

understand the intense excitement felt by the Viennese population in consequence of these articles. Red posters in all street corners called the attention of the public to these instigations. Rohling had accused the two first Rabbis of Vienna to their faces and publicly of "knavery". Two, three days passed, and no reply came, no correction; the public was kept waiting. Ten days had gone by — no sign of any move. The excitement increased from hour to hour. According to the report of the judicial proceedings 200.000 copies of these articles of the "Tribune" appeared in book form. Over and over again Rohling produced his credentials. He was a priest, a Roman Catholic priest, professor in the oldest German university, appointed by his Majesty the Emperor to teach ancient Hebrew; moreover he had several times confirmed his assertions by oath before the Court of Justice, and he offered to renew his oath any time. A priest, a professor, an authority acknowledged by the emperor, a man who confirms his assertion with solemn oaths — surely he could be trusted!

But what he again and again warmed up as Jewish religious writings was simply monstrous. The late Dr. Braun, lawyer in Prague — who since my lecturing there had kept me in kindly remembrance — says about the mischief done by the articles published in the "Tribune": "Immediately after those articles had been published I had a case at the Court of Jusice in Prague; the judge, whom I had hitherto known as a humane and liberal-minded man, was in a state of great excitement; he straightway declared that after these "revelations" of Rohling's a conscientious judge would have to think twice before administering an oath to a Jew, or admitting him as a witness." In public houses the articles were read out to the guests, and the Jews shunned public establishments. The worst about it was that a great many Jews began to believe in this slander. The Jews were greatly depressed and their fate was pathetic to a degree. They were not acquainted with the Talmud nor did they want to know anything about it, and now they heard nothing else from morn till night. In the streets, in the hotels, in the coffee houses, there was no other topic but the Talmud: what a dreadful book it was — and that the Jews

ought to be ashamed of themselfes.*) In those days I met a Jewish officer in the Praterstrasse at a Jewish bookseller's who in the presence of Ch. D. Lippe said the bitter words: "Do you consider it compatible with my honour as an officer to see the first Rabbis of Austria quietly putting up with the accusation of knavery as if it were nothing?" When I accidentally heard these words which threw a sudden light on a situation of intense humiliation and motification, I could not help calling on Dr. Adolf Jellinek at once. I asked him whether he did not intend to answer Rohling. The Austrian Jews could not possibly suffer a public insult without due reparation. That was my opinion of the affair. Dr. Jellinek replied: "Rohling will always be sure to come out with new quotations from Eisenmenger and I cannot possibly refute Eisenmenger's whole book." Apologetics were not considered an important branch of study, either in the old training schools of the Rabbis (Jeshiwas) or in the latter day seminaries; they had neglected to draw up an exhaustive and authentic refutal of "Eisenmenger"; even the existing apologetic literature had not been profitably used. Thus these unexpected attacks found weak and unprepared antagonists. An adequate method of dealing with this "scientifically" tricked out hatred against the Jews had yet to be created. I put it down as a humble merit to my account that I was the first to demonstrate and teach this method in a way adjusted to our times. So I went home and in less than four and twenty hours I wrote the chastisement of Rohling since then well-known under the title of

*) Clotilde Benedikt tells me from the reminiscences of her childhood: I remember, when quite a child, going from Baden to Vienna with my father, the well-known neurologist Professor Dr. Moritz Benedikt. David von Gutmann, a captain of industry, Siegwart Friedmann, a then famous actor — he is still living — and his brother, a well-known Hungarian member of parliament, were in the train with us. These three gentlemen were making wry faces over their newspapers. I remember hearing exclamations of "How awful", "That mad old book", and the like. I heard Friedmann, who was a very vivid man, say: "If that were actually written in the Talmud every decent Jew would have to go and get himself baptized." "How can you doubt it? A professor of the University of Prague would n't go and tell a lie like that in public," my father said in despair.

"Professor Rohling and the Rabbis of Vienna, or the Arrant Knavery."

It was now the question how I was to get the essay published in one of the large daily papers. The leading papers of the Liberal Party avoided on principle every contact with the "Jewish Question", for they did not want to be dubbed "Jewish papers". There were plenty of pretexts for declining the article. The manuscript filling twelve folio columns in print had to be read and examined and that needed time. I applied to Dr. Hertzka, chief editor of the "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung", which at that time appeared three times a day and had some importance; I asked for immediate publication without the editor examining the manuscript, and I promised in return to circulate the essay as a pamphlet with a special introduction canvassing for the sympathy of the Austrian Jews for the "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung" which was in a continual state of war with the "Constitutional Party".

The next day — it was the 22nd of December 1882 — my essay appeared as a separate number of the above mentioned paper, and soon there was not a single copy to be had. The demand for it was extraordinary. A new edition was prepared and as quickly sold, so that a third had to be issued. More than a hundred thousand copies of the paper had been rapidly sold.

I consider it superfluous to give an analysis of the voluminous article, as it has passed through many editions and has been translated into Hungarian, Polish, Bohemian and Italian (by the Head-Rabbi in Trieste).

I publicly undertook to prove in a form comprehensible not only to the learned but also addressing the unlearned that this gentleman, who had been nominated by His Majesty Professor of Hebrew Antiquities in Prague, lacked even the slightest scientific qualification for his profession. I gathered ample proofs and arguments to demonstrate not only his lack of "scientific" but also of "moral" qualification to criticise the Talmud, and that his quotations from the Talmud and the Shulchan Aruch and Zohar were wily falsifications and partly pure inventions; moreover, he repeatedly quoted the

Bible as Talmud texts; that he was not at all familiar with the Catholic Church Fathers, and that he slandered the Talmud on account of sentences which can be read literally in the books of the Holy Fathers, and that he did not tire of offering to the Courts again and again his false testimonies on his "official oath".

I succeeded by popular and clear statements in convincing Christian readers that these heavy accusations against Professor Rohling were founded on truth.

Jellinek told me: "You have slain Rohling with a cudgel."

Suddenly Rohling himself found that he had been mortally wounded; he replied with great bitterness in the "Tribune" in a furious article of ten columns. Now it turned out that his answer did not tally with his former assertions; he had originally put another construction on the Talmud texts quoted by him. In showing up these contradictions as a proof of his utter insufficiency and lack of knowledge I added:

> "For my part I declare loudly enough to be heard in every Court of Justice or Cabinet of Government that you, Professor Rohling of the University, have never read a single page of the Talmud, and moreover that you are totally incapable of doing so, as you lack every scientific qualification. I am prepared to put down three thousand Austrian Gulden, they are yours, Professor Rohling, should you be able to read and translate correctly one single page from the Talmud text, a page not of my choosing but leaving it to chance to determine which page of any treatise it shall be. Professor Rohling, I, the District Rabbi of Floridsdorf near Vienna, offer you three thousand Gulden and am ready to deposit the money in a bank, should you be able to read and translate correctly one single page of the Talmud. My dear Sir, you can't do it, I may say you have never *even tried* to do it in your life; but that does not prevent you from giving your opinion on the Talmud and from taking an oath upon it, as you repeatedly have done!"

Thrice these polemics were repeated, followed by the eager attention of Christians and Jews. I pointed out that he not

only had deceived the public, but had often also tricked the law by false statements and I said in conclusion:

"I cannot imagine that he does not feel the position into which he has brought himself. Can it be possible for an Imperial Professor of the University publicly to accept an insult and to let himself be disgraced in the presence of a sneering crowd, laughing scornfully at an ignominy, which public opinion only accords to certain women? Is it possible, I say, for a professor to go on without a blush as if all this were a matter of no more importance than a raindrop wetting his face? However, he must understand that it is impossible for a scholar of immaculate honour to have any further discussions with him. It was a painful and unsavoury task I had undertaken to expose the character of this gentleman, the charcter of his acquirements and the reliability of his assertions before the public and the State authorities, and to make kown among unlearned circles what judgment the learned Christian world has passed on him. Now that I have done my duty I am able to dismiss this gentleman."

"From Prague he now began once more to set the lower classes against us by his lampoons and infamous writings published in Vienna papers and to foment persecution in the name of religion. Above all I felt that those Israelites entrusted to my spiritual care who lived dispersed and isolated in country villages were endangered by this artificially created embitterment against the Talmud. I had to intervene for the sake of their security. This gentleman raked together the dung of the whole world and dumped it down at my door. It is he, who has now fallen into this dungheap and may his lies help him out of this loathesome situation. He may try whether he can succeed in extricating himself."

The effect produced by all these pamphlets on the nervously excited public opinion is best reflected in the hundreds and hundreds of telegrams and addresses from the Jewish com-

munities of the Dual Monarchy sent to this young and then unknown author at Floridsdorf.

Interesting letters came from Christian circles, even from circles of the high nobility, from university professors of Austrian and foreign countries; many an artistically framed address was presented by deputations or came by post. I here reproduce some of these letters as documents of the history of our days.

From the Vienna Stock Exchange a deputation appeared presenting me with a box containig a hundred ducats and an illuminated address, from which I quote the following passage:

"A man who practises incendiarism as a profession begins again to fight us in the name of science; his shield is untruth and his weapon calumny. This combat had to be taken up and fought to the end. You, Sir, took up the challenge and got reparation for offended science; at the same time you have rendered a great service to Judaism and to all Jews. May we henceforth be preserved from a similar fight! Should we, however, have it enforced upon us again, we have no other wish than to find again an advocate of your energy and staunch loyality."

Brünn. Provincial Rabbis Dr. Placzek and Dr. Oppenheim:

היום גלית את חרפת מצרים מאליה.

Your second pamphlet is a classical masterpiece of scientific controversy. You may be proud of it."

Landau. District Rabbi Dr. Grünbaum:

"You have shown yourself a man of science and of staunch character. I am acquainted with your excellent work on Esther. On having read this book, I immediately determined to write to you. ישר כחך ויזך . . . *Your work is a pleasure to every man of research; it is convincing and elucidates much that hitherto has been obscure:* באורך נראה אור.

Jena. Dr. Karl Siegfried, Prorector of the University and

Professor of Hebrew Antiquites, Member of the Association of German Orientalists:

"It certainly was a most disagreeable business to have to do with a man who lacks manners and morals — but it had to be done. I once termed Rohling's writings bog weeds which bring shame on the German nation."

Mährisch-Ostrau. President of the Congregation, Berth. Schwarz:

"You have rendered Judaism a greater service than you would have done by a hundred sermons. You have rendered us a friendly service, greater than you or the people in the metropolis can imagine. Safe and secure in great palaces people do not hear the storm howling as we do out in the country, nor can they guess the dangers of being at the mercy of every gust of wind in a solitary house, alone, far away from any other. Your coming forward was a happy event. May the God of Israel reward you."

Eperies. Leo Hollander, President of the District:

"Threefold thanks for your brave and manly exploit. In the hour of need you have rendered us an inestimable service. You have warded off disgrace and saved our reputation. I tremble at the idea that such a glorious deed might be rewarded by vile ingratitude."

Frankfurt a. M. The director of the German Company for Trade and Traffic, Gustav Mayer:

"At last we meet with a man, straight and upright, combining historical knowledge with courage and energy, a man we are proud to look up to."

Hannover. Sanitatsrat Dr. Cohen:

"Sincere and hearty thanks for your excellent articles which are equally an honour to the author and Judaism, and which warm and gladden every Jewish heart."

Erlangen. Dr. Köhler, Professor of Theology and Hebrew Antiquities at the University of Erlangen, author of the celebrated Annals of the Association of German Orientalists, writes on the 28th of January 1883:

"I carefully studied your three pamphlets against Dr. Rohling from the first page to the last. I have followed your arguments with great attention an interest, my indignation against Rohling growing all the time. Will you kindly accept my best thanks. By your pamphlets and those of Dr. Delitzsch you have put Rohling in the worst light and it were best for him to hide his head. I hope he must at last repent of his fanaticism and dishonesty. It is positively horrible to think that this man even offered to take an oath on the ritual murder of Christians, a legend which has been refuted hundreds and hundreds of times. Scientific settlement with a man capable of such things is out of the question and I therefore fully approve of your breaking off all further controversy with him now. With greatest esteem yours sincerly

Prof. Dr. Kohler.

Antisemitism in its first flush in Austria worked the Talmud for what it was worth not only in order to inflame the instincts of the lower classes, but — which was much worse — to justify anti-Jewish sentiment to the more open minded men of the intelligent classes capable of an independent judgment.

All circles of society were greatly influenced by Rohling's newly fabricated quotations and the instigators of the people were encouraged to pursue their new course. No work of modern literature could boast of such popularity as had suddenly and unseasonably been acquired by the old Talmud. Since Rohling's appearance the Talmud had become the universal topic; in coffee houses, ale and public houses, in club-meetings and in popular assemblies, everywhere countless pamphlets and works for and against the Talmud flooded the booksellers' shops and were carried even to the miserable huts of labourers. The Talmud question claimed the interest of the Jewish circles in no small degree. The ever to be remembered

President Dr. Ignaz Kuranda suggested to an eminent member of the Vienna Jewish Congregation to order some Jewish scholar to collect and compile the literary material for a book "Christian Testimonials for the Talmud". The work came too late; when it was finished and presented to Dr. Kuranda it would have been an anachronism and so it was not published at all. In consequence of the rapid circulation of my article of defence published in the "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung" in the whole monarchy and even beyond the frontiers the situation had radically changed. The Talmud question which a few weeks before had excited public attention to a quite unusual degree had become a Rohling question.

The philological and antiquarian researches on the contents and the meaning of the various Talmud quotations had suddenly lost all interest. The antisemitic agitators hastened to follow the new line and began to propagate the racial theory.

This did not interfere with people taking a special interest in Dr. Rohling's fate. Would the Public Prosecutor accuse him or would the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction decree a disciplinary inquiry? Questions of this kind absorbed public attention. The Government did not interfere; the professor, however, undertook a good deal towards bringing these questions to an issue. The sworn declarations which he had either given or offered being in absolute contradiction to truth would surly come before a Court some day or other. The Viennese Rabbis who had found no way out of their difficult position now felt relieved. At least Dr. Adolf Jellinek at first had that feeling and told a gentleman who called upon him (First Cantor Josef Singer): "The Jews don't seem to know what an eminent service Dr. Bloch has rendered them", and in the Weekly "Neuzeit" Nr. 52, in 1882. he reports:

"Professor Franz Delitzsch, member of the Consistory, declared Dr. Bloch's reply to Rohling in the Vienna "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung" to be the best of what had hitherto been written against Rohling."

Unfortunately Jellinek's gratitude was soon supplanted

by other feelings. There were plenty of people to tell the two Rabbis how greatly indebted they were to their colleague of Floridsdorf. Among the men who maliciously repeated such speeches was also a member of the Jewish Congregational Board called Emanuel Baumgarten. Having been a student of theology in his youth he had acquired profound theological learning; besides he was generally educated; in the course of time he had become a merchant and was now an influential member of the Jewish community. He made himself useful and even indispensable by drawing up difficult reports for colleagues who were not able to devote so much of their time to the agenda of the community. He ruled absolutely in the charity-organisation of the community and thus had good connections with the bankers Rothschild, Springer, Tedesco, Königswarter, &c. and he was now and then able to let some poor Jewish scholar have a donation. Unfortunately he had never contrived to make a fortune worth mentioning and he envied the two Rabbis their large income and sharply critized their sermons being a regular attendant at the temple.

He was not parsimonious in compliments to the Rabbi of Floridsdorf who "awoke one morning to find himself famous." The two Rabbis of Vienna, as he repeatedly declared, had not stood the test at the critical moment.. They had entered into a dispute with Rohling by publishing their "declaration", "which at bottom came to "a declaration of war", and then to everybody's surprise they had withdrawn in silence abandoning the field of action to the enemy. They put up with the accusation of "arrant knavery" being unprepared for such a controversy; they had been utterly helpless and at a loss how to relieve the deep dejection of their parishioners. A Rabbi had had to come from Floridsdorf to clear the Rabbis of Vienna and the Viennese Jews of the insults and affronts heaped upon them.

However, this praise accorded me was of short duration; it ended abruptly, giving way to vehement animosity. According to my promise, I had written a preface to the separate edition of my article against Rohling with a warm appeal in favour of the "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung". This paper had,

however, been proscribed by all the adherents of the liberal constitutional party, therefore likewise by the Board of the Jewish community. The chief editor of the paper, Dr. Theodor Herfzka, a publicist of some renown, and a friend of Adolf Fischhof's, had taken part in the endeavour to found the "German Democratic Party". That was why Em. Baumgarten was so perplexed at my having praised this paper. My preface was as follows:

"While the Hydra of Antisemitism raises her shameless head everywhere, and most especially in the provinces of Austria more and more impudently, and while empoisoned arrows are being darted at our heads, we do nothing but trust to the Government. — — — But our adversaries know that even the most powerful Government must finally yield to a strong movement among the people.

The movement is drawing ever widening circles and is accompanied by the good wishes of persons who keep aloof from it and pretend to be neutral. At the time when Judaism was popular and in favour with the people there were plenty of men, orators and publicists, who spoke out loud and impressivly claiming justice for our good cause. Now-a-days, when the tide has turned in our disfavour encouraging our enemies, we vainly ask: Where are our friends? Why don't we hear their voices or catch sight of them? Where are our defenders and advocates, our speakers and intercessors, our journalists and authors?"

"Our clever politicians and able parliamentary men whose task it should have been to be the protagonists in the fight against the medieval ghosts and revenants of obscurantism, they who ought to have made fiery speeches with ardent words against savagery and ever spreading brutality, who ought to have unrolled the glorious flag of Jewish humanity in the public assemblies of the representatives of nations — they seem to have other business on their hands. Their eyes are blinded by the fatal national strife which makes them unfit to see or judge events correctly. They did not protect the cause of Judaism; on the

contrary, they perhaps made matters worse, they forgot that they were Jews and thought their enemies would not remember it either; instead of coming out to the front with their banners, they preferred to retire from the line of battle in affected superiority, leaving to others the hard and bitter day's work.

"The writers and professional journalists of our race and blood proved to be even worse. I do not speak of several who were dishonourable enough to stand in secret pay and employment of our adversaries, nor of those who openly have gone over to the enemy's camp — but even the distinguished and great daily papers belonging to Jews or under Jewish lead used to do nothing, or next to nothing, in perpetual fear of being labelled as "Jewish Papers".

"Only one important Vienna paper, the "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung", was conscious of its duties towards us as an organ and leader of public opinion. The paper appers three times a day, surpasses by the solidity and wealth of its clever leaders as well as its political and commercial reports all the other big Viennese papers, and has thus acquired a good readers among the educated classes. This paper has sent it ablest editors to fight antisemitism and had readily opened its columns to all enunciations directed against this pack of liars. We owe this paper great thanks and in praising it we simply give it its due."

The preface ends as follows:

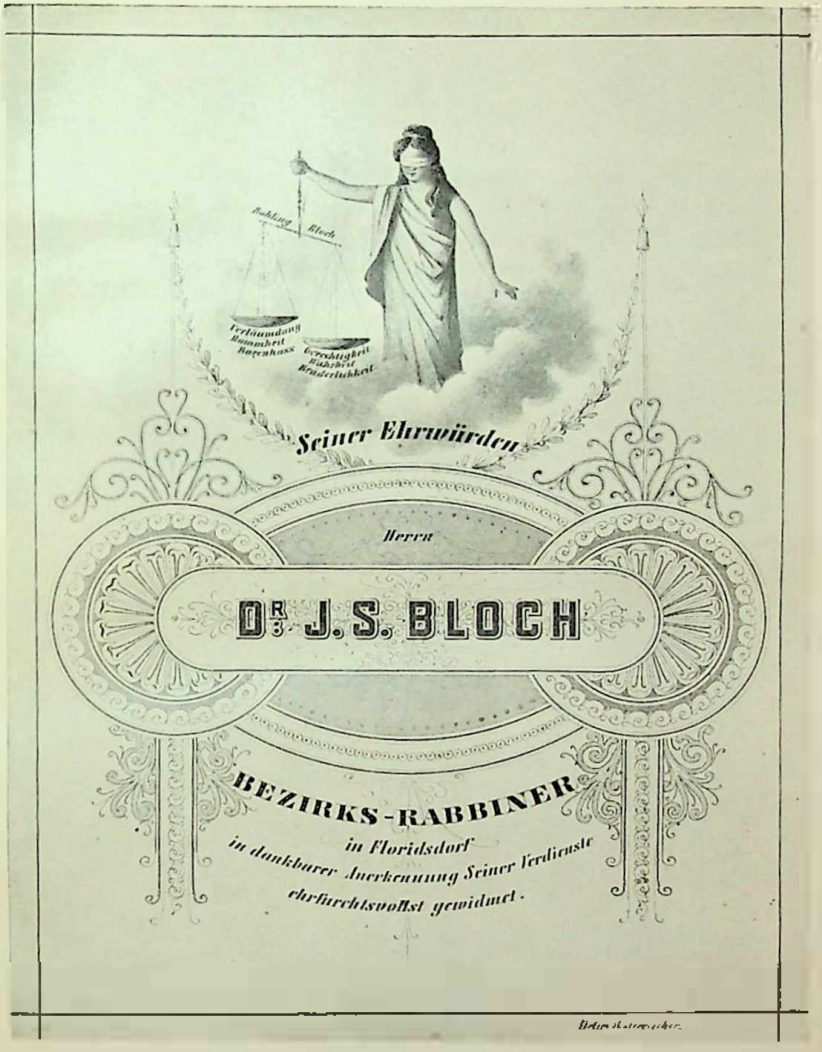
"If we wish to be publicly defended by a paper which knows very well how to put the right word in the right place and to emphasize what it has to say, it will be our duty to back this paper, to see to its being spread and, if nothing else, to give it the preference in cases where we can choose."

This appeal was signed with my full name; and having thus dared to criticize Jewish politicians and Vienna leading papers with so little respect, I had become totally disqualified in the eyes of the leading circles of the Viennese Jews.

In consequence of this appeal Em. Baumgarten, one of the members of the Congregational Board attacked me so brutally one day in the street that we nearly came to blows; from that hour he was my mortal enemy.

Josef Ritter von Wertheimer, the President of the Vienna Israelite Alliance, also reproached me for having published my "brilliant articles" against Rohling in the "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung". "If you had come to me," he said, "we should have published it simultaneously in all the leading papers." I replied: "In that case the article would first have been read and examined, you would have applied to some authority for advice, many a thing would have been altered and the essay would have been "made kosher", that is soaked in water and salted, it would have become bloodless — and I wished to preserve my work from that."

The Viennese dissensions did not prejudice in the provinces the popularity I had so suddenly and unexpectedly acquired, and it soon became evident that I was on the right track.



Address Sent By Distinguished Vienna Citizens.

Euer Hochwürden.

Geehrter Herr Doctor!

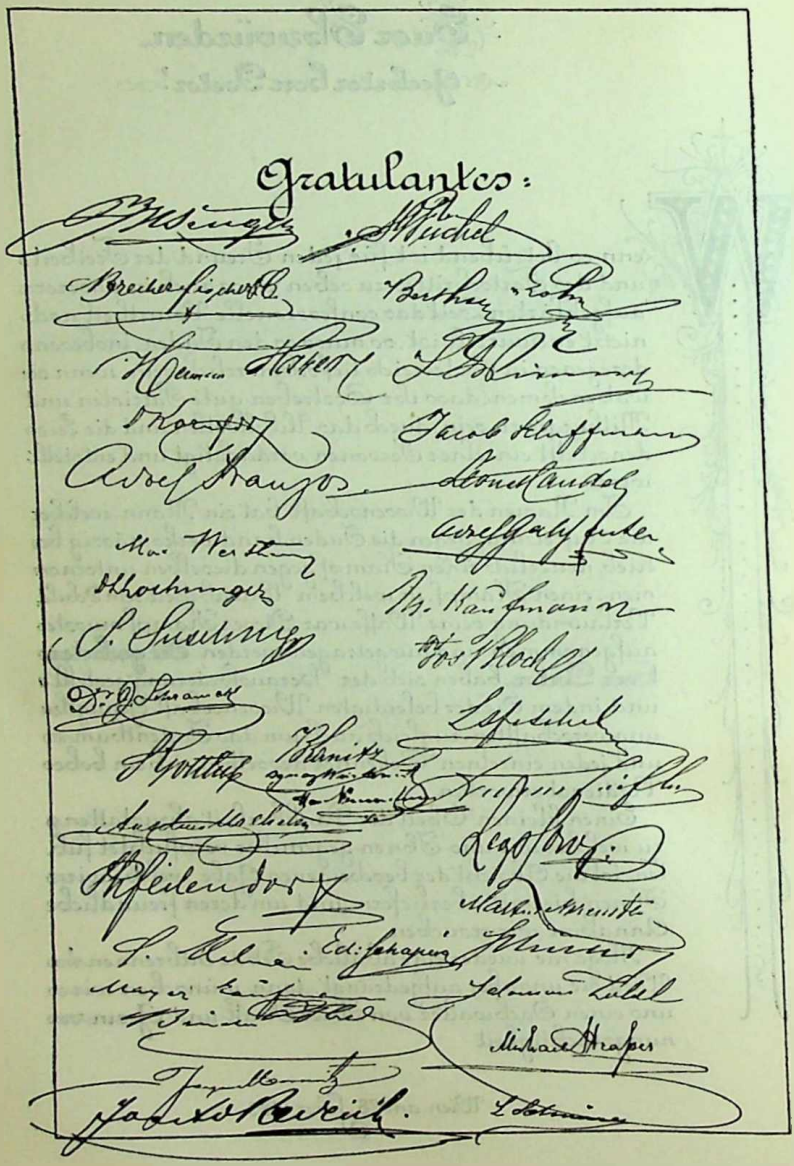
Wenn es betrübend ist für jeden Freund der Freiheit und des Fortschrittes, zu sehen, dass auch in unserer aufgeklärten Zeit das confessionelle Vorurtheil noch nicht entwurzelt ist, so muss es den Juden, insbesonders denjenigen in Oesterreich tiefschmerzlich sein, wenn sie wahrnehmen, dass ihr Bestreben gute Patrioten und Mitbürger zu sein, durch das Uibelwollen und die Leidenschaft einzelner Personen verdächtigt und entstellt wird.

Im Namen der Wissenschaft hat ein Mann, welcher die Aufreizung gegen die Juden handwerksmässig betrieb, neuerlich einen Kampf gegen dieselben unternommen, einen Kampf, in welchem Unwahrheit, Unbild, Verläumdung seine Waffe war. Dieser Kampf musste aufgenommen und ausgetragen werden. Sie geehrter Herr Doctor, haben sich der Herausforderung gestellt und indem Sie der beleidigten Wissenschaft Genugthuung verschafften, zugleich auch um das Judenthum und jeden einzelnen Bekenner desselben sich ein hohes Verdienst erworben.

Einen kleinen Theil der Dankbarkeit abzustatten, zu welcher wir uns Ihnen gegenüber verpflichtet fühlen, ist die Absicht der beigeschlossenen Zeilen, welche wir Ihnen hiermit überliefern, und um deren freundliche Annahme wir ersuchen.

Möge nie wieder eine ähnliche Fehde entbrennen, wird sie uns aber aufgedrangt, dann wünschen wir uns einen Sachwalter von Ihrer Kraft und Geistesungetrübtheit.

Wien am 28. Febr 1883.


Gratulantes:

Gratulantes

Lieben z Co
Ephrussi z Co
Heinrich Kauffler
Th. Kantor z Co
J. Bacher
Isid L Schorstein
Wilh Kaiser
Fischer z Brunn
G J Guttmann
M Estreicher z Co
Weiss z Co
Jagues Ehrenzweig
Max Neuman
Leop. Langer
M J Guth
Kohn z Alter
A Wilhelm
D Landau
Sig Gerinyer
F. Links
Feuerich L.

Col. Grünwald
Max. Naumann
M. Ehrenzweig
L. Knapp
Carl Reich
Josef Fröhlich
Stiechgold S.
Isid. Nirenstein
Dr. Satin
C Lemberger
Leid. Pollak
Grünwald J.
Bondi Fed.
Jacques Bardach
Flegmann S
Steinhibel S
Th. Gottlieb
H. Klessig
S. Kranitz
Pichler J.
J. Spitzer

J. Graf jr.
Anton Heller
M. Winterstein
Löwenstein C
Adolf Springer
Steingrab M.
Hutter A.
Heizl N.
Heschele H.
Brüd. Leitner
M. Reitzes
L. Ritter
J. M v. Pfeiffer
Poldl Löw
Heine. Nirenstein
S. Königg
J. S. Kahane
Jockl L.
Prager Leop.
B Landau
Glücklich A.



Address of The Jewish Congregation of Raudnitz.

wird durch Finsterlinge zu verdunkeln gesucht, welche die Herbeiführung mittelalterlicher Zustände, Glaubenshaß und Racenkampf auf ihre Fahne schreiben.

Gegen dieses wüthende Beginnen sind Ew. Ehrwürden als mannhafter Kämpe, gerüstet mit der Uebermacht Ihres Wissens, Ihrer Geistesschärfe, Ihrer überzeugenden Redegewandtheit, in die Schranken getreten und zur Ehre des Judenthums und zum Ruhme der Wissenschaft von Ihren Sie hochverehrenden Glaubensgenossen, von der gesammten gebildeten Welt als Sieger anerkannt worden.

Die Judenschaft nennt Ew. Ehrwürden mit Stolz ihren Vorkämpfer und Vertheidiger der Reinheit und Wahrheit unserer Religion gegenüber jenen von Bosheit und Ignoranz erhabenen Verdächtigungen und falschen Anklagen und zollt Ihnen ihre unbegrenzte Verehrung und tiefste Dankbarkeit, in welcher auch zeichnet

Die Repräsentanz der ist. Cultusgemeinde in Raudnitz

Der Cultusvorsteher:
Gottlieb Borde

Der Tempelvorsteher:
Gabriel Schiff

Der Cassier
Adolf Hofbauer

Die Repräsentanten:
Wenzel Ritt. v. Wolf Eitz
J. S. Lewi
N. Lobl
B. Bondy
Carl Popper
A. Weil
Moriz Pollak

My Election as a Member of Parliament.

On the 25th of March 1883 the Chief-Rabbi of Cracow, Simon Schreiber, died, having sat in the Austrian Parliament for the electoral districts of Kolomea, Buczacz and Sniatyn. By his decease this seat had become vacant.

In the three cities an elective committee was spontaneously constituted with the aim of electing me successor to the deceased Rabbi Schreiber.

In answer to an inquiry of the committee whether I were willing to stand, I answered without hesitating, "Yes", adding, "I should then have occasion to speak from the forum of the Austrian Parliament to the Christian peoples, and to explain the true meaning of Judaism which would be a good thing for the Jews in a double sense, for thus they might hear it too."

When the project was taking tangible shape the whole Polish press cried out at the attempted treachery against the Poles, and the three towns were threatened with national ostracism. The Poles considered every seat a present they could offer ad libitum in return for services rendered. The deceased Rabbi of Cracow had been president of the association Machzike Hadath and had together with the Rabbi of Belz rendered the Poles services of some importance during various elections through the influence of the association. As he had never partaken in a debate and had always faithfully voted with their Party they resigned the seat to the orthodox Jews. Rabbi Schreiber was always there for the voting; and once on a Friday evening they had even arranged a Minyan for him in the building of the House of Parliament, so that he should not have to leave before the votes could be

collected. He was unable to come forward as a speaker as he knew too little German, and the intelligent classes in the electoral cities now demanded a deputy capable of speaking up for the Jews. The fury of the Polish press increased daily, particulary after some ambitious Jews had taken it into their heads to get the vacant seat and had largely bribed the newspapers. Without paying any further attention or being particularly intimidated by these proceedings, the united committees of the three electoral towns inquired wether I would accept the mandate and in case of my being returned at the head of the poll join the Polish Club; they were obliged to make this stipulation as it was in the interest of the Jews that their deputies should act jointly with their Christian colleagues in all affairs concerning the country. I assented promising to accept the mandate in case of my election and to join the Polish Club. In case I should afterwards feel induced to retire from the Polish Club I would resign my seat. Elective speeches were not expected, and I had no money for a canvassing tour.

About a fortnight before the elections came off an assembly of so-called Jewish "Notables" met in Lemberg to protest solemnly against my candidature as it was supposed to be harmful to the Jews. They requested me to give up my project and to withdraw my candidature. Dr. Emil Byk, a childless wealthy lawyer, President of the Congregation and of the association "Shomer Israel", wishing to stand in my place, had engineered this assembly. Chief speaker was the preacher Löwenstein, the father of the present deputy Nathan von Löwenstein. The association "Shomer Israel" as well as Byk and the preacher Löwenstein had once in their unregenerate days gone in for anti-Polish, German-Centralist politics, together with the Ruthenians; they were now superpatriots and sang "Jescie Polska". In this famous "assembly of the notables" ardent Polish patriotism reigned, solemn speeches were made, and they felt it their duty to entrust seats only to "natives or inhabitants of the country" and that to elect "a man from Floridsdorf" could not but incite the Poles, and justly too, against the Jews. A few days later I received a

letter to that effect. I instantly replied that the "notables" had come to the wrong shop, that they were to direct their letter to the electoral committee of the three tows and to explain to the electors the danger that was menacing Judaism in case of my election. There the arguments might also be examined as to their validity. To my knowledge several Polish member were residing in Vienna without any harm having ever come to the Galicians in consequence of that. Besides, I had not undertaken anything to be offered the seat, nor had I ever been to those cities, although, in my youth, I had travelled about a good deal in Galicia. I offered to resign my candidature if the electoral committee were willing to release me from my promise. I sent Ad. Fischhof copies of both letters to Emmersdorf near Klagenfurt; he applied, by letter, to Franz Smolka, now President of the House of Commons, and in 1849 President of the Kremsier Reichstag, where Fischhof and he had become friends; he now begged him to use his great influence in favour of my election. Smolka wrote a letter to this effect to the Central Polish Electoral Committee, but the letter did not make the slightest impression on them. I was placed under the great national interdict, and the news of my solemn excommunication was given to the mayors of the three towns. After a fortnight the election came off and I was elected Member of Parliament with a two-third majority.

The upper circles of the Viennese Jewish society were highly indignant at my unhesitatingly putting myself at the disposal of Count Taaffe's Government, and I felt that I had forfeited their sympathies. Henceforth I was regarded with great animosity, as it was considered an axiom that every Jew had to stand up for the German Democratic Party. Whoever desired an understanding with the Tchecks or any Slav nation injured German hegemony and was therefore — a bad Jew. Consequently it was considered the business of a Jew to fight the regime Taaffe, and because I had supported his efforts in the spirit of Ad. Fischhof by parliamentary and publicistic means, because I considered it the salvation of Austria, I was persecuted with hate and attacked with honest, and still more with dishonest weapons.

Adolf Fischhof, certainly, was a man the Austrian Jews could be proud of. But being free from national intoxication and only wishing to preserve the principle of equality for all nations he was treated like a coin that was no longer current and was often abused by the "Neue Freie Presse". Professor Moritz Benedikt tells us in his book "Aus meinem Leben", Vienna 1906: "The Jewish physicians bore me a grudge too. These fools were fanatic German Nationalists till one day the faction turned them all out." In fact the West-Austrian Jews did much towards the spreading and intensifying of the German national sentiment and spirit, which in the end did them so much harm. It was only when German antisemitism had become pernicious — years have gone by since — that my political attitude was gradually understood and appreciated.

Rohling's New Blood Campaign.

I was of opinion that Rohling had been definitely disposed of. But Rohling went on as if nothing had happened. and he continued as before to go a-peddling with his official oaths from one Court of Justice to another.

On the 12th of May 1883 he addressed himself in the case of the lawsuit *Ritter* to the Supreme Court of Justice in Lemberg, *offering to take his oath.* However, the court remembering my publication left his letters unanswered. On May 19th, 1883, Professor *Rohling* wrote to the Court of Justice at *Nyiregyhaza* that he was ready to be heard against the accused in the lawsuit of *Tisza-Eszlar.*

Rohling's letter made the round of all Hungarian papers and did not fail to scare a population already strained to the highest pitch and embittered to the utmost by the proceedings of this lawsuit.

Commissioned by the "Syndic" of the municipality of Miskolcz. Joachim *Fischmann.* brother-in-law to the Chief-Rabbi of Prague, applied to me asking me to parry Rohling's influence at the Court of Justice in Nyiregyhaza. Complying with their request I published in the "Wiener Morgenpost" a series of articles in which I again challenged this gentleman. I quote the following passages from these articles, which were afterwards incriminated in the bill of indictment against me:

"This professor does not wait till he is called for, but positively runs after law-people with a "craving" to take an oath at anybody's disposal!" — — —

Against this perpetually threatening danger of perjury on demand we must try to shield ourselves." — — —

"I therefore again feel obliged by my conscience to once more accuse the above mentioned gentleman of having offered perjury on oath, and I am ready to maintain this heavy charge before any forum." — — —

"As he is unable to prove the truth of his enormous lies by anything but his much abused oaths, and as he even offers to testify and swear an oath to prove a clumsy invention — a mere compound of crass ignorance and spiteful malice (Delitzsch) — he must submit to being publicly accused of perjury." — — —

"Besides, this gentleman is ready to swear, if asked, that the Jews are ordered by their religion to be thieves, and not only that they are permitted, but that they are commanded to rob the Christians! If asked he will doubtlessly also swear that religion tells the Jews to cheat the Christians. If asked he will swear that perjury is no sin among the Jews and that false testimony against a Christian is a pious action according to the laws of their religion. This is neither irony nor exaggeration, nothing but the bare and awful truth; this gentleman has not only intended to take an oath on all these things, he has done so — upon demand." — — —

"He has repeatedly sworn to his false Talmudic quotations." — — —

"An Imperial University Professor who repeatedly swears false oaths is an abnormity even in the varied history of the Austrian universities which is so rich in vicissitudes." — — —

"I have just read that the Roman-Catholic Bishop of Leitmeritz in a letter to a professor of the Accademy of Commerce at Prague declares, that Dr. Rohling's offered testimonial oath was a base lie and an impertinent falsehood." — — —

"In his communication addressed to Verhovay (correctly Onody) Rohling demands to be legally examined as a witness under oath and he refers to an utterance which Sir Montefiore is supposed to have made, as reported in a work of 1969, to the effect that the blood of a Christian virgin is a most pious sacrifice. I do not hesitate to brand Rohling's communication as a lie." — — —

"The unparalleled cynicism displayed in accusing a man of Moses Montefiore's standing of glorifying the murder of Christians as an act of piety is characteristic of the whole nature of the worthy professor's knowledge and writings." — — —

"A Professor Rohling is at liberty to produce letters from Lyons manufactured in the capital of Bohemia, and to refer to a judicial verdict of the last century taken from the records of the Supreme Court of Berlin about the very existence of which nothing is known either to scholars or to the files of the Court." — — —

"At last the forum will have to be found where habitual falsehood *that has lost all conscience and shame* will be judged in accordance with law *and truth.*"

"If, meanwhile, naked Falsehood and brazen Deceit shamelessly prostitute themselves they must be called by their real names and recalled to decency and morals." — —

"This gentleman, however, is ever ready and greedy for oaths, particularly so, when he sets up assertions or lays down depositions which lack every shadow of truth and will surely be spurned by all experts." — — —

"The professor of Hebrew Antiquities in Prague deals in lying as in a trade." — — —

That told: the article appeared in the "Morgenpost", a government paper read in all official quarters.

No functionary of State could allow such clear and grave accusations to pass without going to law — that was the opinion in all official circles.

The professor of Prague now had only one way left — urged by public opinion he had to take it. He was prompted,

urged, nay forced into suing me for libel. From the very beginning the articles published in the "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung" had been deliberately framed so as to give the adversary an opportunity of appealing to the courts for a verdict.

This obvious challenge was by him time and again declined. Producing his false quotations and villanous misinterpretations in spite of all logic as "science", and throwing about stupid mock-scientific arguments he kept up a semblance of moral integrity so as to save himself all further steps. In order to thwart this unworthy manoeuvre all learned quotations to which Rohling used to cling by means of his controversial tricks were eliminated from the article in the "Morgenpost"; scholarly paraphernalia were avoided; every lophoole for the escape of the adversary had to be stopped.

So at last he brought an action against me through the antisemitic advocate Dr. Robert Pattai, on August 10th, 1883, as well as against the publisher and editor of the "Morgenpost", at the District Court in Vienna, demanding a preliminary examination.

As deputy of the electoral district of the towns of Buczacz, Kolomea and Sniatyn I had the benefit of "Privilege" which led to a delay of the examination. Immediately on the opening of the session the district court requested Parliament to permit the action against me to be started, including preliminary examination. The document was referred to the Committee of Privilege for deliberation. The assenting resolution of Parliament could not be passed before February 1884. In the meantime I collected various authoritative opinions for the lawsuit.

Already in the third pamphlet of January 24th 1883 I wrote a concluding chapter "Professor Rohling and the Association of German Orientalists". In this chapter I demonstrated that the lying professor of Prague had misused this learned society for his base purposes of agitation by perpetually appealing to its authority. He was continually asking for an opinion from the "Association of German Orientalists"

that his quotations were fabrications, lies or falsifications. I wrote literally:

"For many years he has been constantly naming the "Association of German Orientalists"; as often as he utters a fresh lie he does not forget to mention that it had never yet been condemned by the "Association of German Orientalists". Now we must manage somehow to put a definite end to this miserable swindle."

At the same time the learned corporation was to be put in mind of its being *morally bound* to interfere with the vile abuse Rohling was continually making of its name. On the 29th of September I applied to the President of the Association of German Orientalists as well as to several eminent savants requesting them to take action in the shape of a public enunciation against the "Liar of the University of Prague". In reply I received a significant letter from the Association of German Orientalists, then an Opinion from Professor Merx in Heidelberg, both of which are to be found in the first volume of "Documents and Opinions in the Case Rohling *versus* Bloch."

But as the resolution about the annulment of my privilege had been delayed for an unusually long time, I addressed the folowing appeal to the Chairman of the Privilege Committee of the Austrian Parliament on February 5th, 1884:

"I take the liberty of addressing an appeal to the Chairman of the Privilege Committee asking how long it will last till the affair of Professor Rohling of Prague in his suit of libel against me, which is at present in the agony of death of superannuation and in danger of exhaling its last breath of vitality under the careful hand of the reporter, will be put on the order of the day in Parliament? I urgently request the affair to be speedily settled."

On February 12th the "motion of the Privilege Committee to surrender the deputy Dr. Bloch for libel committed against

Professor Rohling of Prague" already was on the order of the day. The president proclaimed: "The deputy Dr. Bloch wishes to speak referring to the motion of the committee." From this speech I quote two sentences, pag. 11.466:

"In the final motion I fully agree with the reporter. Justice and equity demand that a public functionary, whose honour has been being publicly attacked, should be given full opportunity for satisfaction. No subject of the Austrian State can be expected to submit to so painful a situation as that of standing helpless and defenceless in sight of the public against accusations of forgery, calumny, false evidence or intended perjury. It had evidently been the tacit supposition of the legislator — the author of these privileges for the deputies — that in any case similar to the present, the obstacle of immunity should be removed on the plaintiff's demand . . . Indeed I were nothing but a calumniator, unworthy to speak to you here, should I wish to withdraw from my duty of answering any challenge my adversary might send me, or of maintaining before any forum he may choose, the accusations I have publicly raised. Well, Gentlemen, please comply with the wish of plaintiff and clear the way for the prosecution and you will save Austria from a deep and shameful disgrace!"

Three days after the resolution had been passed in parliament to clear the way for the action of libel the professor of Prague had brought in against me, I received a writ summoning me before the Criminal Court for an examination. Herr Sickinger had charge of the examination. I confessed to being the author of the incriminated articles, renounced my right to protest against the prosecution and only desired to be allowed to *prove the truth*. After the protocol had been closed the judge remarked that it would be difficult to legally prove the truth to the jury of all the grave accusations the articles of the "Morgenpost" had brought. Herr Sickinger was already well acquainted with the writings

of Rohling; in the course of the lawsuit, however, he had reasons enough to thoroughly modify his opinion of the professor, his character, erudition and the value of his confirmaction by oath. In juridical circles there was no lack of prejudice against the cause I defended; in the course of the lawsuit, however, a thorough change took place.

Dr. Robert Pattai, the best speaker and sharpest lawyer of the antisemitic faction, later President of the House of Commons, was counsel for plaintiff. My first and most important task was to find an able legal counsel, an advocate whom I could rely upon. Several young Jewish barristers had spontaneously offered to conduct the lawsuit without pay. Some friends advised me to choose Dr. Karl *Lueger* as my advocate against Dr. August Rohling. Herr Adolf *Lichtblau*, an *intimate and old political friend* of Dr. Karl Lueger's had brought me this proposal. Dr. Lueger, later Mayor of Vienna, and leader of the antisemites, was at that time, together with Ferdinand Kronawetter, the Town Councillor Kreuzig and the above mentioned Lichtblau, in the foremost ranks of the Vienna democrats. They had all sworn to the colours of their ever memorable high — minded leader Adolf Fischhof. The famous *Member of Parliament Dr. Ignaz Kuranda, at the time President of the Congregational Board*, was one of the leaders of the German-Liberals; he requested me to follow his advice in the matter of counsel, considering that the trial would come before the assizes and take place in Vienna. Wilhelm Ritter von Gutmann was endeavouring to win the leading liberal deputy Dr. Josef Kopp for my case; if he accepted I was to decide to have him.

Conscious of the great responsibility of a decision in this question I went to see old Dr. Adolf Fischhof at Emmersdorf, near Klagenfurt, to take his advice for the choice of an advocate among those who had been offered to me. Fischhof said: "I warn you, beware of Dr. Karl Lueger! he now goes with you, but I am not at all sure that he will not abandon you in the end, may be even put you in danger before the jury."

Thus Adolf Fischhof foresaw Lueger's later change of mind, character, and political demeanour.

I thus made up my mind to choose Dr. Kopp in case Wilhelm von Gutmann should succeed in deciding him to plead my cause. In the political circles of Dr. Kopp no Jewish cause was particularly popular. They avoided taking up any attitude towards the Jew-question. Dr. Kopp was Member of Parliament and Member of the Diet and had for many years also been Member of the Lower-Austrian Select Committee; he was more engaged in legislative work than in party politics. He enjoyed uncontested authority and never swerved a hair's breadth from his ideals.

Wilhelm von Gutmann, head of the firm of Gutmann Bros., was born in Leipnik, a small town in Moravia, and brought up to be a teacher of religion; he came to Vienna in poor circumstances; after a couple of decades he had grown to be one of the wealthiest and most influential proprietors of coal mines in Austria with a fortune of some hundred millions of florins; at that time he was also Member of the Diet for Lower Austria and a colleague and partyman of Dr. Josef Kopp's. The city of Vienna is indebted to him for the foundation of many charity institutions; he was a warm protector of the Jewish Theological Academy. To me, however, he was anything but a protector. He considered the political dogmas of the German-Liberal upper middle class holy and unassailable. He had read my lecture to the workmen with great displeasure; he feared it would rouse unreasonable desires. My political connection with the Galician and Slav deputies was a crime in his eyes. When he had requested Dr. Kopp to be my counsel in the lawsuit against Rohling he felt bound, in faith to his party, to declare that he was perfectly indifferent to my personal fate, but that unfortunately the interests of all the Jews were touched by this lawsuit and, therefore, he wished to entrust Dr. Kopp with the defence of these interests. He was willing to defray the expenses alone. Dr. Kopp put it to his colleagues in the club of the Constitutional Party, whether they approved of his pleading in my defence, as I was a member of the Polish

Club. The fact that it had been the head of the firm of Gutmann wo had made this request favourably influenced the decision. In the course of further discussions Dr. Kopp demonstrated the difficulty of such lawsuits and referred to the immense work of going through the literature relative to the subject he was totally unacquainted with; thus the fee he would have to claim might appear too high. Wilhelm von Gutmann, however, replied: "Money is of no account." Accordingly a few weeks later Dr. Kopp demanded and received from Mssrs. W. & D. Gutmann a written confirmation to this effect.

The end will prove that this precaution and anxiety which one might feel inclined to disapprove of was not misplaced.

Dr. Josef Kopp.

The lawyer Dr. Josef Kopp who had now become my advocate was a prominent personality, a noble-minded refined man, loved and revered by his friends, respected by his political adversaries. He was of less than medium height, thick-set, broad-chested, with somewhat rounded shoulders, his large head stooping a little, and turned towards his left shoulder, with the carriage of a diligent student; he was an extremely characteristic figure on the platform as well as in court. He would rise deliberately, begin to speak slowly, often slipping into the Viennese dialect, dryly, to the point, and then come down with his most powerful blows in places where the audience least expected them. However, it was not his anger that was most dreaded by his opponents although the whole gamut of passion and indignation and the force of argument were at his disposal — it was his irony and his caustic humour that were most feared. When he had made a hit with this fine blade that had been a home-thrust, as could be seen by the movement among the audience, Dr. Kopp would make a pause, pull out his pocket handkerchief, a big red or blue bandanna — for he took snuff — and would handle it fussily.

As a Town Councillor, as a Member of the Diet and of Parliament he was always a champion of free thought in Austria; his uncommon store of knowledge, his great gifts, and his loyalty to principles stood him in good stead. Dr. Kopp's voice was heard as often as some great question of right, culture or progress was being debated in Parliament. He represented the sixth communal district of Vienna in Parliament, but resigned his seat in 1883 because he would

not accept instructions from his electors, whereupon the electors of the City District offered him their mandate.

He was the leader of the "Progressive Party" and one of the founders of the "Progressive Club" in Parliament, designated by the Constitutional Party and its members as the "Young Party". When in 1890 the Club of the Left was constituted in the Lower-Austrian Diet he was elected Chairman. He was a man of the people of the superior order, absolutely German in his feelings; later on he suffered a good deal by the ill-will of the new "patented Germans" who never could forgive him his having taken a brief in a "Jew's trial" and the publication of the sensational book "On the Jewish Question" based on the documents of the Rohling-Bloch case.

It was now my task to make Dr. Kopp acquainted with the materials of the case and to open up to him the wide range of Talmudic, Rabbinic, and Kabbalistic literature to which the individual parts of the case referred. With regard to the Christian Jurymen he, as a Christian, had to do most of the work; not mine, the Jew's speeches, but his, the Christian's, were to make an impression, carry conviction, and give clear insight. I had got a pupil of the highest intelligence, of greatest eagerness to learn, but he was full of distrust. He had no idea of the compass and importance of Jewish literature; he believed of the Talmud — he had read the word often enough — that it contained beside all kind of superstitions controversial matter against Christianity. He looked at me sceptically after a conference of about an hour and a half in which I had given him a sketch of the Talmud and had quoted some passages (of course in the German translation). He believed that the Talmud must contain such references as he anticipated because of the time of its origin. I, therefore, had at first to produce evidence for the correctness of my translations. But it was also necessary to teach him the extent of Rabbinic literature, the character and time of origin of each individual work, its matter and meaning; I lectured to him for hours, wrote special monographies for him about each separate subject;

these gradually spread over the entire range of the Talmudic Law in its various stages of development, and these monographies then formed the basis for our discussions and comments.

I only succeeded in winning his confidence slowly and in a roundabout way; I deemed it necessary to give Dr. Kopp a picture of Jewish literature — the dark parts of which, from the times of distress, were the subject of our daily discussions — to give him a picture also of those brighter chapters, which were spared calumniations and, therefore, of no direct import for the case, but which formed the most brilliant part of Jewish mental endeavours.

Chance came to my aid in strengthening Dr. Kopp's confidence in my communications.

One of the chief trumpcards played by Rohling in "My Answers to the Rabbis" was on pages 18 and 19.

A word often occurring in Jewish writings is "Akum", which means "idolaters". Jewish authors of former times liked to form words by putting together the initials of several words. Thus idolaters were called: abodath kochabim u-mazzaloth, i. e. worshippers of the stars and signs of the Zodiak; out of these initials they then formed the word "Akum". Now Rohling declared quite confidently: "In the Shulchan Aruch the usual word for Christians is Akum." In support of this assertion he alleged,

1. "That Akum was a secret designation of Christians, meaning abodath Christus u Miriam, i. e. worshippers of Christ and Mary."

2. "In the Shulchan Aruch Orach Chayim, § 114, 8 (correctly 113, 8) it says, that a Jew should not bow if an Akum passes with a cross; now, as the cross is a Christian symbol Akum must necessarily mean a Christian."

I answered immediately in the article which appeared in the "Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung". "The explanation Abodath Christus u Miriam is nonsensical, because the Greek word "Christus" is not to be found in any Hebrew work (this was afterwards corroborated by the experts) and this precluded its employment in the formation of an Hebrew

word. Again. Akum with the cross is a Bowdlerization by the *papal censorship;* the censor had crossed out the word Goy and put Akum in its stead. because this certainly does not mean a Christian; whereas he left the cross. Rohling was to discuss this with the censor." Now Dr. Kopp said to me that I must prove such an answer. I showed him in a special monography in which way, sometimes most ridiculously, church censorship had bowdlerized Hebrew writings. Every mention of Rome and the Romans was crossed out because one could possibly suppose it to mean the Pope and the Christians; one substituted namens that led to absurdities. However. Dr. Kopp was not yet satisfied. At last we managed. with the help of an advertisement. to get hold of a Shulchan-Aruch of Venice 1576 and one of Cracow 1594; in both of them there is not the word Akum but Goy in the said passage. This fact. he told me. showed him that he might trust my logical arguments.

In order to be absolutely safe he went to German universities. made inquiries of Aryan experts whether various monographies and the quotations I had compiled in them, the renderings I had given and the conclusions I had drawn, would stand proof. And only then he felt on safe ground and became absolutely sure of the reliability of my statements. We worked for about two years together, every day from four to five hours.

We began by officially requisitioning the various depositions plaintiff had made by oath and partly offered to swear to at the various courts of justice at Dresden. Prague, Cracow, &c; then we started to prove the truth of those points of the plaint that did not refer to Hebrew texts and to the explanation of which experts in the science of the Hebrew language were not needed.

The material for the defence of justification thus fell into two groups, one to the judgment of which the knowledge of the Hebrew language, Talmudic, and Rabbinic literature and Jewish history were essential, and the other which did not require these qualifications. The assertions of the second kind were of particular value for the trial because every educated

man could form his own judgment and Rohling could be put to the dilemma of having to confess either to the lie or to avow the wicked frivolity of having founded awful accusations on books which he could not possibly have read. For these the preparations were much simpler. However, for the first and principal group it was necessary to procure experts whose authority and impartiality could not be seriously impugned by any unprejudiced person so that an absolutely conclusive and satisfactory verdict either for plaintiff or defendant might be arrived at.

The situation obliged me, if I was to find belief among the Jury and the public, to employ exclusively Christian experts. I had to bar Jews absolutely as public opinion would never respect the verdict of Jewish scholars in this dispute. But baptized Jews could not be chosen either, as converts always think they are obliged to prove the sincerity of their new conviction by too great a zeal, and if one of them gives Truth her due the mob no longer sees in him the convert but the Jew.

I strongly objected to the proposition that each of the disputing parties were to have an expert as was done in similar cases in Germany. In this manner nothing could have come of it but a weakened copy of the notorious disputations beween Jews and Christians in Spain, or between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Germany which reminds one of the end of a well known poem by Heine. — Twice in such cases Rohling had been called in aid as the learned Paladin of the antisemites, once by a court of justice at Dresden, and another time by a court at Habelschwert in Prussian Silesia. In both cases Rohling gave his written opinion on an official oath, an action I had repeatedly denounced as being a wicked misuse of the oath.

I insisted that the court itself was to elect and appoint the experts because only in this way experts could be found who could be considered impartial scholars inside and outside the court of justice. But how was the court to know who was a real and generally acknowledged specialist also among his colleagues in Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature? To

whom was the court to apply for information? To get over these difficulties I suggested to my advocate to ask the Law Court to apply to the Association of German Orientalists for nominating suitable experts of Talmudic and Rabbinic literature.

The competence of this society to decide questions regarding Talmudic and Rabbinic literature generally and especially to judge the quotations produced by Dr. Rohling which formed the subject of the trial — this competence had been repeatedly and solemnly acknowledged by the plaintiff. In the sixth edition of his book "The Talmudic Jew" which appeared in 1878 in plaintiff says in the preface, page 26, literally as follows:

"But that the Rabbis should not lose their chance of doing a bit of business in this affair, I willingly again bind myself in this sixth edition to the payment of a thousand bright dollars, if Juda can get a verdict from the Association of German Orientalists that my quotations are invented, untrue, or forged."

In his book "My Answers to the Rabbis" plaintiff says on page 21:

"In order to settle all special guiles once for all here I remark that all authors who write against me assert to be the victors and to have won the prize of honour of one thousand dollars. But the gentlemen have neglected to produce the *judgment* of the Association of the German Orientalists which had been the condition of my paymet."

And on the same page further down he says:

"The competent jury I had named has never condemned me."

Then on page 37:

"It is, therefore, as I said, and let Bloch produce the judgment of our well known jury that my passages are false, invented, forged."

Finally, on page 51, last line but one from below and on page 52:

"As to me, I will proceed more fairly and, therefore, direct a most respectful but urgent appeal — being conscious of the truth and the importance of the affair — to the government of *all Europe* to bring this subject which has now become public enough before the forum of all sworn orientalists who are united in the Association of Orientalists so that they may utter their opinions on their oaths about the Talmudic and Rabbinic religion."

Again and again he returns to this idea and prides himself on the fact that this Society had said nothing against him. But this was natural, for the Society is not a Hebrew but an *Oriental* society and, therefore, embraces Sanscrit savants, Egyptiologists, Sinologists, Semitologists, &c., but certainly a small circle of Talmud specialists. The grandiloquent reference to the Association of German Orientalists as a jury which was to pronounce judgment in the dispute beween Rohling and myself could, therefore, be of no other purpose than to impose upon a public unacquainted with the circumstances. Nevertheless I was able to join on to that dictum of Mr. Rohling's: If the Society as a body could not express itself, its Board could, and if that could not give an opinion either (although its members represent various disciplines) it could at least serve the Court of Justice as a *source of information*. It must be taken for granted that this Society which does not consist of amateurs but of specialists elects eminent members only for its Board and that these men know exactly who are the scholars that can be considered absolute authorities in regard to one or the other branch of philology. That was the reason why I had asked the Court of Justice to address themselves to the Board of the Association of German Orientalists that they should name scholars who could be appointed as experts in the trial, because the most honoured heads of *German* science which knows no political boundary lines could not in a scientific respect be considered as foreigners by an Austrian Court of Justice.

Rohling protested against this proceeding, but as he could propose no better and his objection, that he only conceded the authority mentioned in his writings to the Association and not to its Board, could not be taken seriously, the Court complied with my request.

The Board of the Association of German Orientalists then recommended the following professors: Bickell in Innsbruck, Franz Delitzsch in Leipzig, Dillmann in Berlin, Joh. Gildemeister in Bonn, de Lagarde in Gottingen, and Noldecke in Strassburg.

The Court asked both parties for their opinions as to these proposals, but took no notice whatever of any wishes expressed to take one or the other of the gentlemen suggested into consideration first.

The resolution of the Court was passed that *all* above named professors were to be asked if they were disposed to give their verdicts in this case, all, with the exception of Franz Delitzsch in Leipzig, who for years had publicly protested strenuously against Rohling's literature of persecution in the names of Christianity and of Science and had condemned them as products of falshood, ignorance, and fanatical presumption.

Of these five gentlemen Gildemeister and Dillmann refused straightaway. Lagarde declared that he would be ready to do it if the questions were sent to him soon, as he was just preparing to leave for a time of study in Rome. The questions being by no means ready and Professor Lagarde being evidently only prepared for a very limited task, which could be solved just before a journey, kind of between a hop and a skip — and the work being very comprehensive the Court had to give up the idea of asking Professor Lagarde. Bickell begged to be spared this task; his letter to the President of the Court of Justice became famous afterwards, and formed a very important document. He wrote:

Dear Sir,

I take the liberty of answering your question whether I am ready to give my opinion in a Talmudic and Rabbinic

affair of penal justice (probably the plaint of Professor Rohling versus Dr. Bloch) as follows:

I should be very much obliged to you, Sir, if you would kindly exempt me from this task and I will give you my reasons:

(1) I have been on friendly terms with Professor Rohling for more than twenty years and should probably have to speak against him most decidedly in this affair Bloch; this would be extremly unpleassant to me, though from the beginnig I have not hidden from him that I entirely disagree with his antisemitic agitation.

(2) As to the chief question in the case, the pretended use of the blood of Christians by Jews, I have already publicly said, in a letter provoked and published by Professor Delitzsch, that all passages supposed to prove this are mere swindle based on gross ignorance, as quite different things are treated in the passages referred to.

(3) I should wish to put special stress on the fact that though I have occupied myself more with Talmudic and Rabbinic writings than Christian Orientalists generally do, I by no means should venture to call myself an authority in these matters and consider myself to be only a pupil and beginner herein. It is true that on these subjects, more than on any other, the fraud of learned chevaliers d'industrie struts about, giving itself airs because of the difficulty of control. Thus a short time ago an ambitious "private lecturer" in Münster, unfortunately a priest, who knows nothing about the Talmud, has obtruded himself as an expert in a similar case, and has then ordered a book, written by a converted Jew, over-flowing with Talmundic and Rabbinic erudition as a confirmation of his expert's opinion which he has then published as his own work so as to be awarded the title of professor. But I am so old fashioned in these things as to pass myself off as an authority only where I am perfectly at home.

However, I will take the liberty of suggesting a real authority as an expert. I mean Dr. August Brimanus, formerly Rabbi, now a Christian. I have convinced myself that he knows the Talmud and the Shulchan Aruch completely by heart and

also parts of the remaining literature in question. At present he is editing the first translation of the Talmud supported by the Austrian Government.

In my opinion he is at present the best specialist among Christians and Jews. I can warrant for his utter impartiality when giving his opinion. He is now staying in Vienna; his address can be found by inquiring at the Right Reverend Professor Dr. Zscholcke's, the Rector of the University.

I beg the Court to ask the opinion of this gentleman and to leave me out of the question if possible.

In highest steem and most respectfully I remain, dear Sir, your most dutiful servant

Prof. Dr. G. Bickell m. p.

The "ambitious private lecturer, unfortunately a priest" in Münster was *Dr. Ecker* who had become "known" by this swindle, who himself knows nothing of the Talmud and yet obtruded himself upon the court as ready to write the expert opinion on the book "Mirror for Jews" by Briman-Justus. This opinion he ordered the author of the incriminated book to write and then he swore an oath on it in court and after that he went and published it as his own work so as to get the title of professor.

We, therefore, had a single expert, Professor Th. Nöldecke in Strassburg — a famous scholar, it is true, and incontestibly an authority, who succinctly declared that he would undertake the task. But the order of legal proceedings required the appointment of two experts.

In the meantime Professor Robling had taken steps to get his chosen people, his "king's witnesses", if I may say so, nominated as experts — people whom he had chosen from the beginning as the "fittest".

The plan was cleverly devised. After all the *famous* orientalists, also those mentioned by the Association of German Orientalists, had already repeatedly and partly in very severe words given condemning judgments against his Jew-baiting erudition, these professors were, he argued, no longer fit to be impartial experts, and there were only left over as soi-

disant impartial and unprejudiced: — *Dr. Ecker* and Aron Briman! In a Petition of November 11th, 1884, Number 42. 349 the counsel for plaintiff expressed himself as to the experts recommended by the Association of German Orientalists in the above sense and his proposals as to the choice of experts centered in the final sentences:

I much rather propose for this case:

(1)Dr. August Briman, formerly Head-Rabbi at the Hague (?!), now at Paderborn,

(2) Dr. Jakob Ecker, teacher of Hebrew Antiquities at the Royal Prussian Academy in Münster,

as being acknowledged authorities in Hebrew, the authority of the former being particularly conspicuous by his former eminent clerical position among the Jews, for which proofs can be adduced.

I reserve to myself the right of suggesting other famous foreign scholars.

I herefore beg

The High Court of Justice may proceed to nominate the experts.

Dr. Robert Pattai m. p.

My counsel Dr. Kopp sent in a Petition to the Vienna Court of Justice against this suggestion to this effect:

I am opinion that in a matter of such delicacy the parties ought to have nothing whatever to do with the nomination of experts.

Everything must be avoided that would label the quorum of experts as a jury in which each party would be presented, for the experts are not to take sides; in their selection everything must be avoided that might impugn their impartiality. The selection is exclusively the business of the unbiassed Court which cannot have suggestions made to it by the parties but by such bodies or persons who are warranted to have the proper knowledge and impartiality. Such a body is the Association of the German Orientalists.

If, as matters stand, there should result a necessity to ask somebody else, it must again be an absolutely unimpeachable person.

Besides, Briman is a baptized Jew, and as such to be excluded from being appointed an expert. And then he is supposed to be identical with the pseudonym Justus who wrote one of the most venomous libels against the Jews, quoting that passage about the blood which Rohling refers to. The plaintiff himself declares "Dr. Justus' case to be his own" and my client has called Dr. Justus' book — in the fourth incrimi nated article — "a knavery unprecedented in all literature, a work of malice and villany". Now, though the identity of Briman and Justus has not yet been proved, the mere supposition should suffice to bar this enigmatical baptized Jew. The second man, named Dr. Ecker, has published a book in support of Dr. Justus and cannot lay any claim to scientific reputation."

And further the Petition proposed that an inquiry as to the appointment of a second expert should be made of the present Rector of the Vienna University Hofrat Dr. Zschokke, who is a priest, Professor of the Study of the Bible and besides a man of eminent learning.

The Court made its decision in this sense and addressed itself to the Rector of the Vienna University. Hofrat Dr. Zschokke answered in the following terms:

To the High Criminal Court.

In answer to your letter of the 5th of January of this year (Nr. 46.267) I have the honour to answer that, as Professor of the Study of the Old Testament at the Theological Faculty of the University I only casually deal with the difficult Talmudic and Rabbinic literature and therefore am not able to give an expert opinion myself. And even if I were capable of this I should not be able to undertake such a work as the business of the Rectorate at the University takes all my free time.

I know of no scholar in Austria who has made a name for himself by any considerable contribution to the knowledge

of Talmudic and Rabbinic literature with the exception of the aforenamed Dr. Augustus Briman, who is at present living at the Wieden, 4 Frankenberggasse.

Vienna, January 10 th, 1885.

Dr. H. Zschokke m. p.
at present Rector of the Vienna University.

After writing this I beg to recommend Dr. August Wünsche in Dresden who has made a name for himself by his edition of the Bibliotheca Rabbinica.

Vienna. January 10th, 1885.

Dr. H. Zschokke m. p.

Aron Briman and Dr. Ecker.

Whereas Dr. Ecker of Münster had only been suggested by the counsel of the plaintiff as an expert to the Court, the endeavour to push in Aron Briman found unexpected assistance by the recommendation of the Reverend Dr. Zschokke and of Professor Bickell of Innsbruck.

I was open to the temptation to make the Court acquainted with the antecedents of this man, because the Rector Zschokke and Professor Bickell were doubtlessly less familiar with them than I or the Professor of Prague. But Dr. Kopp wished to avoid such means which — though being strictly fair — would imply some moral damage to persons not concerned in the matter. Aron Briman — who on another occasion was asked by a Judge of Vienna what religion he "at present" professed — was one of those individuals who make a trade of their religious persuasion and actually live by it: they make a living out of calumniating that very religion the most rigorous and zealous worshippers of which they had formerly purported to be. He had never been a Rabbi, much less a "Chief Rabbi" either in the Hague or anywhere else, as the counsel for plaintiff had falsely announced to the Court. He was born in Continesti in Roumania, lived, till he was twenty, under his real Jewish name Aron Israel Briman, as a man of no profession in a village near Buczacz in Eastern Galicia. One fine day he gave his wife and children the slip and vanished without saying good-bye to his people. He appeared in Cracow as a man of extremely rigorous piety and made the acquaintance there of the Jewish citizens of Cracow D. Mandelbaum and the innkeeper Schenkein, with whom he still remained in

correspondence for some time after he had left. From there he went to Berlin. In spite of feigned piety he did not manage to get on there, so he went to Holland where he actually gained admission to the best families of the Hague because of his great piety. He was much admired for his knowledge of the Talmud and could easily have succeeded in marrying the wealthy daughter of a patrician family — if he had not been already married. He, therefore, tried a rather clever fraud. One day he wrote to the innkeeper Schenkein in Cracow that he was to mail the enclosed letter with a closed envelope to the address of the Rabbi in the Hague. At the same time he offered him the possibility of a marriage with a rich banker from Hamburg for his daughter with the assurance that he would manage the affair, if Schenkein would guard his interests by sending the letter to its address. He himself, he said, was to marry a distinguished lady of the Hague and for that purpose he needed that letter. Herr Schenkein, who distrusted him greatly in consequence of former letters, and was tortured by curiosity, opened the envelope. There was a Hebrew writing inside, a pretended communication from the Rabbinate of Cracow to that of the Hague to the effect "that the famous Gaon Reb Aron Israel Briman of Cracow had there divorced his wife, who had been unfaithful to him, and that he, therefore, could marry a second time." Naturally the letter was never mailed.

A literary bit of villany proved more fatal to him. He had a Hebrew work printed, Kontros Marecheth Hashulchan by Aron Israel Briman. Amsterdam 5640 (1880), which showed rare knowledge of the Talmudic codices and was, therefore, approved of by the Rabbis in Acquien and the Hague, who were full of praise for the author Briman and gave him the title of Gaon. Soon after a small work entitled "Shar Zion" and "Kontros Machze Abraham" was discovered which had been published in 1877 at Wilna by Katzenellenbogen; it was mentioned that the latter work had already appeared in 5517, had been written by R. Abraham Wallerstein and printed in Fürth. Even on a cursory comparison of Briman's

work with the "Machze Abraham" it was plain that the former was a literal copy of the latter.

The discovery of this fraud destroyed his last hopes, and there was no longer any reason for his strict orthodoxy. He left Holland and returned to Germany where he picked up an acquaintance with the protestant missionary Th. de le Roi.

One day a distinguished member of the Jewish community in the Hague, Mr. van Geldern, received the following letter:

Berlin, September 8th, 1881.
ביה

Most honoured Sir,

Having had the honour of making the acquaintance of the Rabbi A. J. Briemann and the same telling us that he was for about two years Rabbi or preacher (דרשן) *and we heard also that he is supposed to be the greatest Talmudist* בעל גמרא *living these days in Germany, Holland, &c. But as we desire to have particulars whether he really has been for two years in the Hague as Rabbi* דרשן *and if he actually is such an eminent Talmudist, I take the liberty of asking you, as the Rabbi says you were his good friend in the Hague, and we ask you for an answer by return of post, as other Rabbis also have sent in their applications and we wish to come to a dicision.*

In the hopes of a quick answer I close with the wish of בתיבה וחתימה טובה בכלל כל ישראל

Respectfully Th. de de Roi

נבאי בתברת שים פה ברלין.

My address: Th. de le Roi, Berlin W., Lutzowstrasse 113.

Mr. van Geldern answered to the address of de le Roi that Briman had deceived and defrauded many members of the Jewish community there, and that he had abandoned his wife and children in bad circumstances in his native country. Afterwards another missionary, a certain Esser, also made inquiries with Mr. van Geldern and he received the same information.

The above writing composed in illiterate style by the missionary who makes himself out a president of the Talmud-society באי בחברת שים: so as to get information about one who is to be christened — this writing was published in the Berlin "Jüdische Presse" in the number of October 5th, 1883, and caused no little excitement in all circles. It was only after a year when Briman-Justus was safe behind lock and key that the missionary le Roi published an explanation in the "Jüdische Presse" in which he said this:

"When I was instructing Mr. Briman in our faith I wrote twice to the Hague for information about him, but could not get any. This made me suspicious. Herr Briman then wrote, without my knowledge to a Rabbi, falsely under my name, begging him for an opinion of him by making the Rabbi believe that I was a Jewish clergyman. The gentleman answered harmlessly enough — but I was so cross about it that I doubted the possibility of receiving Briman into our church. However, after my arduous endeavours to reform him, he saw the error of his ways and gave us altogether real proofs that he desired above all to become the property of our Redeemer and that he reckoned earthly honour and money as nothing compared to that!"

But Briman had scarcely prompted such inquiries at Amsterdam; he had much more cause to try and prevent inquiries about his person being made. Protestantism not bearing any fruit either, Aron Briman went from Berlin to Paderborn to correct his misfortunes and there he became a Roman Catholic.

Here at last he found the favourable soil for developing his brilliant gifts. He had succeeded in picking up relations with the most important leaders of the antisemitic propaganda who soon recognized his usefulness and furthered and assisted him to the best of their ability but utilized him still more for their own ends.

Under the pseudonym of "Dr. Justus" he wrote in 1883 the notorious "Jewish Mirror" a tendentious book which had been mentioned in the incriminated article in the "Mor-

genpost". This book led to an interesting lawsuit. The Royal Prussian Public Prosecutor indicted a local paper which had published an abridgment of the "Jewish Mirror" — for insulting a religious society recognized by the State. At the trial Dr. Ecker, "Privatdocent" of the Catholic Faculty at Münster, was appointed expert and asked Briman to help him with an "impartial examination of the *Jewish Mirror* by Justus". Briman thus wrote an opinion about his own book and Dr. Ecker swore to it at court.

Ecker's knowledge in the sphere of the Hebrew language being thus proved by the help of Briman, he was nominated professor, a fact Professor Bickell communicated to the Vienna Court of Justice.

But Dr. Ecker did not content himself with these "scientific" performances but published an article, edited by the "Reform Society" at Steele called "The Hundred Laws of the Jewish Catechism by Dr. Jakob Ecker". These "Hundred Laws of the Jewish Catechism" were nothing but a literal reprint of the "Jewish Mirror" by Dr. Justus line by line, word for word, exactly the same! Dr. Jakob Ecker, therefore, published under his name the book written by another!

The back of the title page of the "Hundred Laws of the Jewish Catechism" contained the following proclamation:

> "Christian Housewife! We here put into your hands a small book containing the religious laws of those from whom you buy. We give it to you, so that you may learn that the Jews consider you to be an "animal" from whom they are bound by their religion to take what is its best part, namely the wool. We not only give it to the Christian *housewife*, we also give it to the Christian father of the family so that he should learn that the Jews must cheat him by interest and usury as long as the laws of the State do not catch him. Lastly, we also give this book to the so-called Notables and other protectors of Jews that they should see that such a people is not a German people but an insect devouring the marrow of Christian states. If this book is to convince one or the other that he cannot associate with

human beings following such laws, neither socially nor in business — this book will have achieved a great deal. We recommend to all that they should get this book to be read by as many people as possible — it will certainly incite the reader to think."

Well, and this was the Dr. Ecker who had been proposed to the Court of Justice as an impartial expert, "as a recognized authority in Hebraicis" by the counsel of the plaintiff.

But Herr Rohling was not unacquainted with the relation between Briman and Ecker, as may be ascertained from the letter he wrote to Briman, the original of which got into the possession of Dr. Elbogen, a Viennese lawyer, and which he published in the Vienna daily papers:

Postcard
Postmark Prague March 11th, 1884.

Dr. August Briman, Kreuzgasse 4
in Münster, Westphalia.

Carissime! I have received your two last letters but I have lately been ailing and, therefore, could not write. As you are already going to D. on the 15th — and this is very good — I will write there fully as soon as you have arrived and will have let me know your address. Does Dr. E's Examination of the Speculum" contain the passage from halqutim? Of course if he speaks in sensu nostro (but I suppose that will be the case) that would be very good. You have probably helped in this "examination"! Good, very good. Details later. I am still daily expecting the news from R! I believe it will turn out in my sense. Kindest regards.

A. Rg.

Prague, March 12th.

They were already at that time conferring about the employment of Briman at the Vienna trial; this can be seen from another authograph letter of Rohling's which has been published:

My dear friend,

Thanks very much for your two kind letters. The first for Pattai is quite useful but will only be employed in

case of need. The second also pleases me greatly because I think that we shall have the definite decision according to our wishes in about ten days.

The letter ends thus:

With kindest greetings in a hurry your devoted friend

A. Rg.

Prague, February 20th, 1884.

The relations between Rohling and Briman grew to be more and more intimate in time. Rohling started a public propaganda for the writings of "Dr. Justus" some specimens of which deserve to be wrested from oblivion. He praised the author as one of the greatest "Hebraists of the whole world" and added: I say this from my own experience as I not only found the author's quotations in the originals exact but also know the author's personal affairs" ("Tribune" Nr. 53, February 24th, 1883).

"The public may read this work diligently and the government may, as I said, have it examined strictly and legally as the expression of my conviction."

"Dr. Justus is not identical with me but his case is my case. The texts he gives have been taken directy from the originals . . . . ." ("Tribune" Nr. 38, February 9th, 1883).

On March 25th, 1883, a new article for the "Jewish Mirror" by Dr. Justus arrived, and when the trial began Rohling invited him to come to Prague and engaged him with a salary of 1800 florins a year as teacher of the Talmud. Briman soon saw that his work was useless and left Prague; this happened at the very moment when he had got news from his counsel Dr. Pattai in Vienna that the proof of the truth would — have to be made legally in court.

At that time Rohling wrote the following letter to Briman:

No date.

My dear friend, Dr. Pattai is here and tells me that the proof of the truth against Bloch will have to be produced in court, and how can that be if you go away? You must go to Vienna with me. The trial will come off in January or February. Will you not stay here the whole time till Easter? I willingly take it upon myself to see that you will be a good Doctor medicinae, even if you loose this one term. Therefore, please do not leave but stay here, or just go and get yourself inscribed at Würzburg and then come back here immediately.

Your faithful friend!

נודע *(The known-notus.)*

Aron Briman made mysterious journeys to various towns in Austria; he was heard of in Innsbruck, Salzburg, Gratz, and ad last also in Vienna. In all these towns, where he had stayed for some time, he succeeded remarkably well in getting in touch with the high clergy. He bragged to acquaintances and even to friends that he was in favour with — for instance — the Cardinal Simor, Prince-Primas of Hungary. He particularly liked to speak of his friendship with Dr. Eder, Prince Archbishop of Salzburg, who had often rendered him services; he had often been invited by the reverend Prince of the Church and there were always rooms ready for him in the Residence at Salzburg. As to Vienna he was particularly proud of being able to count Professor Zschokke, His Magnificence the Rector of the University, among his friends.

Briman really knew how to win the favour of the pious scholar to such an extent that he invited him to his house and assisted him largely; these benefits Briman rewarded by selling off valuable theological works of his library for a song. In the meantime he published a book about the "Kabbala" which was again a mere plagiarism of a book published by a Jewish scholar in Leipsick. In this new work which appeared with the approbation of the Prince Archbishop of Salzburg, Briman curiously enough denounced the entire antisemitic Talmud-

learning from Eisenmenger down to the "Jewish Mirror" as based on stupidity and ignorance and to be despised by every honest man of letters.

It was at that time necessary to deny his identity with Dr. Justus so as to appear scientifically blameless because of the great scentific undertaking of a complete translation of the Talmud which had been urged and warmly propagated by the antisemitic deputy Merunowicz of Lemberg; a famous publisher in Innsbruck had been secured and the Austrian government was to pay a high subsidy.

There were already a great many subscribers for this work when one day the publisher was informed that Dr. Briman was sending him the same manuscript sheets two or three times over and then that he was copying the well-known Mishna-translation by Raabe and offering it as his own intellectual property. He did the former so as to get as much advance money as possible and the latter because it was the most convenient way.

A workman who had been banished from Vienna on account of his socialistic activity, a man called Schmidt of Innsbruck, who had repeatedly heard my lectures in workmen's meetings and to the cousin of whom Briman had been engaged and whom he had then abandoned, came to ask advice of me in this matter concerning his family. In consequence of my intercession the Viennese advocate Dr. Elbogen took up the matter and went straight to Innsbruck to see Mr. Briman personally. It was then that the editor heard in what manner Briman was gulling him. Briman was candid enough and made no secret of his connections with Rohling. He described his relations with the Professor of Prague in the following letter addressed to Dr. Elbogen:

Most honoured Sir,

To tell you the truth I feel bound to give you the following information regarding Professor Rohling. Professor Rohling took lessons of me in 1884 during several months in Talmudicis which he paid me by board and lodging. The lessons at first consisted in my teaching him how to read

the rabbinic writing and then I began to translate with him and started with the easiest parts of the Tractate "Aboda Zara". But I had to give up these lessons because Professor Rohling found the reading of the rabbinic writings so difficult that I despaired of ever making him translate. Curiously enough he published two essays whilst I was teaching him, in which many hundreds of quotations were given from books the original writing of which he was not even able to read, for instance "Zohar", "Shepha Tal", and the like. This was so much a fact that Professor Rohling was obliged to send me a card he had got (the word "card" is crossed out and "paper" put instead) for translation because he could not translate it himself.

Most respectfully yours

Dr. Brimanus.

January 23rd, 1885.

There was a Hebrew newspaper included in the letter containing a (Hebrew) criticism of works by Professor Rohling.

A second letter read as follows:

Dear Dr. Fr. Elbogen,

I unfortunately cannot find Professor August Rohling's letter, which I had promised to send you, but I hope to meet your wishes by telling you its contents. Professor Rohling wrote to me some time ago that he had to swear at court to the truth of all the quotations contained in his booklet; he mentioned at the same time that he had ventured to take this oath without being absolutely convinced of the correctness of all the quotations, "because", these were his words: "because of the good cause."

Most respectfully yours

Dr. Brimanus.

Vienna, 24th of February 1885.

Briman moved to Vienna where his usefulness was soon recognized in certain circles; without much trouble he succeeded in finding, high patronage and two fiancées in respected families, one of whom lived in the Windmühlgasse, the other in the Frankenberggasse. For one fiancée he was a "Docent" in the University of Innsbruck, the other believed that he had a Chair in the University of Gratz.

But all his resources did not suffice for his extravagance. Some students in the university whom he employed as secretaries and short-hand writers were payed less than had been agreed or not at all.

He went to Gratz on February 27th leaving various debts unpaid. The students who had lost their money lodged a complaint. Soon reports of marriage swindles were made and on their account he was arrested on March 12th in Gratz, brought to Vienna and after several months of prison pending the trial he was sentenced to penal servitude and banishment from the country — a judgment pronounced against him by the Court of Justice on account of falsification of documents. The documents of this lawsuit would offer surprising revelations to the future historian of the secret history of modern Antisemitism in Austro-Hungaria, Germany and Roumania. The persons injured did not come to court, withdrew their complaints, and the judge tried to spare the culprit in every possible way for whom powerful clerical protection intervened. At the public trial which was managed in an extremely discreet way, one fact was, however, stated, which must be noted here. Professor Rohling had lessons in Hebrew of Aron Briman for a monthly fee of one hundred florins. Aron Briman had wished to study medicine together with a Herr Rohling, a brother of the professor's, and to that purpose they had got possession of two forged immatriculation certificates *(Maturitätszeugnisse)*. When the rector of the university of Würzburg asked for some proof of the (forged) certificate before immatriculating him, Briman produced on December 13th, 1883, a telegramme dated the 12th of the same month from Prague in consequence of which he was allowed to immatriculate at the university.

There is no doubt as who the sender of this telegram had been.

Briman now disappeared from public view for a short time but reappeared later in Italy. He was bereft of all means and addressed his family in Roumania from there begging for a few hundred francs for travelling expenses because he wanted to return home and to Judaism. I saw this letter in the original. But as his relations had a hard struggle for life themselves they could not send him the desired help.

In Rome Briman went to the Rabbinate declaring that he wished to become a Jew again and that he solemnly revoked all accusations he had uttered against his correligionists. After a serious conference with the members of the Board of the Congregation the Rabbi gave him the following answer: "We have not the right to dismiss one who repents. But this repentance must not be mere sham, it must be genuine, must be proved by actions that make amends for all the harm that has been done. Aron Briman is, therefore, to begin by solemnly revoking in public newpapers all calumniations spread by him against the Jews and Judaism! Only after this has been done a new reception into the faith of Judaism can take place". Briman promised to do this on one of the following days and then to come again. In the meatime Briman found help and employment somewhere else. The booklet „Professor Dr. Rohling, the Jewish Question and Public Opinion — represented by Abbé Dr. Klemens Viktor" is without doubt the result of the joint work of Briman and Professor Rohling.

On page 10 of this essay its says:

> Pater J. Dessle, Briman's confessor, who also gave me the letter quoted afterwards, writes: "Briman, who is at present finishing his medical studies in Paris, is an extremely honourable man of a firm character, whose actions are absolutely honourable and who is absolutely worthy of all confidence."

Briman writes in a letter to his confessor Pater J. Dessle in Paris, page 16, about his relations with the plaintiff:

"Now, as to Professor Rohling's letter to me, the case is quite simple. Professor Rohling was ill at the time the lawsuit with Bloch was to have come off, and as I had often declared to Professor Rohling that I had studied his writings minutely and found them correct, he wrote to me, when I wanted to go away to the University of Würzburg — that I was to remain, so as to prove the truth in his stead in Vienna, as he himself was ill and could not in the least rely on Delitzsch or Wünsche. Your reverence can publish all that I say here and I am always ready to answer for what I say, &c. . . . ."

This declaration of Briman's having been published in a pamphlet for the defence of Rohling one gets an insight into the intersting double part which was to have been played by this most honourable man: he was to have represented the plaintiff at court and on the other hand to have been the impartial expert nominated by the court. The scene which had been so excellently acted at Münster was now to be played again in Vienna by the same persons, who had acted the piece so well the first time!

The Two Experts.

Neither the written documents from Briman's private letter-case which my friend Dr. Elbogen had brought back from his excursion to Innsbruck nor the historically interesting facts about this honourable man's past and his intimate relations with the plaintiff were used in the course of the lawsuit. We had merely protested against the choice of this or any other baptized Jew as an expert, and in view of the methods of propaganda which it pleased the plaintiff to employ our protest could not but convince the judge that we were right.

Rohling had always refused evidence from Jews, also from baptized ones, as being suspicious. With an impudence only possible because it was backed by the then prevalent disposition of mind in certain social circles, he denied even christianized Jews the right to swear. Men of an assured authority and European fame were thus, as it were, put out of the way by being branded with an alleged Jewish origin. In his book "Polemics and the Human Sacrifice of Rabbinism" he says: "Wünsche and Delitzsch are, as is known, Jews, who have usurped Protestant denominations (!) the former in Dresden, the latter when he was about twenty years old, long ago, when he had been studying law a little." In his "Latest Dream Visions", page 10, Delitzsch replied to the "antisemitic liar":

"I have now said it about ten times over that I received holy baptism in the Nikolai church at Leipsick on March 4th, 1813, as the last born child of poor parents. I could not dream of studying anywhere else but in Leipsick on

account of the poverty of our family. What spirit may obsess this leader of the antisemites that he should make out to be Jews and to insult all who oppose the lying extravagance of his execration of the Jews."

Wünsche was born on the 22nd of July 1838, baptized on July 26th, 1838, his father, Karl Gottlieb, was gardener and shoemaker. This father was born on November 2nd, 1804, baptized on November 4th, 1804, and his father had a small cottage and was a shoemaker.

With regard to the literary habit and method of agitation employed by the plaintiff it became a duty for us not to permit the intervention of any Jew — baptized or not — even as a witness during the whole of the lawsuit; and now he wanted to push in a Jew as an expert. It is true it was Aron Briman, his "body-guard-Jew". The Court was of course not able to suppress these and other doubts about so problematic a personality, and as His Magnificence the Rector Zschokke had also named Dr. August Wünsche as a specialist he, as well as Professor of Theodor Nödelcke of Strassburg, were nominated experts.

According to this resolution of the Court Professor Dr. Theodor Nöldecke of Strassburg and Dr. August Wünsche of Dresden were *sworn* by the court-officials of these towns as experts nominated by the Central Court of Vienna in the libel action Rolling *versus* Bloch.

Now at last together with my lawyer Dr. Josef Kopp I could start with the preparations for the list of questions which were to be put to the experts. Above all Hebrew texts had to be presented to the experts for translation, and in cases where it was necessary, also for explanation. I chose more than 400 texts from the Talmudic and Rabbinic literature (2nd to the 18th centuries A. D.) in part those which Rohling refers to in his writings as proofs for his accusations, and in part such as are necessary for the comprehension of these texts and for forming a complete conception of the Jewish views on religion, morals, and law, as they had developed in the course of centuries and under various circumstances.

Naturally not only the texts chosen by Professor Rohling were offered to the experts for translation but also all those quoted by Dr. Justus-Briman as well as those cited in the writing which had been published under Dr. Ecker's name. This mass of text which, when printed, filled 80 folio columns was arranged by me systematically in groups with regard to their contents, and I added some special questions besides. The whole memorial for the Court filled 42 printed folio columns.

The Court sent the whole thing to the experts by the end of January 1885. It was left open to Mr. Rohling to put in by his counsel supplimentary questions, but he made no use of this right.

At the end of June 1885 the legal opinion reached the Vienna Court writen by Profesor Theodor Nöldecke of Strassburg in conjunction with Dr. August Wünsche of Dresden, signed by both, covering 190 sheets; at my request a small supplement was added. And now what was the result? One part of Rohling's texts could not be found, the other had been disfigured, and above all it was stated that *not a single text existed in the whole of the Talmud in which Christians or pagans or idolaters or any other people are given the name of an animal.*

My scientific statements, my accusation of Rohling were almost entirely corroborated by the experts. This Opinion which had been deposed at the Vienna Court forms a testimonial of honour for the Talmud and the Jewish medieval literature. My proofs that he had falsified Catholic *i. e.* Latin, Greek, and profane writings, had an almost startling effect.

For instance he refers to the Holy Agobardus. Agobardus, who died in 840 as Archbishop of Lyons, had written two works against Judaism and had collected all kinds of accusations in order to foment abhorrence of Jews. But he knows nothing of the accusation of ritual murder; not the faintest mention of this accusation can be found in his writings and surely this worst of all reproaches against the Jewish religion would have been welcome to him!

Now, Professor Rohling asserted that

> "the famous Saint Agobardus, Bishop of Lyons, gives the older facts as far as the eighth century in his works "De insolentia Judaeorum" and "De Judaicis Superstitionibus"."

On March 19th, 1892, Agobardus was on Rohling's authority mentioned as an historical witness in the Prussian Parliament by the deputy Baron von Wackerbarth-Linderobe for the assertion that already at his time and before him ritual murder had been committed by the Jews. On the other hand I had declared that Agobard was an enemy of the Jews, that he had said everything bad about them that it was possible to say, but that he did not mention a murder of Christians by the Jews, because this superstition was not yet known in his time. He knows nothing about the blood-fable.

Now Rohling asserted that Agobardus not only had written about the blood-ritual but that he had given *"the more ancient facts down to the eighth century."*

The sworn expert, Dr. Franz Weihrich, Professor at the Franz-Josef-College in Vienna, nominated at the suggestion of the Philosophical Faculty by the Court, now gave his opinion which was written with commendable exactitude and almost pedantic conscientiousness. The salient passage says literally:

> "The two above mentioned writings do not contain a single fact or charge of the Jews which could be construed into a ritual murder."

Not one single fact, then, whereas Rohling says that Agobardus had made mention of "the more ancient facts down to the eighth century"!

For the same purpose and accusation Rohling quotes a certain Paolo Medici, an Italian, and we presented five editions of this work so that he should not be able to proffer the excuse of having used some other edition; the result was that

he had been lying deliberately all the time. He quotes a rabbi of Lyons, August Fabius. In my first pamphlet I had said: In Lyons there exists no Rabbi August Fabius. And Rohling had answered that he had made inquiries and that Bloch was swindling — Fabius was no rabbi but a preacher at Lyons. We now appealed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that is, not we, but the Court, and through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the French Ministry it was ascertained that there was no man of that name either rabbi, preacher, Jewish butcher or occupying any function of the community of Lyons — but Rohling had asserted to have gathered informations.

I quoted the Legal Opinion written by the famous German scholar G. O. Tychsen in favour of the Jews — he was one of the most famous students of the Talmud in Germany in the last century. I had stated exactly that this Legal Opinion was to be found in the Berlin Supreme Court of Judicature. And what do you think Rohling answered? True, but Tychsen had given a diametrically contrary opinion two years later, which had been deposited at the same Supreme Court of Judicature. The Vienna Law Court addressed itself to Berlin and this statement was once more proved to be a lie.

Again he declared that a Rabbi Dr. Kroner of Munster had said to his colleague Professor Bickell: "All that Rohling says in his writings is quite true, only it is really wrong of him to tell that to the people to set the population against us."

We did not summon the Rabbi, but Rohling's friend and colleague, Professor Bickell, and he declared on oath: "It is impossible that Rabbi Kroner should have said such a thing to me."

Mr. Rohling quoted an "Ex-Rabbi Moldavo" who said the most horrible things about the Jews. The writing of this so-called "Rabbi Moldavo" is nothing but an *anonymus* libel by a half mad baptized Jew who had never been a Rabbi, but had lead a vagrant life and died of delirium tremens.

Rohling wanted to hide from his readers the compromising fact that he was deriving his dreadful accusations against the Jews from the writings of such an anonymus

writer as his authority; so he changed this worthy into a "Rabbi Moldavo".

Thus all arrangements for the final trial at court were ready.

On October 21ts, 1885, there appeared in the half-official "Wiener Abendpost" and in all daily papers the following communication: "Lawsuit Rohling *versus* Bloch. Parliament having decided to cancel the privilege of the deputy Dr. Bloch in the suit for libel lodged against him by Professor Rohling. the Vienna Court of Justice has now appointed the trial of this case which has been pending for two years; the trial, which will take place before the Court of Assizes in Vienna, will begin on November 19th of this year and is expected to last to the and of the month. The greatest part of the trial will be defrayed by the experts who will have to give their opinions on more than one hundred questions."

And here the case suddenly took a turn in a direction which staggered all Austrians. To begin with, the professor endeavoured to intimidate all the Viennese Jews by threats so as to induce me to come to an arrangement. The intended trial would incite the minds of the population of Vienna against the Jews and the consequences for Judaism could only be bad; this is what this fine gentleman of Prague wrote to Vienna so as to try and make me comply with his wishes. When these tricks failed, as I had neither listened to the loving solicitude from Prague nor so that of my Jewish "friend", Rohling appealed in October 1885, immediately after the dates for the final trial had been fixed, to the Ministry for Public Instruction for a year's holiday — for the sake of studies. The Ministry for Public Instruction was in no hurry to comply with this wish — they said he was first to finish his lawsuit with Dr. Bloch and to clear himself of the heavy accusations.

And now what do you think happened?

Professor Rohling wrote to the Court at Vienna that he wished to withdraw the accusation against Dr. Bloch, M. P.! Like that delinquent who goes and hangs himself in his cell

for fear of public execution, Professor Rohling pronounced judgment against himself for fear of a moral execution.

The sentence of the Court in Vienna sent to me was as folows:

The Criminal Court of Justice (Landesgericht) in Vienna (Number 38.149)
To Dr. Josef Samuel Bloch.
Member of the Reichsrat,
Vienna.

On the declaration of the private plaintiff Dr. August Rohling that he withdraws his accusation made on March 18th, 1884, Nr. 10.360, the criminal proceedings against Dr. Josef Samuel Bloch, Heinrich Bresnitz, and Oswald Kreuz for misdemeanour against the safety of honour according to § 227 St. P. O. is suspended, and the costs charged to the private plaintiff according to § 390 St. P. O. The private plaintiff's demand that the costs which have run up in this criminal case should be declared irrecoverable or that the should be remitted by way of grace cannot be complied with in view of the provisions of the XXIIIth chief part of the penal code.

Vienna, October 20th, 1885.

The President
Schwaiger.

Of course this sensational turn of the lawsuit caused great excitement among the public, at home and in foreign countries. The entire press wrote long leading articles on this unexpected event, detailed reports about the results of the opinions of the various experts were published. The universal judgment was:

"Professor Rohling did not wait for the verdict of the jury but spoke his own judgment. The lawsuit which had necessitated a preparation of two years and by which it was to have been proved that the professor for Hebrew Antiquities in Prague did not possess the scientific qualification to read a single line of Hebrew correctly and that the pious Catholic

Zahl 38149

Das k. k. Landesgericht zu Wien

in Strafsachen.

An
Herrn Dr. Josef Samuel Bloch,
Rechtsanwalt und Abgeordneter
Wien.

Über die Erklärung des Privatanklägers Dr. August Rohling vom 18. März 1884 Z. 10360 eingebrachten Anklage-Punkte, wird das Strafverfahren gegen Dr. Josef Samuel Bloch, Heinrich Bresnitz und Oswald Kreuz wegen Vergehens gegen die Sicherheit der Ehre gemäß §. 327 St. G. O. eingestellt und gemäß §. 390 St. G. O. den Privatanklägern der Ersatz der in dieser Strafsache aufgelaufenen Kosten auferlegt. Dem Umstande, daß Privatankläger, die in dieser Strafsache aufgelaufenen Strafkosten für unmittelbar zu erklären, würde dem gemeinrechtlichen Rechtsgrundsatze in Antrag zu bringen, dem im Falle der Absolution des §. XXII. Hauptstückes der Strafgesetz-Novelle keine Folge gegeben werden.

Wien, am 20. Oktober 1885

Der Präsident.



Cartoon From The "Kikeriki" 1885.

priest actually swore false oaths and had repeatedly offered to swear false oaths at court — this suit which had been looked forward to by all educated people in Austria with great eagerness and for the sake of which the Austrian Parliament had twice had to annul the privilege of one of its members — this lawsuit has met with an untimely end. This is a first class sensation! After the accused had given the courts the entire mass of evidence, after all preliminary examinations had strongly pointed to the correctness of the plea of justification and after the experts nominated by the Court of Vienna had legally demonstrated by translations of more than 400 texts from the Hebrew and Rabbinic literature that the accusations made against the Professor of Prague were fully justified, after the Law Court had fixed the date for the final trial — Professor Rohling suddenly withdraws his plaint. He foresaw the fate that would overtake him at the Assizes and delivered judgment on himself."

Of course nothing was left for the Austrian Ministry for Public Instruction but to call the plaintiff's attention to the fact that he was to bear the consequences of his defeat and to resign his Chair as he lacked the necessary scientific qualifications to occupy it.

The Catholic "Kölnische Volkszeitung" wrote (May 9th, 1900 Literary Supplement), when reviewing the book "Blood in Faith and Superstition of Mankind" by Professor Strack, about Rohling:

> "If he really had to withdraw the complaint for libel at the last minute, which he had been obliged to make in the interest of his moral existence, matters are very bad for him."

And on February 10th 1897 the "Kölnische Volkszeitung" called one of Rohling's writings

> "a meddley of fraud and dreams"

and a

> "Chimera of the muddle-headed Canon of Prague . . ."

Whilst I am writing these Reminiscences I come across a booklet by Dr. Artur Dinter, "Rays of Light from the Talmud. Open Letters to Dr. Wiesen, Rabbi of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach and Public Invitation to Messrs. Dr. Bruno Lange, Rabbi of Essen, and Dr. Rosenack of Bremen as well as to all Rabbis of Germany. 5th edition, 51. — 60. thousand, published by Matthes and Thost, Leipsick and Hartenstein in Saxony", and I read on page 33:

"But now to your last sentence which has been only mentioned in passing: Besides, Professor Rohling has also been unmasked as a forger by judicial proceedings. Documents of Professor Rohling versus Bloch, Vienna, Breitenstein). This is a gross and calumniatory untruth! Rohling has never been unmasked as a forger, as you can see by the Documents! Neither by a judicial proceeding nor outside it! And in the Bloch-Rohling case in question judicial proceedings i. e. a trial and a verdict have never taken place, as has been already stated and can be seen from the Documents you mention!"

These explanations remind once again of those objectionable women who, if one spits in their faces, impudently say that it rains. Herr Rohling lodged a plaint of libel against me at the Vienna Court because I had called him a "liar" and "forger" and because I had accused him of "repeated perjury offered and actually committed".

The proceedings of the suit had lasted for two years and a half, the justification had been prepared by the court, experts in Hebrew and Rabbinic literature had been heard, also those in the sphere of the Fathers of the Church, an Italian interpreter had been asked his legal opinion on an Italian book quoted by Rohling, and the date of the final trial had been fixed — when Mr. Rohling declared that he renounced this final trial and withdrew his plaint. The court acquitted the accused, and condemned the plaintiff Professor Dr. August Rohling to bear all the costs

accused in this criminal affair! And now Herr Dintner says: "no judgment has been pronounced".

The Austrian Ministry for Ecclesiastical Matters, at the head of which there have always been strictly conservative men, thought differently of the issue of the lawsuit.

This issue naturally caused excitement and anger among the clericals. In the session of the Austrian House of Lords on Saturday, June 27th, 1908 the former Prime Minister and later Governor of Bohemia, Prince Franz Thun, had said, when the case of Wahrmund was being discussed who caused annoyance on account of his writings which were inimical to the Church — and whose transference the conservatives furiously demanded — that he reminded the members of the forcible removal of Rohling. In a great speech supporting the above demand he said:

> "Hofrat Rohling was pensioned off. But I have never read — at least not in the "Neue Freie Presse" — that anybody had criticised the punishment of a professor. The whole things was treated as if it were quite natural and that was the end of the affair."

Mr. Rohling's affair had become a public scandal so that even his high protectors were no longer able to shield him. The Austrian Jews had been saved from him; Rohling and his continual offers of oaths disappeared from public life...

Even the most interesting and exciting events would lack in dramatic effect if the final scene were missing, the scene that is to satisfy the human desire for humour. The facts I am going to relate truthfully will certainly cause many a reader to burst out laughing; at the time, however, when these events happened I did not feel at all amused. At present I cannot help laughing at the stupidity of mankind.

Wilhelm von Gutmann, a multi-millionaire who had entrusted Dr. Kopp with my defence now asked me to cede to him all my rights against Professor Rohling for the reimbursement of the costs I had incurred by his action, now that the whole affair was definitely and happily ended. The

brothers Gutmann having engaged to pay Dr. Kopp's fee, I could not very well refuse this cession. It was not to be supposed that the brothers Gutmann, as my successors in law, would intend to insist on the costs being paid to them by Professor Rohling of Prague. This demand looked rather like the prompting of many a clerical "friend of the house" who liked to dine at the generous table of those two millionaires and to make fun of Jewish parvenus after dinner. They wished to save the "poor professor" who had had such a lot of bad luck from further unpleasantness. These Aryan toadies who inwardly sympathised with Rohling or at least pitied him were not fond of Dr. Kopp and in order to prevent him from taking any steps in Prague he was immediately made acquainted with what had taken place. Thereupon I got the following letter from Dr. Kopp:

In consequence of Professor August Rohling having withdrawn his complaint of libel against you at the Court of Vienna you have a right to the reimbursement of the costs that you have incurred in the course of the proceeding caused by this plaint. Messrs. Wilhelm and David Ritter von Gutmann have just told me that you have ceded your rights to these two gentlemen. As I want a document bearing out this communication written by your hand will you please call on me for this purpose and give me this written information.

Yours very truly

Dr. Josef Kopp.

Vienna, January 27th, 1886.

I of course immediately went up to Dr. Kopp's office, signed the information with my name and then I heard that he had difficulties in getting his fee and that he was in consequence obliged to *appeal to the Court.* I here give his memorial — which is rather too voluminous — to the Vienna court, leaving out an unessential part:

To the Criminal Court of Vienna.

Dr. Josef Kopp as counsel of Dr. Bloch asks for the payment of his fee.

I am obliged to appeal for the help of the Court in an affair which I should not have believed likely to necessitate such a step. It is the question of my fee which I have earned by defending Dr. Bloch aginst Professor Rohling's action.

After having once decided to take up the defence I managed the suit not only to the best of my power and without regard to my health, but also with love and pleasure, because I like to serve a good and important cause. But at the very outset and before I had any idea of the amount of work it would be I had realized that it would take a great deal of time and trouble. As Dr. Bloch has only a poor salary and Professor Rohling is not wealthy either, nobody could have expected me to dedicate my time to the case if some wealthy person had not vouched for my fee.

I did not know Dr. Bloch at all as he had been elected deputy only a short time ago and therefore did not play a prominent part, nor was it he who asked for my legal help but Wilhelm Ritter von Gutmann, public partner of the firm of Gutmann Bros, whom I knew personally, as he had been a Member of the Diet during the elective period of 1878 to 1881. Herr von Gutmann called on me in the first half of March 1881 and asked me to take up Dr. Bloch's defence. It is perfectly plain that not Dr. Bloch's personal interest was in question, but that of all Jews, and this also was evident from Herr von Gutmann's conversation, who told me that Dr Bloch was indifferent to him and that I was to undertake the defence for his sake and that I should get a princely fee.

At first I was not over-inclined to take on the case; I do not understand a word of Hebrew, I did not know anything about the subjects in question, I could see that I should have a lot of trouble, I was extremely busy being — not to mention my office — a Member of Parliament, and having to report about all the affairs of the Vienna Municipality in the Lower-Austrian Diet; besides my health is not very good. I told Herr von Gutmann all this, but he insisted till I at last asked for a short time of reflection, and to consult with eminent men of my party because, as a member of the Board of the Liberal Party, I did not wish to take up the defence of a member of the Polish Club, and in a decidedly not very popular affair without the consent of my political friends.

After some days I told Herr von Gutmann that I would accept his offer; the amount of the fee was not mentioned. After several months of hard work I could see that the scope and the end of this case could not be foreseen, that the lawsuit would grow into unforeseen dimensions, and then I became anxious as to the costs.

As I did not consider it suitable to speak about the amount of the fee without being asked I tried another method to make Herr von Gutmann see that it was not a trifle he would have to pay. It turned out that I had to travel to various German universities if I wanted to get on with my work and be on the safe side. I told Herr von Gutmann that I should have

to count such work differently to what I would reckon for the same trouble during my time of work here, and that I should be obliged to travel comfortably so as not to endanger my health too much; I added that I sometimes had sudden attacks of ill-health, particularly during the warm season and that I should therefore have to take my wife along with me. All this would cost a good deal of money and as he was the one to pay I was obliged to ask him, if he were of opinion that I could venture on these very important but expensive proceedings. On this he told me that I was to travel, to go first class always and put up at first class hotels, not to save because "money is of no account in this affair." I now believed to have every reason to be able to set my mind at rest.

But the work became more and more complicated, the difficulties mounted up and I could not help being afraid that Herr von Gutmann would not be willing to pay the fee commensurate with this work. I therefore again asked Herr von Gutmann to come and see me and I told him that one could not expect him to pay for such unusual work alone, especially as it was not his interest alone but that of all Jews. I even recommended him to form a company with other rich correligionists of equal social position who would have to share in the duty of paying my fee. Herr Wilhelm von Gutmann refused this immediately and said that at the utmost he would allow perhaps the Baron Rothschild to take part in the affair. As a reason for this somewhat peculiar declaration he added literally: "Doctor, you have no idea how rich we are." As everbody in Vienna knows that Messrs von Gutmann are among the richest people in Austria, I did not consider any further observations necessary. I only expressed the wish "for the sake of life or death" to have a written assurance from him — and as I knew that he did nothing of importance without his brother and partner — also from his brother David. At his request I wrote a declaration on a piece of paper, which was returned to me, signed by both brothers, after a few days and which I herewith lay before the Court.

In March 1885 my colleague whom I highly esteem and venerate, Dr. Philipp Mauthner, a noted advocate, called on me; he interfered in this affair as Herr von Gutmann's confidential man. It had been he who had recommended me to the gentlemen before they had asked me to take up the defence. We had repeated conferences with each other in this affair and he was invited on Herr Wilhelm von Gutmann's wish to assist at a long conference which took place at my office on October 28th, 1884 to explain the present state of the affair and the plan of its continuation; and when the gentlemen were away from Vienna travelling, Herr Wilhelm von Gutmann referred me quite particularly to Dr. Philipp Mauthner.

Now Dr. Mauthner asked me plainly to tell him how much I would charge for the management of the whole affair. I refused to give an answer for some time, as it was just then impossible to see which way

the case would turn (the experts were at work but they had not given their opinion by a long time). If the expert opinion had been unfavourable the whole affair would have come to a very bad end, the result would have been exactly contrary to the intentions of my clients. Again it is the nature of man that he should be less willing to pay when the result is unfavourable (even if it is by no means the fault of counsel) than if it is a brilliant success. But Dr. Mauthner insisted on my speaking out and that I was to say "I wish so and so much." So I gave in at last and said that I charged 100.000 florins. Dr. Mauthner of course made no promise — he was scarcely authorised to do so — but he took notice of my declaration.

From now on the fee question was no more mentioned. I had further conferences with Herr Wilhelm von Gutmann, once also with his brother; both gentlemen were equally interested in the affair and always heard from me how matters stood; as late as September 1885, at a time therefore, when he had been acquainted by Dr. Mauthner with my demands for about half a year, Ritter von Gutmann called on me, and permitted me to induce him to give up a plan he had about the manner in which my information about the Talmud was to be supplemented and showered praise on my head about my efforts in the matter.

But on the day on which the newspapers spread the news that Professor Rohling had withdrawn his action without reservation the scene changed at once. Surely it would have been a command of common politeness to thank me in a few friendly words for the pains I had taken of which the gentlemen were very well informed and to recognize that this ignominious withdrawal which was more compromising for Rohling than an unfavourable outcome of the trial would have been was due to the unusual trouble I had taken. Instead of this the gentlemen were wrapped in deepest silence — they no longer took the slightest notice of me. Only at the end of the year there came a short business-note from the firm of Gutmann Bros, asking me to present my bill of expense. In answer to my writing that I had nothing to do with the firm and that such work was not fit to be settled by a bill of expense there came an invitation to a conference. As I did not immediately answer this second letter the two gentlemen called for my head clerk — since January 1st my partner — Dr. Friedrich Tezner, barrister-at-law. During this conference Herr Wilhelm Ritter von Gutmann behaved in a manner which for the sake of decency Dr. Tezner could not report in detail; enough, he found himself forced to threaten to take his hat and walk off if that tone were to be continued. A ridiculous offer which was then made to me I immediately treated as not fit for discussion.

Thus I had really got myself into that fix which had been predicted to me in drastic words by far-sighted friends whose words of warning I had unfortunately disregarded. I had done my duty — I was no longer of any account.

Now I am of opinion that Messrs von Gutmann had agreed with the amount of my fee by continuing their conferences with me, by letting me continue the work and by receiving news of the drift of matters, in short by taking part in the affair without any flagging of their zeal, although they had been acquainted before with the amount of my fee and had evidently not considered it inappropriate. Had they considered my demands too high it would have been their duty to tell me precisely that they did not agree with it. Again it could be said against me that such a fee had been understood only for the complete transaction in its regular course, the final trial included. Now I will not deny that the chief trial would have been a good bit of work, but it would certainly have cost me only the smallest part of the time and trouble which had been taken up by the whole lawsuit. The chief trial would only have required a little physical strength and a certain amount of average ability in speaking — after the whole material of the case had been collected and sifted. To procure all this mass of evidence, to sift it and to master it intellectually — that was what had been most important and most difficult. I also take the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the purpose of the case, the moral annihilation of Professor Rohling, had been attained at least as much by his unconditional withdrawal from the trial as by a favourable verdict of the jury. Nevertheless I will fairly take into account that I was saved the trouble of the chief trial and take off a third of my original demand, so that I reduce my claim of my own free will to 60.000 florins. I do not allow anybody to haggle and bargain with me, but I confidently rely on the Supreme Court and refer the appraisement of my right to its wise judgment."

Dr. Kopp then fully describes the quantity of work it had required to make himself acquainted with the literature, the lectures of many hours which I had given him and then he continues:

"Dr. Bloch is no lawyer and therefore did not know what was really important for me to know and how it could be used for the case, and therefore lectured me for hours on things I could use but little. At last I gave him numerous separate questions arranged in groups which he answered in voluminous written monographies, but all that did not suffice. Dr. Bloch's authority could not satisfy me.

(Dr. Kopp was afraid that I should colour the material in favour of the Jews and not represent it impartially.)

I still felt unsafe and found it necessary to get verbal information from the first Orientalists of Germany for which purpose I started on the

above mentioned journey to several German universities — in the middle of July 1881."

He says at the end of the Memorandum:

Again I must speak about an objection; it is the most important one because the court is bound to take it into consideration officially. I am referring to the fact that I have extented my preparations far beyond what was absolutely necessary for the case and that nobody is bound to pay for superfluous pains taken. In answer to this I have to say:

(1) The affair was to come before a jury. Everybody knows, and it is in the nature of things, that jury-men are not always led by juridical considerations but that sometimes other impressions are decisive which a judge would not take into account. The frame of mind of the population is antisemitic; it would be a miracle if not at least half of the jury-men were pronounced antisemites. If the official judge is an antisemite he will not twist the law — but a jury-man may in all confidence become a victim to his frame of mind; Rohling is a clever speaker, and I could not have prevented him from mentioning in a detailed final speech — he did this according to the minutes kept in Prague about a trial of a mere protest in a case — I could not prevent him from mentioning a number of catching new assertions and observations and from refuting my arguments by them. The court could scarcely have hindered him, because even a legally well founded damming in of the stream of his speech would have immediately influenced the jury in his favour. I was therefore obliged to be well grounded in the exotic sphere in which the trial was to move, so as to be able to give good repartees to the professor.

(2) The lawsuit was in its outward form that of an action for libel — but actually the outcome of it as far as accused is concerned stepped entirely into the background. Wilhelm Ritter von Gutmann spoke about my client, as has been casually mentioned, not only with indifference but in a disparaging manner. He would not have spent one hundred florins to save Dr. Bloch from any embarassment. Wilhelm Ritter von Gutmann entered into the case as a representative of the Jews and has therefore also according to his promise to bear these costs of representation. For more than ten years Professor Rohling has been fighting against Judaism in all sort of venues — the documents of the case prove it sufficiently. His ceterum censeo is that the Jews are obliged to commit every possible crime against the Christians by a command of their religion, he is the first who wished to bring scientific proofs to the court, in articles and books, that the Jews drink the blood of ritually butchered Christians. These accusations are being spread among the masses by the small press, by booklets, and in meetings of societies and in public gatherings. Rohling had repeated these accusations on oath at Court. Dr. Bloch had therefore justly said in one of the incriminated passages: "We must save ourselves (the Jews)

from this continually threatening danger of perjury" and that is what Herr von Gutmann meant and that is why my intervention was of such importance to him.

A communication which Wilhelm von Gutmann made to me and to my head clerk quite at the beginning of the law-suit and which he repeated later is very characteristic in this respect. He told me that he had called on Dr. Kuranda, Member of Parliament, during his last illness a day before his death and that he had told him that I had decided to undertake the defence of Dr. Bloch and that Dr. Kuranda had said he could now die in peace, knowing the matter to be in my hands. That is plain enough. It was not that Dr. Bloch was to be acquitted but that the Jewish religion was to be justified, and the prophet of antisemitism to be rendered inoffensive. And that is why it had also been decided upon to make a short-hand report of the whole trial and then to publish it and give it the widest circulation. For this purpose, the only one Herr W. von Gutmann had in view, the preparations had to be extended, even though the purpose of the mere trial could have been attained at less expense. If it were a question of settling the amount against Professor Rohling or even against Dr. Bloch the objection that I had done too much of a good thing might be made. But Herr Wilhelm von Gutmann who by saying: "money is of no account in this case" clearly expressed his wish that I was not to leave anything undone that might possible be of use, by thinking of the costs. Herr von Gutmann cannot raise this objection.

To sum up: The bill I am presenting does not nearly cover all my work; it was not made with the purpose of having every item of my work appraised; it is not a final bill but one of partial information. For the same purpose I am enclosing a booklet that I wrote without a special order, of my own accord, only for the sake of teaching the public something about this subject. The Court will be able to judge my work aproximately by this enclosure and by the legal documents, in particular by the comprehensive opinion of the experts, the careful study of which did not belong to my least important tasks.

Nobody but myself can know exactly how much time I spent and how much trouble I took, but the Court, which has ample means of appreciating the facts, will not doubt my words and will not consider it presumptuous if, speaking as a man of honour, I say that I could not consider a smaller sum than the one I named, as a just payment.

Finally I must remark that the 8000 Mark paid to the experts were given me directly as a deposit at court and therefore do not appear in my bill and have altogether not been taken into any account when I was making it, and that I have received 6000 florins as payment in advance during the course of the law suit so that the rest of my claim is 60.000 florins.

I beg, therefore, to ask,

That the Court may make available as my claim for the defence of Dr. Bloch *versus* Rohling and for actual expenses the sum of 66.000 florins.

Dr. Josef Kopp m. p.

As it was to be expected that the Court of Justice would hear me about the fee I being the only person who had worked with Dr. Kopp every day, Dr. Philipp Mauthner, who has been mentioned in the above Memorial, invited me to a personal conference and advised me to reflect that I should have to remain on good terms with Herr von Gutmann in future and to discuss with him Jewish matters whereas now I had finished with Dr. Kopp. I was, therefore, to be careful and not officially to side with one or the other. Dr. Philipp Mauthner was lawyer to the banking firm of S. M. von Rothschild, and they were in many business relations with the firm of Gutmann Bros. I answered: "I consider it my duty to keep the honour of the Jewish name clean; Dr. Kopp must not be able to say that Dr. Bloch has also been ungrateful."

When I was questioned at Court I said that personally I should scarcely have applied to Dr. Kopp in a lawsuit which required such immense work, for he was the leader of a great political party and had an enormous quantity of political affairs on his hands. I had thought of securing a capable younger lawyer who had plenty of time and who would want to make his name by a happy issue of this big case. This was to have been his chief payment. It had been exclusively Herr von Gutmann's wish to entrust Dr. Kopp with the management of the lawsuit and I must confess that in the interest of the case it had certainly been the best choice. If I was to express myself as to the valuation of the intellectual and physical work done in regard to the fee, I could only state that the case, which had just been terminated, was one of the most difficult Austrian judges ever had had to deal with; that the counsel had had to study documents which had accumulated during two thousand years without a number or a date having been put on each document; and then that this extremely difficult lawsuit could

not possibly have been treated in a better, cleverer, or more successful way. Now, if the advocate in the Ofenheim case had received a hundred thousand florins as his fee, the same demand by Dr. Kopp is certainly not exorbitant. The Ofenheim advocate had not nearly had the same quantity of work to master as Dr. Kopp, and that private lawsuit did not come near the Rohling suit as to importance.

This was what I said and herewith the affair was settled. By a resolution of the Supreme Court the Court approved of Dr. Kopp's entire claim.

Now, that the sum had to be paid Herr v. Gutmann asked Baron Rothschild if he wished to participate in the payment? Baron Albert gave the answer: "Have Gutmann Bros. come to such a pass that collections must be made for them?"

When it had become known in public that I had had to concede my rights of indemnification against Professor Rohling for my work during two years to the firm of Gutmann Bros. because they had paid the advocate, a committee was constituted with the intention to indemnity me for it in form of a national present and to publish a proclamation in this sense. Several highly respected members of the Congregation were among the committee. But the intention was thwarted by the interference of an influential member of the Congregational Board, Mr. Emanuel Baumgarten. Several members of the said committee were invited by the Presidency of the Congregational Board where they were told that such a public collection would be a demonstration, and would set the Christians against us. We were altogether not to make too much noise about the Rohling case; Christian sensibility was to be spared and the result was not to be loudly proclaimed. Jews were not to be too conspicuous. It was the politics of the Jews of financial importance at that period "not-to-let-themselves be recognised" (as Jews) — Jockel put out the light, that the fleas may not find you (Konstantin Brunner). "As to Dr. Bloch, the president of the religious Congregational Board will know what has to be done." And what was done? The President ordered advertisements for the current year to the amount of 600 florins being put in

the "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift". After the year was over the member of the board Emanuel Baumgarten moved the crossing out of this sum from the budget, "so that it should not grow to be a right by custom".

Years and years afterwards I still had repeatedly to deny rumours secretly whispered about of pretended sums that I had received from some part or other on account of the Rohling-case; again and again I had to declare that I had not received the slightest fee or present from anybody and from anywhere for my work done during this lawsuit.

For these two years of hard work in this case by which I believed to have rendered a service to Judaism not even a line of appreciation was dedicated to me by the Congregational Board of the Vienna community. But the most doubtful individuals got good subsidies for persecuting me continually with lies and calumnies and because they had done as much as in them lay to prevent a favourable issue of the lawsuit against Rohling.

I shall give a separate chapter to one of these peculiar figures.

Ignaz Kuranda.

If anybody were to ask in surprise how all that could happen which I have here reported on documentary evidence here is the fact that may serve to explain everything, the fact that Ignaz Kuranda who for many years had been the President of the Viennese Congregation was no longer living, and that sheer thoughtlessness reigned in the Board.

Ignaz Kuranda had been a far-seeing man full of the wisdom of his time and knowledge of state affairs, rich in experience and far from any feeling of jealousy, a man whose German patriotism did not dim his feeling of Jewish kinship. For years he had lived in exile, in Belgium, where he made numerous political friends; he started the "Grenzboten" in Brussels, a paper that was to nurse Belgo-German goodwill. He had been supported by a Belgian minister and the paper became the rallying point for all Austrian patriots who desired the establishment of an Austrian State governed by law and constitution. The office of the "Grenzboten" was afterwards transferred to Leipsick where the university had honoured Kuranda with the title of Doctor in recognition of his work "Belgium since the Revolution". After the storms of revolution had subsided in his native country, Austria, he returned, and the Germans of Bohemia delegated him as their deputy for Teplitz to the National Assembly at Frankfort a. M. Afterwards he was Town Councillor for some time, and was honoured with the freedom of the City of Vienna and the first electoral district of Austria sent him to the Lower Austrian Diet and to the Austrian Parliament. There his political gifts and his acumen were soon recognized; he became the standing reporter for

the Budget of the Ministery of Foreign Affairs and as such he warned against entering upon a league with Prussia — in 1864 — for the purpose of war against Denmark, and still more impressively in 1866 he warned from declaring war against Prussia. By the purity of his character and his unselfish efforts he acquired a leading position in the liberal party, so that the Emperor Francis Joseph I. decorated him in 1867 with the Knight's Cross of the Order of Leopold.

He belonged to the most important members of the liberal so-called "costitutional party": after the formation of the Taaffe Ministry he was in the opposition. He disliked every kind of fanaticism, political fanaticism included. Once he said to me, "I do not consider myself bound to be the greatest Azes Ponem of the party"—whereas the deputy Auspitz afterwards bugged himself in hurling the most malicious speeches and the most cutting abuse at the heads of ministers. But Auspitz never thought of paying any regard to his being a Jew. I was under a cloud among his Viennese Jewish followers, because I ventured to join the party of Count Taaffe. But Dr. Kuranda once said turnig to his wife, when we had met at Sacher's in Baden, and after a political conversation: "You see, Dr. Bloch thinks he will be able to benefit the cause in his own way. Very well, one ought to let him try."

He had no illusions as to the views of his brother Liberals about Jews. For instance he once told me that one of his Aryan colleagues had come up to him during the sitting with the words, "My dear colleague, I am really sorry to be unable to keep the appointment we made yesterday", and then he quickly remembered that he had not settled anything with Kuranda and said: "Oh, I beg your pardon, I have made a mistake, it was the other . . . ." The sentence was to have been completed "the other Jew". In the Liberal party of the House there were at that time two Jewish members and they were spoken of as "the two Jews."

Kuranda liked me and I could always count on his approval of my writings. The President of the Israelite Alliance, Josef von Wertheimer, was still burdened with the spiritual inheritance of the epoch of enlightenment and the "Haskala"

and he, therefore, felt uncomfortable about the way I treated the antisemites (he once said to me "You defend the Talmud too much, we don't know it and don't want to have it any more"): but Kuranda's wisdom recognized that there was no other way out of it than to force Rohling to go to Court against me, because Rohling was only saving his face by means of the most risky tricks and hoping to keep his head out of the loop only by their help. In the last hours of his life he still spoke about the case and wished to give me advice.

If Kuranda had lived Messrs. Gutmann would have been prevented from taking those — let us say stupid rather than mean steps. But Kuranda was dead, his successors, a Herr Pollack von Borkenau and a Herr Arminio Cohn, were men without any inward warrant for independent decisions in Jewish matters and without any authority, and the spirit of an Emanuel *Baumgarten* hovered over those waters.

M. L. Rodkinson, the "Third in the League".

M. L. Rodkinson had been living in Vienna since October 1884 where he edited a Hebrew paper printed by Lowy and Alkalay in Pressburg. He was a Russian subject and had been forbidden to pass the frontiers of his native country. His countryman, Ephraim Deinard, a well-known Hebrew writer and traveller, published a book "Travels through Europe", Pressburg 1885, in Hebrew and at the same printing office. The author relates his impressions of the journey and sketches the state of culture in Europe; he had also been to England and gives reminiscences of London, pictures of the Russian Jews who had emigrated there or were staying in England for some time, and also mentions an old acquaintance and countryman of his, the editor of the "Hakol", giving him a very bad character. On page 162 he accuses him of treating every villany as fun, and of changing wives, religions, false names and forged passports as often as gipsies change their horses. He says of him "that he had been condemned in Russia for fraud, and forgery and that he had edited a Hebrew paper "Hachoze" in the service of the missionary society in Germany. He had had the following names successively M. L. Frumkin, Alter Frumkin, M. L. Rodkinson, Alter Rodkinson, M. L. Alter; Deinhard thought that he had some more of these names in reserve.

I had personally never heard of Rodkinson, but I knew of Ephraim Deinard that he had a respected name as a Hebrew writer. His work "Travels through Europe" was printed at the same office, at the same time, together with Rodkinson's paper "Hakol", by the same compositors and with the same machines.

I also well remembered a curious remark in a criticism on one of his works.

In a review of this Hebrew work Rahmer's "Literaturblatt" Nr. 11, 1883 says:

"The unleavened bread and the accusation of the blood-ritual." Pressburg 1883.

"Never has an enemy of the Jews looked for traces so madly and so stupidly as this Mr. R." — "Monsieur R. has had a good deal of misfortune as a Russian author. Much is said of him which does not sound exactly like an introduction to good society."

After a further description of his efforts it said in the end:

"We will not enter into details about his work because we could not end without Chillul Hashem."

This did not hinder Mr. R. from being kindly received by prominent personalities of the Viennese congregation, in particular by Mr. Baumgarten, nor did it prevent his being largely assisted.

It was in the beginning of 1884 — Parliament had some time ago given its consent to my being accused by Professor Rohling — when I went to a Viennese Jewish bookshop to buy some books. The shop-keeper handed me a new booklet. with the remark "this is against the *Jewish Mirror* by Justus-Ecker" of which a German edition was to be published in Vienna. I fingered the essay with some curiosity and then I said to the bookseller: "This work is far worse than Dr. Justus' "*Jewish Mirror*." I considered if of importance th say this to the bookseller, and added, as to the author, Mr. Rodkinson: "I am afraid of that man." My fear was not unfounded, and when the author sent me his other writings a week later, he got no answer. The peculiar way in which these things were written doubled their dangerousness. He never writes against the Jews, but always for them, and from this safe vantage point of an apologist he applies to Judaism the most dangerous and cunning "shots

into the butt end", to use an expression of Bismarck's. He presents, in seemingly harmless and unintentional phrases, in the interest of the mission — the so-dalled scientific "discovery" that the cross was a holy symbol in ancient Israel even before the origin of Christianity. He says that the ancient Hebrews celebrated the seventh day, as a day of rest, on the Sunday, and that they only transferred it to the Sabbath from opposition and hatred against the non-Jews of the time. He knows how to defend the Jews in a way which might content even a Rohling who could learn from him. Neither does he shrink from arranging quotations and putting passages which can be misconstrued in Italics. His writings are so extremely dangerous because they are masked as apologetic. Rodkinson's work against Justus-Ecker, in the German translation, was sent to my counsel Dr. Josef Kopp by somebody. When he had read it he said: "This work is sailing under false colours; it is not against Dr. Justus but against the Jews." His head clerk, Dr. Friedrich Tezner, had the same impression. Jewish financiers had given the author of this curious "writing in defence" plentiful assistance, because he knew how to ride two horses or let us rather say two asses at the same time.

1 October 1884 R. transfered his abode to Vienna. "Now what is this chap after in Vienna?" I asked myself and I grew restless; all kinds of conjectures were running in my head. A Protestant scholar from Germany wrote to me: "Beware of Rodkinson, the man is too — capable." Again, some unknown person sent me two works from London, written by a preacher in London, the Rabbi J. Kohen-Zedek, called "Sefath-Emeth" and "Ohole-Shem", in which Rodkinson's previous life was described conformably with Deinard's communications, and besides, a public accusation was pronounced against him that he was a second Pfefferkorn, a confederate and associate of the antisemites. And then I also got a number of the Petersburg Hebrew paper "Hameliz" Nr. 28, file 15, sent to me by post and containing an article with the complete signature of the editor Zederbaum, who says of Rodkinson, that he had formerly travelled

across Russia, visited towns and villages as a Wonder Rabbi healing childless women of their sterility in a manner which had procured him a sound thrashing in return for successful cures. Further, he had written Chassidic works on Jewish Saints and their wonderful deeds, and had finally been condemned by the court of assizes of Petersburg on September 1st, 1875, for fraud and forging of drafts to one year of prison, three years of loss of honour and a payment of 1800 rubel damages. He had evaded this punishment by flight. Zederbaum notes exactly the numbers and dates of the warrants of arrest by which he was publicly pursued.

The fact that this article and the above mentioned works had been sent to me from foreign countries proved to me that others also had the feeling that it had not been by mere chance hat Mr. Rodkinson had removed to Vienna, where the Rohling trial was to take place, but that he was prepared to play some part or other.

Rodkinson called on me. He wanted an advertisement of his new work to be printed in the "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift". I refused point blank and said that I considered his writings harmful for the Jews. He: "But you may refute me, you may sefaly say what your objections to it are". I: "This is not the time to do it and I should not like to call the attention of the readers to this kind of writing." He appeared again twice at my flat, but as I did not give up my reserve he returned no more. To the various attacks on me in his journal I did not reply. I went to Galicia to give my electors a report of my parliamentary activity and to recommend myself for re-election. Mr. Rodkinson came after me, I saw him behind me at every step; he assured everybody in his speeches that I had never done him any harm, but he told them all kinds of mean things about me. He called me by the most offensive names; I kept silent as if all that did not concern me, I never mentioned his name. But that was not necessary as he was not at all a stranger in Galicia. The rumour soon spread in Czernowitz, Lemberg and Kolomea — it was not openly spoken about but went stealthily from mouth to mouth —:

The Mission Society has sent Rodkinson as a delegate to Galicia to fight against an election of Dr. Bloch's. Now this was a mistake, a wrong conjecture. Rodkinson was not in the pay of the Mission Society but had been sent by another party to injure me in the opinion of my constituents, to wound me there, as the public fight had gone against him.

Weeks went by, I had returned from Galicia, and was busy with my counsel studying the opinions in the Rohling-case as they came in. One day I called on a friend and found there a number of Rodkinson's "Hakol"; it contained some "revelations" about myself which were not unimportant. The author assured his readers that I had once told him in a cafe, another time during a confidential conversation in a walk in the Prater: "The ethics of the Talmud are dirt which cannot be cleaned" and that I had said something similar in regard to the Bible; my pamphlets against Rohling had been written by somebody else and I had only given them my name; and also that I had only irritated the Catholic clergy, without having been of use to the Jews, by my speeches in Parliament against Pater Eberhard of Cracow who had kidnapped Rachel Stieglitz before she was of age, and had taken her away from her parents to put her into a convent. He was very much afraid that I would lose the case against Rohling. Now I could very well remember that the examining judge had asked me similar questions and had read from the document to me: Rohling asserts that the authors of the pamphlets were quite different people who only took Dr. Bloch's name; he (Rohling) asked the court to get detailed information, particularly as to this question. I could naturally assert with a good conscience that, with the exception of the bookseller Lippe, nobody had known anything about the conception of the articles, to say nothing of having had any influence on their composition.

Anyhow I was now perfectly sure as to what I had to expect from this great traveller Rodkinson. For instance, if he were to declare before the jury: Bloch thinks about the Talmud just as Rohling does, Bloch understands no more about the Talmud than Rohling, the latter is only the victim

of a conspiracy in which it was thought right to use the name of Bloch: Rohling could wish for nothing better. This was the meaning of Rodkinson's "fear" that Rohling would win the case; and again for this reason did Rodkinson repeatedly declare that he had no personal feeling of ill-will against me, for I had never done him any harm.

However, after the arrival of the whole of the Expert Opinion, Rohling's cause had reached a stage beyond the repair of any associate. The time was over when I had anxiously thought of Rodkinson as a possible King's Witness. Some few weeks afterwards Rohling thought best to fly from judgment and his moral breakdown was the topic of public conversation.

But it would have been business only half done had I but legally pinned down that man Rohling who was no Jew — it was absolutely necessary to prevent his helpers and accessories within Jewry from quietly continuing their work which was far worse. I, therefore, set to work to expose Herr Rodkinson and prevent him from doing harm. This was not very difficult. To begin with I recalled to memory — in an article "Aron Briman and R." ("Oesterreichische Wochenschrift" Nr. 43, 1885) — that besides Briman there had been another man in the service of Rohling, who had supplied him with the material of his quotations and that there existed an interesting document about this. Among Rohling's letters, written in his own hand, and addressed to Briman, which the latter had given up to my friend, the lawyer Dr. Elbogen — when Briman had had that unfortunate affair at Innsbruck — there was a letter, dated March 11th, 1884, addressed to Briman at Munster, in which Rohling inquired if "Dr. Ecker's Beleuchtung des Spekulum" also contained the passage form Halqutim. "This would be very useful, naturally if he speaks in sensu nostro and this will probably be the case." Then he adds: "More later on. I am still expecting the information you know of from R. every day; I am sure that it will turn out in my sense. Kindest greetings A. Rg."

Everybody asked, "Who was this mysterious R.?" Evidently a comrade of Briman's in spirit, outlook, and

religion who perhaps considered it convenient to keep the Jewish mask outwardly but who was secretly conspiring with the antisemites, rendering them services as a provider of material for anti-Jewish literature. Since the Rohling trial has become imminent this R. has taken up his abode in Vienna, he introduces himself everywhere as an able Hebrew student, he gets considerable sums from the Jews, from the Protestant mission and from the antisemites. We heard — and the information was absolutely reliable — that Herr Cornelius Vetter, Dr. Pattai's brother-in-law (Pattai was Rohling's counsel in the case against Dr. Bloch), had inquired for R.'s address, wished to know exactly where he lived. What these two gentlemen must have talked about was not difficult to guess. About this R.'s personality, therefore, there can be no two opinions. So far the "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift".

The "Neuzeit", edited by Dr. Jellinek, published on November 20th, 1885, the following article under the heading "The Third in the League":

"August Rohling has been completely defeated. By withdrawing his action for libel against Dr. Bloch, who had accused him of offered perjury, he himself admitted before all the world that he had the audacity to spread the worst accussations against the Jews on the strength of Talmudic and Rabbinic quotations which he himself was unable to read; further that he quoted non-existing works as material for the accusation and that he falsified passages of the Talmud; and again that he accused the Jews in particular of using the blood of Christians for ritual purposes, although he might have known from Latin and other works that such an accusation is untrue.

Unfortunately the harm done by Rohling is so great that his disappearance from the antisemitic arena alone does not suffice. The whole biography of this man, his shameful proceedings against the Jews must be examined in detail and fully revealed to the public. We must find out who supplied him with the material for his slanderous

writings; he himself is ignorant and yet he has quoted passages from the chief cabbalistic work "Zohar" accusing the Jews that they slaughtered Christian virgins as a sacrifice pleasing to God. Who has put these cabbalistic quotations into his hands? Justus Briman has not done so, as he himself in a letter to Dr. Elbogen, expresses his surprise that Rohling should have published two booklets in which there were quotations from the "Zohar" which he could not even read, as he (Briman) knew very well because he was teaching him (Rohling) at the time. He has further admitted that that famous cabbalistic appendix to his "Jewish Mirror" which asserts on the authority of a cabbalistic work that the slaughter of Christian virgins is a work pleasing to God has not been written by him. Altogether we believe that Justus Briman was not so thoroughly bad as to assert or insinuate that the Jews have a secret blood ritual and use the blood of Christians for religious rites. It was not Justus Briman but some other Jew who must have been well read in the "Zohar" and other cabbalistic writings who supplied August Rohling with the cabbalistic quotations he has employed, and who has insinuated, in spite of his knowing better, that accusations of the blood-rite could be inferred from them against the Jews. In the "Tribune" and then in his first book against the rabbis, August Rohling mentions a Jew with whom he associates and who renders him services for his scandalous work. In comparison with this villain, who was wicked enough to support those blood accusations against the Jews with the help of cabbalistic quotations, Justus Briman seems a man of honour. This third man of the league must be found. Whoever contributes to this purpose serves Judaism and prevents future mischief. If August Rohling gave an opinion in the Ritter trial, in which a passage from the supplement to the "Zohar" (Tikkune Zohar Tikkun 21) is quoted, which is to prove that the Jews must kill a Christian maiden, who is with child from a Jew, together with this child in the womb — he really could not possibly have found this

horrible passage himself, but it must habe been prompted to him by some Jew, who knew this supplement of the "Zohar"; and this Jew is the third in the league who must be discovered and disarmed. May the readers of this paper communicate to the editor any slight evidence which could lead to tracing this wicked traitor. Kolbo."

There was no doubt about who was the author of this article which appeared in the "Neuzeit". That the author did not sign with his initials, as was usually the case, but with a pseudonym was a distinct proof that it was not only a question of finding an unknown, but of calling public attention to a certain person who was strongly suspected. Rodkinson's name had not been mentioned in any of the two articles, yet his name went from mouth to mouth; everybody cut him and left him alone; families where he had visited asked not to be called upon any more; his greetings were left unanswered. One man only remained true to him, staunchly and unfailingly, even to the gates of the prison and beyond — this man was Herr Emanuel Baumgarten, the almighty member of the Jewish Congregational Board.

In begging letters, addressed to rich members of the congregation in Vienna, Rodkinson complained that I had committed murder against him; he protested his innocence and referred to the testimony of the learned member of the Congregational Board, Emanuel Baumgarten. He plied me with vigorous threats asking me to apologize and to state that he was not Rohling's "R". I refused point-blank. He tried to save himself by a new pamphlet against me in which he said that the good leaders of the "Oe. W." were written by somebody else because I was not capable of doing so; further that I had allied myself with the Social-Democrats so that the government was to be afraid of my regiments of labourers and would, therefore, support my election. Besides, the antisemitic "Westungarischer Grenzbote" of Preßburg was quoted which accused me of having been the moral author of the outrage upon that unfortunate police officer Hlubek in Floridsdorf. This pam-

phlet, which he had ordered to be translated into German and printed in many thousands of copies, must have cost a good deal of money; copies were sent not only to all Jewish members of the community but also to all ministers, to all deputies in parliament, so that the echo of this scandal resounded in the press of foreign countries who dedicated detailed articles, in consequence, to Herr Rodkinson as being the "Third in the League". He then considered it best to address himself to the professor of Prague; his vindication was to take place in form of a correspondence between Dr. Pattai and Professor Rohling. Rohling had so often given "official" testimonies on oath that he would surely not be coy for this once. Dr. Pattai was won over for the plan and his letter addressed to friend Rohling was full of invectives against me. Rohling answered, as had been desired, that he had not thought of Rodkinson when writing the initial "R" in his letter to Briman. This correspondence, which has an ulterior interest, because it confirms Rohling's letter to Briman (about "Briman's contribution to Ecker's Opinion on the "Jewish Mirror") appeared in Nr. 3 of the "Neuzeit" in 1887 edited by Dr. Jellinek, with the editor's marginal note presenting Mr. Rodkinson in a freshly washed bathing gown of innocence to the surprised readers who still remembered the article "The Third in the League". Jellinek's weakness of character gave way to every strong outward pressure. The "Neuzeit" was said to be the official organ of the Congregational Board in which Emanuel Baumgarten reigned supreme without even acquainting the other members of the Board with what was going on.

The correspondence including the editorial marginal note of the "Neuzeit" was sent, in a short copy, to all members of the congregation, to all specialists and special journals at home and abroad. Herr Baumgarten covered the costs from funds given by Jewish financiers of Vienna.

Chance often is a caustic satirist. Adolf Wahrmund's well known work "Das Gesetz des Nomadentums und die heutige Judenherrschaft" (The Law of Nomadism and the Present Rule of the Jews) was at that time the great sen-

sation of the antisemitic and clerical press, and they printed columns of extracts from it. With the help of cheap quotations the author sketches biblical figures as chaffering nomads who did no productive work, and he describes the biblical teachings as being calulated to instruct and train the Jews to use the work of others by trade and barter. I published three articles in my Weekly (Nr. 22, 23 and 24, 1887) against Wahrmund's book. Whilst I was dictating these articles the latest "scientific" publication, a Hebrew booklet "Barkai by M. L. Rodkinson, Vienna 1886" was given to me. It contains an essay written in Hebrew, called "The Character of the Genious of the Jewish People", the author of which endeavours with all wiliness to characterize the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph as being bartering Jews, Nomadic profiteers and exploiters of labour produced by others. On page 3 he says: "The first man with whom we find gold and silver, who had earned a fortune, not by work but by trade, was our father Abraham. In no generation before him do we find a single person who has earned a fortune or owned gold and money. But Abraham had neither discovered gold mines nor earned money by diligence and field labour — he was a nomad and wandered across the countries — he had gained it by trading, till he was rich in gold and silver."

The author describes all the episodes in the life of the Patriarch Abraham in this spirit, and then he goes on to do the same for Jacob and Joseph, and he further believes the Israelites in Egypt to have also usurped all the goods of the country and all the trade shortly after their immigration (p. 100). But also Moses had been a nomadic business man who traded with his father-in-law's sheep and had led them into the desert for commercial purposes (p. 12).

According to its contents "Barkai" is an important complement to Adolf Wahrmund's book "Das Gesetz des Nomadentums" forming its Hebrew counterpart. This Hebrew contribution to the antisemitic tendentious literature was composed and written in Vienna at the same time, when the members of the Congregational Board Emanuel Baumgarten and Co. exerted themselves in the sweat of their brows and with

money sacrifices to clear the author of the suspicion of being an antisemitic tool.

The printing office had kept back the book for some time because the author had not been able to pay the costs; it may have been a mere coincidence that Mr. Rodkinson's monetary resources were suddenly exhausted when Rohling's moral collapse became a fact. It was now Mr. Emanuel Baumgarten's turn, who was an ever ready helpmate, to see to the supplying of the printing expenses. It is quite impossible that he should have known the contents of the book for which he was claiming Jewish money, but in order to save his protégé in future from being pestered by printers he set to work to arrange a special Hebrew printing office for him alone. All the requisites, machines and type, were bought when the fatal blow came down. According to the police report of March 9th, 1887 "the author Alter Schmiedrow Frumkin was arrested on a warrant of the Criminal Court. He is living in the Brigittenau unter the name of Michael Louis Rodkinson Frumkin, was born in Orska in Russia and is publicly pursued by a warrant of capture of the Criminal Court of Petersburg for the crime of fraud and arrested on that account". Rodkinson's arrest was a first class sensation for the Vienna daily press; columns were dedicated to the description of his adventures in all kinds of towns, and his repeated conflicts with the law courts, and above all to his peculiar activity in Austria, how he had managed to help Professor Rohling and at the same time to get considerable subsidies from Viennese Jews.

When his arrest had been ordered the address and lodging of R. was in vain asked for at the office of the "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift". — Afterwards I was summoned as a witness. I said at court that I knew nothing of the past of the prisoner by my own experience, that I had only known him since he had appeared in Vienna. All I had published about him had been reprinted from other authors and papers in Austria and Russia.

No doubt Dr. Pattai's and Professor Rohling's letters which had been sent in numerous short copies of the "Neu-

zeit" including the marginal note of the editor to eminent correligionists in Russia got into the hands of the censor, and had called the attention of the Russian Law Courts to the man and his present whereabouts.

When he was already behind lock and key he got an invitation by post to go and see Mr. Baumgarten; the card was taken to the police station where it attracted due attention as an interesting document. Baron Albert Rothschild asked Baumgarten to return him a sum of money which had been drawn on the banking firm for the purpose of establishing a Hebrew printing office for Rodkinson. One felt ashamed of having been the dupe of an adventurer.

On entering the House of Parliament the day after Rodkinson's arrest, Count Taaffe, the Prime Minister, came up to congratulate me.

Count Eduard Taaffe.

As Premier Count Taaffe had the power and possibility to stop antisemitic propaganda in its beginning. He had twice appealed to the German Liberal Party to consult with him about the measures to be taken against the anti-Jewish agitation. This suggestion came to nothing owing to the stiff oppositional attitude then kept up by the constitutional party. And so he remained passive, the more so, as the Jews went over to his strictest political opponents and condemned every endeavour to make the Slav nations concessions of any kind, proclaiming them to be harmful for the German interests. The attitude of the Viennese Congregational Board which under the influence of the Vienna Press then directed by Jews had nothing to say to him or the other ministers had given him the conviction that the Viennese Jews were his implacable opponents.

Count Taaffe was a man without prejudices against the Jews as such. Some Jewish writers could boast of his real friendship; Professor Joseph Sulzer, a son of the famous head-cantor Salomon Sulzer, was the music-teacher of his children and was said to be a friend of the family; Count Taaffe always accepted with great goodwill numberless Jewish appeals against unjust decisions of the Governor of Galicia or in West-Austria, which I had been obliged to present to him in the course of years, and he always had those decisions reversed. He never made an observation like Dr. Julius Glaser the Attorney General — a convert who had been a Liberal Minister of Justice — who one day said to me: "Dr. Bloch, you speak up for every rascal as long as he is a Jew." I replied that I should give up my visits to the Attorney General with

pleasure if my experience had not unfortunately convinced me that, guilty or not, every accused Jew was invariably condemned.

It amused Count Taaffe to talk with me, and it happened sometimes when Parliament was sitting that he would come up to me, sit down beside me, and put all kinds of questions, asking me how affairs stood with the "Wochenschrift", and so on. Once when we came to talk about antisemitic excesses of speech referring to Kol-Nidre, the Premier told me — if I remember rightly — that it was one of his ancestors, a Viscount Taaffe of Ireland, who had to defend the Irish Catholics against the calumny that they swore false oaths believing that they could get an indulgence for perjury. And once he sent me, as a Purim present, a supply of his famous cheese from his estate of Ellischau.

For several years a Count Falkenhayn was Minister of Agriculture in his Cabinet, a man of an old aristocratic family but blessed with few earthly goods. The income of a small estate did not give him a competence and he once spoke about his financial calamities to Count Wilczek. The latter went to Baron Albert Rothschild, described Count Falkenhayn's straits adding the wish that something definite and lasting might be done for him. Albert Rothschild immediately declared himself ready to appoint Count Falkenhayn overseer of his estates in Upper-Austria — of course with a sufficient income. Count Falkenhayn accepted the post but a fortnight afterwards, when Count Taaffe started to form a new ministry, after some German partymen had resigned, other influences worked in favour of Falkenhayn with the Premier, and he appointed him Minister of Agriculture. Falkenhayn then resigned his post as administrator of Baron Rothschild's estates. Falkenhayn was no genius and the most important work was done by the clerks of the cabinet minister. Josef Unger, the great jurist, said a sarcastic thing about him which was often repeated at that time: "What difference is there between Cincinnatus and this count? When Cincinnatus retired from state affairs he went behind the plough; if this count were to do so he would have to go in front of it."

Count Wilczek's family doctor was a Dr. Schulz, who had also the post of a physician to the theatre and had a large practice among the aristocracy. Dr. Schulz had a son, Paul, who had just graduated as doctor of law and had the ambition to enter the state-service. The father begged for Count Wilczek's patronage who was willing to help the young doctor; he immediately thought of the newly nominated Minister of Agriculture. He called on Count Falkenhayn and said to him: "I should like to place a young friend of mine with you as an official." Count Falkenhayn agreed with pleasure and asked for an application with the usual qualifications enclosed. This was sent, but months went by, and the Schulzs heard no more about the matter. Count Wilczek was once more appealed to, and he hastened to the Ministry and asked friend Falkenhayn why Dr. Paul Schulz had not yet been appointed. "Well, my dear friend," said Falkenhayn, "you see, I got the application and I found that Schulz is a Jew; excuse me, but you can't seriously expect me to appoint a Jew!" Wilczek exclaimed quite shocked: "Why, you yourself went and willingly accepted a position with a Jew, and one is not to expect you to appoint one to a small position? Thanks. Your humble servant!" And Count Wilczek hurried to Count Taaffe and told him of the affair. Taaffe laughed heartily and a few days later Dr. Paul Schulz was appointed as an official in the Ministry of Commerce. Paul Schulz remained a Jew, mounting from rung to rung of the civil service till he at last was to become Privy Councellor and "His Excellency". During the many years of his service he had the "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift" brought to him regularly. One day, when a bill against unfair competition was to be enacted, the expression "Jewish business-practice" occurred in the memorandum. Schulz remembered having read articles about the directions of the Talmud against unfair competition in Bloch's "Wochenschrift", and he appeared at the office, asked for the articles and took them along with him to present them at the conference in the Ministry of Commerce. But when he was about to take his oath as Privy Councellor before the old Emperor Franz Joseph, he had to get baptized before. After

the unhappy end of the world war Paul Schulz — he was then vice-president of the Supreme Chamber of Patents — left this life of his own free will; he could not live to see the fall of Austria. Justice to his memory compels me to mention that at a time when he had long been baptized (Count Taaffe was no longer minister and I no longer a deputy), unjustly condemned Jews who had vainly petitioned all the Courts of Law when they came to him with recommendations from myself were acquitted through his good offices by an act of grace from the emperor. He always warmly took their part, and once when it was not very convenient for him to interfere for some reason or other, he made the court actress Katharina Schratt whom the emperor liked very much and who was very influential at court take over my protégé and give him a recommendation to some court office which secured him the imperial grace.

The idea to get the Jews out of the line of battle of German opposition induced the Premier, Count Taaffe, to advise Freiherr von Conrad, the Minister of Ecclesiastical Matters and Public Instruction, to appoint me Professor of Hebrew Antiquities at the Philosophical Faculty of the Vienna University. The Prime Minister told me that a confidential suggestion to that effect had been made at the Ministry for Instruction, and that I was to present my works and some documents at the Ministry. My qualification for this Chair at the Vienna University was vouched for by opinions from Professor Franz Delitzsch of Leipsic, and Dr. Kohler, Professor of the University of Erlangen — the latter adding a particular reference to my purely scientific works "which are highly appreciated among specialists, and justly so". When the university-people heard about it, they were "indignant"; the clericals protested against the antagonist in the lawsuit of the Canon August Rohling being offered such a distinction. Besides, the case was still going on. The German chauvinists at the university were shocked at the thought that a member of the Polish Club was to get a professorship at the Vienna German University. These objections, however, made little impression on Count Taaffe, the protests did not

trouble him much, and he pointed to the fact that in Berlin Dr. Schwenninger had also been appointed professor against the wish of the faculty and its cliques.

The opponents did not tire to think of ways and means to prevent my appointment, and they finally came to the conclusion that this could only be achieved with the help of Jews. At the faculty of law Dr. Georg Jellinek was then "Privatdocent"; he was the son of the preacher Dr. Adolf Jellinek and was waiting to become a professor. They got behind this Dr. Georg Jellinek and made him use his influence with his father that, in case information should be asked of him by the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Matters, he was to warn against the intended appointment. Only after they had made sure of an answer in this sense Adolf Jellinek was asked to give his opinion. The answer was: "The intended appointment of Dr. Bloch as professor at the Vienna University would be no less than a provocation of the Viennese Jews (1). This wording was purposely chosen in order to convince Count Taaffe that he would incense Jewish opposition against government still more by such a course of action. A somewhat similar declaration was presented to the Ministry of Public Instruction by Emanuel Baumgarten, the member of the Viennese Jewish Congregational Board. One day when I went to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Matters I was shown the bundle with the letters, and therewith the matter was ended. From the ministry I went straight to Dr. Adolf Jellinek and asked him what I had done to make him so angry with me; but he merely said that I ought to have told him about my step, and he blamed me for having acted without his knowledge. Then Dr. George, his son, interfered and declared that the Minister of Public Instruction had complained to him that he was actually obliged to stay away from the Congregational Board addressed to me and saying the promise to the Prime Minister. A written communication from the sittings so as not to meet me and be reminded of that none of its members had been authorized to give a decla-

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[1]) Comp. Dr. Ad. Brill, Populär-wissenschaftliche Monatshefte. Organ des Mendelsohn-Vereines in Frankfurt a. M. 1884, Nr. 8, p. 188.

ration against Dr. Bloch was, of course, in that stage of the affair, of no avail. The faculty hastened to confer the professorship of Hebrew Antiquities on Dr. D. H. Müller, Docent of Arabic, so as to prevent any further endeavours in that direction, and Dr. George Jellinek was appointed Assistant Professor. But after some time when he wanted to become *ordentlicher* (i. e. regular) *professor* he was refused. In consequence of a controversy with the successor of the Minister Conrad he was obliged, in 1889. to entirely resign the professorship in Vienna and went to Bâle in Switzerland. Two years later he went to Heidelberg where he was baptized and then at last attained the object of his life. To the end of his life his father had the painful souvenir of this unkind behaviour towards me; he was not sparing with words of praise for my activity since that affair. He always wrote detailed articles in the "Neuzeit" about my parliamentary speeches and they were full of extravagant praise, and I could not help feeling that this was being done to make amends for the great wrong he had done me.

On the other hand, the Chief-Rabbi *Moriz Gudemann* accompanied my efforts in those years with undisguised sympathy.

In a letter written by Professor *Dr. Rabbinowicz* of Moravian Weisskirchen, the son-in-law of the late Lector M. Friedmann, to the Rabbi Dr. Grunwald on November 20th he says in passing:

"In the summer of 1898 some scholars were here for their holidays — among them Professor Moses Bloch of Budapest with his son Dr. Heinrich Bloch, the Lector M. Friedmann, Dr. Horowitz of Breslau. On one occasion the conversation turned on Dr. Josef Bloch, his work and his paper, and a stranger observed that he believed Bloch's challenge to Rohling to have been overrated, that it was nothing so very remarkable. The venerable old Rector Bloch answered: "It is remarkable, for it needed courage! And nobody else had this courage." And Lector Friedmann added: "That's so". and I often think of something Gudemann said. He had been

asked why he was always taking Dr. Bloch's part and he turned towards me saying: "Bloch has earned a golden leaf in the history of the Jewish people and I want to be mentioned by his side."

I consider it my duty to tell you of these words — you will be a better judge than I whether they are of any importance.

Yours very sincerely
Professor Dr. Rabbinowicz."

In 1886 I published an aggresive article against Austrian antisemitism and against every kind of racial hatred and national narrow-mindedness. The title of the essay was "Der nationale Zwist und die Juden in Österreich" (The national conflict and the Jews in Austria) and also contained an invitation to the Jews to rally themselves for their own safety, to retire from the lines of the fighting parties who were intoxicated by their national ideas and to remember their Jewish race. "If a man is in bed and dangerously ill, bleeding from a thousand wounds, he should not take part in national quarrels. Our house has been set on fire on all sides and is in a state of conflagration; it is, therefore, our first care to see to the fire being put out and not to hanker after political ideals which may be justifiable at some other time."

I told them to remember:

"If only co-nationals have a right to the protection of the law and to civic consideration, if to every German each Slav, to every Slav each German is an inferior being on account of his race, language and descent, an individual who does not count, who, circumsances permitting, is roughly pushed aside and with whom you carry on a struggle of life and death — why are the Semites to enjoy exceptional immunity?"

"National ostracism excludes Jews from its circles. This fact may be disapproved of by some and regretted by others — it certainly cannot be ignored. As soon as the

people are permeated with the conviction that racial kinship is paramount the bravest preacher of tolerance will not succed in making the people accept Jeiteles or Kohn as their kindred."

"We cannot put on German-national or Teheque-national airs without becoming a ridiculous caricature; it follows, then, as a logical conclusion as well as a command of political wisdom, that we must take up a position outside all national parties."

Count Taaffe directed all the papers connected with the Government to call attention to this essay; Theodor Herzl also borrowed it from the library of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" when he wrote his "Jewish State" for the purpose of reading up information about Jewish questions.

Led by the desire to make an understanding possible between the Viennese Jews and Count Taaffe, I gave an account of the afore-mentioned facts to Josef Ritter von Wertheimer, the then President of the Israelite Alliance. And then the following dialogue ensued. He: "If Count Taaffe really has the views you mention why donsn't he order the antisemitic aggressive assemblies to be dispersed?" I: "Did you ever ask him to do so? Perhaps he is waiting for you to do it." He: "We are not going to call on Count Taaffe." Whereas Lueger and his party followers almost obtruded their services on the minister and emphasized their friendliness towards the government on every possible occasion, and whilst the antisemitic press did not tire of paying compliments to the men in power — the Viennese Jews had made up their minds to keep up an obstinate opposition against the Government of Count Taaffe. You could see that he wanted to win over the Jews to his side, and he was ready — he even said so confidentially — to take strict measures against antisemitism for that purpose. He could boast of the special favour of the emperor towards himself and he, therefore, had so strong a position that he might have risked such a course of action. But — the official Jewish party in Vienna waited daily for the downfall of

the minister, who as a matter of fact, reigned longer than all his predecessors and successors.

The Jews believed to owe it to their position as "Germans" that they should avoid every contact with the Ministry of Taaffe, whereas such scruples did not exist for the Clericals and Antisemites. It was therefore natural that the flood of antisemitism grew enormously in view of the inactivity of the Jews and the passiveness of Government. As late as 1889 the President of the Jewish Congregation in Vienna at last applied for an audience with the Premier Count Taaffe. Dr. Alfred Stern drew up a comprehensive and immensely long Memorandum, the exact words of which could be read in the antisemitic "Vaterland" even before it had been presented to the minister. The general opinion about this treatise was not very favourable; it was merely a compilation of antisemitic paper cuttings. The Prime Minister received the deputation, assured them that he strictly adhered to the equal rights for all citizens of the State guaranteed by the fundamental laws of the State, and that the penal code formed a sufficient guarantee against any attack on personal liberty, or any threat against personal safety and property. Anything going beyond this would only cause the opposition to reproach the Government with overstepping their powers. One cannot call this answer unfriendly; a suppression of antisemitic agitation, however, was not promised; only lawful measures would be applied against excesses. In the plenary meeting of the Board the deputation expressed its satisfaction at the result, but I was less satisfied when the minister had told me some details of the conversation with the members of the deputation — in a private parley during a sitting in parliament. At the end he said: "Now look here, the Jews will not be restricted in any of the rights guaranteed to them by law, as long as I am minister; but if they want more they will have to earn it first."

In this same year new elections for the Congregational Board took place. They ended with the victory of the candidates of the "Österreichisch-Israelitische Union" I had

founded. Herr Emanuel Baumgarten lost his seat and left the Board. That was one of the first symptoms of a change of opinion among the majority of Jews in Vienna. Unfortunately this change came too late. Reaction was now effectually supported by Rome after it had proved a powerful platform in the municipal elections. Cardinal *Rampolla*, Secretary of State in Rome, was a mighty confederate as was soon evident from quite sensational incidents. Dr. Ferdinand Dulansky, a high-minded Hungarian Prince of the Church, Bishop of Fünfkirchen and Privy Councellor, gave a dinner party on July 17th, 1889, in honour of Luigi Galimberti, then papal Nuncio at the Imperial Court of Vienna, and the highest dignitaries, civil and military, had been invited. The President of the Congregational Board had also been asked; that was Herr Josef von Engel, a great manufacturer, who had built a beautiful Catholic church with his own money on his extensive estates in Hungary. After dinner the Nuncio conversed with Herr von Engel and made the following remark: "Our Church is not at all hostile to your persuasion, for it has its origin from it and has many things in common with it, the Bible, the Prophets, the Psalms, and a great many more. Every positive religion is preferable to atheism which is unfortunately rapidly progressing and which is subversive of the social order; therefore all denominations ought to work harmoniously and peacefully one beside the other. My endeavours are to this effect in conformity with the intentions of the Holy Father. Please assure your correligionists of my cordial sympathies." Herr von Engel had these words immortalized in a work of art; the picture was reproduced and sent to all newspapers. On the same day on which the Nuncio had spoken these words an article was published in the "Vaterland" with the heading "On the Blood Ritual according to Rabbinic Writings" which was duly criticized in the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" Nr. 24 and 25, 1889; in the end I referred to the fact that Nuncio Galimberti who enjoys the Pope's special confidence had protested against these outrageous practices during the table talk at Fünfkirchen. The "Vater-

land" answered this by posting an article on all street corners of Vienna headed "The Old Testament no Tie between Christians and Jews." The wording of this article showed that it was pointed against the Nuncio who also was denounced and complained of in Rome. Rampolla who had drawn the rising powers of the Christian Socialists and Antisemites into the calculations of his politics would even have insisted on the Nuncio being recalled by the Pope — who liked the Nuncio very much — but Galimberti considered it wiser to weaken the words he had said at Fünfkirchen in an explanatory report to the Curia on September 5th. Thus he managed to come off with little hurt, but he got a formal reproof from the Secretariat of State. He was told that the necessity to weigh one's words in such cases was becoming more and more important, and that it would have been wiser had the representative of the Holy See suppressed words of praise, because it was only too well known that the Freemasons and the Jewish sect were closely allied at the time to the great damage of the Catholic Church. The Nuncio was not to fail to explain this to the politicians, and on a given occasion even to His Majesty the Emperor, and to say that at present the Freemasonic-Jewish sect was working for the destruction of Catholic institutions and the disparagement of the rights of the Holy See with the approval and help of the Italian government as their tool. And then the Cardinal stormed and blustered against the Jewish Liberal Press which being, as he said, all powerful in Austria, was the declared enemy of the Church. The exact words of these instructions addressed to Galimberti in Vienna can now be read in the work "Crispolto Crispolti e Guido Aureli, La politica di Leone XIII. da Luigi Galimberti a Mariano Rampolla. Su documenti inediti". Roma, Bontempilli e Invernizzi editori.

The strong help thus received from Rome encouraged the Viennese antisemitic chiefs to speak up against the authority of the bishop who had pronounced feeble words of reproof of the continued agitation which resulted in an ever increasing brutalization of the masses. The Catholic

bishops in Austria were induced to give their opinion in a joint Pastoral Letter against the "heathenish race-hatred" on occasion of the coming political elections. Race-hatred was condemned in some lapidary sentences in this Pastoral Letter:

> "In a word, according to Catholic principles the love for one's own nation must not turn against the law of the love of your neighbour and your brother, nor sink to the low level of heathenish race-hatred.
>
> Whomever you may elect and whatever opponent you may contend against when exercizing your elective right, try to go out of the way of everything that might cause a disturbance of social, civic, or national as well as religious peace.
>
> We are far from desiring to hurt or disregard the minority of another faith; we also wish to see their representatives together with us in the Reichsrat, doing joint work in the interest of the well-being and greatness of the Empire."

The whole antisemitic press pack broke out howling against the Austrian Shepherds, and in the electoral assemblies words of respect for the bishops were rarely to be heard. Dr. Lueger said that he was deeply disappointed in the Archbishop of Vienna who turned out a regular Liberal. The chasm between the bishop and the antisemitic politicans grew wider and wider, and when in the same year (1891) a jubilee was to be celebrated in the house of the Society of the "Katholische Meisterverein" in the Gumpendorferstraße in Vienna, and the Archbishop of Vienna, Dr. Gruscha, had been invited to honour the ceremony with his presence, he accepted on condition that "the list of those invited to the festival were presented to him." Dr. Gruscha examined the list very carefully, took his pen and crossed out the names of Schneider and Lueger with two fat strokes; he then turned towards the deputation and said: "I am not coming if those two are there!" The jubilee was solemnly celebrated without

those two and in the presence of the Prince Archbishop of Vienna.

But Dr. Gruscha could not imagine what those Viennese antisemitic chief were capable of doing. Ernst Schneider did not shrink from slandering the Prince Archbishop in electoral assemblies and called it "a shame that the high clergy and Cardinal Gruscha should speak against antisemitism." Schneider's words were accompanied by demonstrative applause and cheers. and the official antisemitic paper wrote:

> "Besides, that kind of thing were impossible according to our opinion, if the Episcopate were really up to the mark and would pay more attention to the anti-religious endeavours of the Jewish-Liberal party than to bother about mere outward trifles."

Antisemitic attacks against Dr. Gruscha became daily more numerous and began to take on an ugly aspect. On October 20th, 1892, the Catholic Chief-Pastors of Austria wrote to Dr. Gruscha, the Vienna Cardinal Archbishop, assuring him of their sympathy in face of the attacks made against him. They said in the letter:

> *It is with utmost regret and deepest pain that the Bishops have learned of the ineffable mortifications to which Your Eminence has repeatedly, and particularly in the last days been exposed. And such a course of action some people believe to redound to the profit of the sacred cause of Christianity.*

This letter was signed by:

> *"Franz Cardinal Schonborn, Prince Archbishop of Prague; Johann Baptist Zwerger, Prince Archbishop of Seckau; Matthaus Josef Binder, Bishop of St. Polten; Franz Salesius Bauer, Bishop of Brünn; Jakob Missia, Prince Archbishop of Laibach; Franz Salesius Doppelbauer, Bishop of Linz; Joseph Kahn, Prince Archbishop of Gurk."*

Rome was silent and did nothing to call back the faithful to obedience to episcopal authority. When the Upper Austrian Catholic Congress met at Linz on August 8th, 1892, the so-called **"caplanocracy"** made their appearance under the lead of the antisemitic deputy and clergyman Dr. Josef Schneider. Their behaviour was at the time described and condemned among the Conservatives as being detrimental to church discipline. But vicars and chaplains fought against the "governmental Catholics" because they had criticized the antisemitic program as being a medley of the most diverging elements and had blamed the Christian Socialists for "combining social democracy with bigotry".

At the time of the Catholic Congress the "Linzer Volksblatt", the organ of the Bishop of Linz, published an article in which the following sketch of the Christian Socialists was given:

"People of mostly low breeding and doubtful character who try to *hang on to the extreme German-Nationals by declaring themselves to be not clerical and who try to make friends with the Catholics by asserting that they are Catholics*, have these last weeks made assaults the impudence of which is only surpassed by their ludicrousness.

This company are a lot of adventurers, elements whose ambition is in inverse ratio to their importance and to their gifts; they are unprincipled, have no reasonable aims, and are united only in their nihilism and in their speculating on tendencies of certain masses to whom they preach communism mixed with Bible texts."

Bishop **Doppelbauer** published a call of warning in December 1892 against the Antisemitic press which was taking a lively part in these conflicts between the party of the Bishop and the Christians Socialists. The bishop said: "I denounce those papers and articles which aim at the disruption of the Catholic Political Party, which put down the authority of the Holy See and the Bishops, which dispute the determining influence of the Episcopate in dealing with the

political aspects of Church questions and demand a right to go their own ways. *I warn the high reverend clergy against those productions of the press which, under the flag of zeal for Church and Fatherland, follow tendencies far distant from genuine love for the Church and the Fatherland.*

But *Rampolla*, the Cardinal State Secretary, was reigning in Rome, and he was a mighty furtherer and protector of the antisemitic movement in all countries, and against the will of *Doppelbauer*, Bishop of Linz, who was not present at that Congress of Catholics the assembly, thanks to the good offices of Prince Alois *Liechtenstein*, received the blessing of the Pope. The Bishop's Party at that time spread the opinion that the aggressive character of the Catholic Congress against the Episcopate had been unknown in Rome.

In the beginning of 1895 the political world of Austria was surprised by the news that the Pope had sent the papal blessing to Prince Liechtenstein and Dr. Lueger, and Liechtenstein begged for the Pope's blessing for the official organ of persecution "Die Reichspost" — and got it too. These incidents marked the attitude which the Curia had taken up for a long time in favour of the work of destruction carried on by a savage political soldiery. In face of this the Austrian Episcopate, towards the end of February 1895, despatched a regular deputation to Rome consisting of Count Schönborn. Cardinal Prince Archbishop of Prague, Dr. Schuster, Bishop of Brünn, and a Dominican who acted as secretary to ask the Pope's intervention against the rebellious behaviour of the men surrounding Lueger. The Bishops had to leave without having attained their object and had to suffer the cruel ridicule of the entire antisemitic press into the bargain. In the same year new elections for the town council of Vienna took place, and Dr. Lueger's party, armed with the papal blessing, came off with an over-powering majority.

The alliance which had been formed between the Roman Curia and aggressive Race-Antisemitism revealed itself in an extremely striking manner in the tragic comedy of Dr. Theodore Kohn, Prince Archbishop of Olmütz. The bishopric of Olmütz was considered to be the most distingu-

ished of all, its occupant the most richly endowed Catholic Prince of the Church in Austria, and it was a curious trick played by history that the canons of Olmütz raised a man to the dignity of their Prince Archbishop who had been stubborn enough to retain the name of "Kohn" at a time when race hatred raged triumphantly throughout the town and country.

Antisemitic party leaders of Jewish origin were not rare in Vienna. There was, for instance, the Chairman of the Catholic School Association, Dr. Kaspar Schwarz; there was a Dr. Max Anton Löw, a scholar of the Yeshiva of Pressburg, a grandson of the Rabbi Akiba Eger. This did not prevent Father Deckert, the representative of racial hatred, from praising him as "one of the most enthusiastic and highly gifted adherents of the Christian Socialist Party whom they had all good reason to appreciate as one of their best." Dr. Porzer was likewise of Jewish origin, a prominent and influential Catholic leader and antisemitic Deputy, Burgomaster of Vienna, whose genealogy can be read up in Nr. 37 of the year 1891 of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift", written by his cousin, the poet Ludwig August Frankl. But they all were at least not called "Kohn".

Why the dickens is that boy called "Kohn"! This desparate outcry could be heard in 1886. In that year a boy of eight owning this unlucky name was the object of a very bitter dispute among the antisemites; the various publicistic organs fought an internecine battle and complimented each other with names they usually had in reserve for the very worst Jews; clergymen wrote (anonymously) bitter articles against the Cardinal Prince Archbishop of Vienna, and all this — for the sake of one small Jewish boy; but this little chap was called "Kohn"! This small Jewish boy, of eight was a pupil of a private primary school belonging to the school inspector Hermann in the first district of Vienna, and when this school went over into the property of the newly founded "Catholic School Association" that Jewish boy had also been taken over as part of the inventory. But why was the boy called "Kohn"? It was a question of high importance

for the State: What was to be done with this Jewish boy? To expel him from the school, thus inflicting on him the heaviest punishment, was impossible; the poor "Jewboy" had not committed the slightest offence — and the protector of the Association, the Cardinal Prince Archbishop would not allow that! And leave that "Jewboy" in the Catholic school? Great Heaven! why on earth was he called "Kohn"? The political world of Catholic Vienna threatened to go to pieces on account of this small "Kohn"; a bitter war among the party-members broke out, priests arose against bishops, the foundation of a new School Association was planned.

Dr. Psenner, editor of an antisemitic weekly, produced a "Catholic priest" who called attention to the terrifying fact that the Chairman of the Catholic Association, Dr. Kaspar Schwarz, had been born a Jew.

> "We have already noticed that a certain Dr. Kaspar Schwarz (I. Stephansplatz 6), Chairman of the "Catholic School Association" for Lower Austria, has a hooked nose, a nose that reaches out to the Promised Land; but the man can't help that, can he?
>
> We took in information, and lo and behold, the father of this Doctor was a pious Talmudic Jew; he was baptized and afterwards behaved like a zealous Catholic."

This was a broad hint, and even Dr. Kaspar Schwarz' political faithfulness had to give way, and the unlucky schoolboy with this infamous name was sent away.

One fine day the Catholic school was distinguished by a visit from some antisemitic celebrities. The obtrusive nose of a schoolboy in the first row struck the "high guests" unpleasantly when they entered. This nose was really not very artistic and would scarcely have conformed to the rules of a Greek profile. "What business has this Jewish boy to be here in the Catholic primary school?" the antisemites asked the head master. He excused himself: "That boy is not called "Kohn" but "Schwarz" and he is the son of the President of the Association, Dr. Kaspar Schwarz' son!"

In this case, of course, nothing could be done, but they had at least succeeded in suppressing the name of Kohn in those holy rooms.

But now a man called Kohn was to be placed upon the throne of the Archbishops of Olmütz. Every conscious Aryan was simply mad in those times when he heard the name of "Kohn" and many an amusing story was told about it.

It was at court, and the substitute of the Public Prosecutor observed during the trial of a certain Salomon Kohn, that the counsel for the defence was usurping more rights to himself than were due to him, whereupon the counsel declared that he had just as many rights as the Public Prosecutor. The affair rested there for the moment, but when the plea began the Public Prosecutor gave the reason for his former observation with the following words: "The counsel for the defence is mistaken in assuming to have as many rights as I; the counsel has received his commission from Salomon Kohn, whereas I have mine from His Majesty." The advocate gave him as good as he received. His reply was most amusing: "I do not even dream of drawing a parallel between our commissioners; but now that the most honoured representative of public prosecution has mentioned the point of commissions, I beg to be excused if I venture the modest remark that Salomon Kohn came to me because he knew me, but I do not think that His Majesty would have commissioned the Public Prosecutor if he had known him personally!" The president of the senate was obliged to interrupt the trial on acount of the laughter following these words.

Accommodating themselves to this Aryan idiosyncrasy the Kohns of all countries are accustomed to hide themselves behind more or less esthetic masks. One of the most gifted German-Austrian authors, Ferdinand Kürnberger, would not believe this. One day he was sitting in the bookshop of Herr Rosner looking at books which had newly arrived, when a young man came in who struck him by his interesting head. When he had left the shop Kürnberger asked the bookseller who the young man was. "He is a well known

violin player, called Connady," was the answer. "Connady?" Kürnberger repeated. "Has that always been the man's name?" "Not at all," says the other, "the man's name is Kohn." Some days later Kürnberger was struck by another interesting personality. He again asked the bookseller who said: "That is Paul d'Abrest, the Parisian author, but that's not his real name, he is called Kohn." Kürnberger stared at his friend, took his hat, and walked off in high dudgeon without saying a word. But more was in store. On another occasion the author of the comedy "Heine's junge Leiden" (The *Youthful Sorrows* of Heine) put in an appearance; that comedy was a great success at the time and the author much spoken of. "Is his name really A. Mels?" asked Kürnberger; "the name sounds almost too pretty to be the genuine family name." "Of course not," said the bookseller, "that is his nom de plume, his real name is Kohn." That was a bit too much; Kürnberger thought his friend was making fun of him, took his hat and went away, but this time never to come back again. And yet these three men with the handsome names were really all three called Kohn (1). The professor of

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[1]) A son of this Viennese bookseller, Leopold Rosner, is the Berlin writer Karl Rosner, the author of „Erinnerungen" of the German Crown Prince, as well as of those of the Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II. — An amusing counterpart to this story is told of the first quarter of the last century: In the twenties a good Saxon one day came to Amsterdam to claim an Eastindian inheritance, and he first went to his lawyer. He was greatly surprised to find he was a Jew, for at that time no Jewish lawyers existed in Saxony. But how great was his surprise in discovering, in a conference with the head Bürgermeister, that he too was a Jew. The Burgermeister referred him to the minister of Justice. When he brought him his petition personally and heard that he was also a Jew, the good man was terror-stricken about the number of Jews in the administration and in law. The minister gave the Saxon the advice to sue for an audience with the king and promised to smooth the way to it. The petitioner was at first slow in declaring whether he were willing to pursue this course; so his Excellency asked him somewhat impatiently if he were afraid to appear before the king. "No" the petitioner answered a trifle nervously, "but I beg your pardon, is His Majesty also a Jew?"

canonical law in Olmütz scorned to masquerade; he kept his honest family name even as a canon. (2)

I still remember very well what enormous excitement was produced in the Austrian Chamber of Deputies when Emanuel Singer, the editor of the "Neues Wiener Tagblatt", brought the news to the House which had been wired to his paper: Dr. Theodor Kohn has been elected Prince Archbishop of Olmütz. "Kohn?" "Kohn?" all parties put this question among their partisans, the debates which were the order of the day were neglected, the word "Kohn" buzzed through the air, went from mouth to mouth and the only man who saw the fun of the situation was the Prime Minister, Count Taaffe. He said one ought to enquire whether the man was baptized to which I replied: "Never fear. Your Excellency, if he were a Jew he would not be called Kohn any more!" But Kohn as a Prince Archbishop was really a provocation. Just imagine the embarrassment of the pious in the land! A Prince Archbishop is a personality! It is for one reason or another, if not from inclination, but at least with regard to party interest, advisable and commendable to make one's devout obeisance to a high Prince of the Church, and on the other hand — Kohn! One can't get over that; it is simply enough to drive one mad! It was a moral compulsion and one could not imagine anything worse. What was one to do? "I am a German maiden and I hate the Jews!" Schönerer had prided himself on having taught these words to his little

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[2]) A brother of *Hermann Levi*, the conductor at the Court Opera of Munich, lived as a bank director Wilhelm Lindeck in Mannheim. He had been baptized many years ago and had taken the name of Lindeck because, having a fine voice, he had at first wanted to go on the stage. So he one day came to Bayreuth during the time when this town first started to be a "festival city" and his brother Hermann, an intimate friend of Richard Wagner's took him along with him to the "Owl", where the artists met and there presented him as his brother. "Your health, Mr. Levi!" somebody soon after proposed, but he answered with his sonorous voice and in a rather offended tone: "My name is Lindeck!" All were stunned, but Hermann Levi, ever humourous and full of reparto, called out across the table: "Well, don't you know I was also formerly called Lindeck, but I changed my name when I was baptized!"

girl when she was quite a baby; unfortunately the admixture of Jewish blood in her veins had by then been proved beyond a doubt. Now it may happen that one is not a German maiden. but one goes on hating the Jews all the same. And this new Prince Archbishop was called Kohn; what on earth was one to do?!

Julius Bauer, the poet, was once addressed by a very officious waiter with the words: "Have I the honour to see Herr von Lowy!" — "No," answered the ready wit. "my name isn't Lowy, I only look like it."

The Prince Archbishop *Kohn* was in the opposite predicament and certainly in a false position. He did not look like it, but he was called Kohn, and that was his misfortune. Prince Liechtenstein, Dr. Lueger and Dr. Pattai were completely upset about this bit of ill-luck, and I made fun of them. But it was really too inviting and too amusing for words to watch all those manifold scenes that took place in public and in secret about this affair. And the thing came about like this:

Cardinal *Fürstenberg* died on August 19th, 1892, in Olmütz and what went on while the rich Chapter of the Cathedral were electing their Archbishop threw a curious light on the hierarchical stratification, the privileges of the nobles, and in particular the contrast between the miserable pay of the hard working clergyman and the abundance of powerful prelates.

There is scarcely another diocese in Austria with such proud associations as that of Olmütz.

This "Moravian Rome" whose time-honoured Metropolitan Chapter still possesses the right to choose its Archbishop is a proud lordly bishop's residence indeed; it reminds one of the olden times of episcopal sovereignty; the owner of its title is lord over wide, flourishing estates, majestic castles, and he even has a *body guard*, which had only been permitted in Austria-Hungary to the *Schwarzenbergs* and *Eszterhazys*. That is also why one had been accustomed to see members of proud aristocratic families on the princely seat of the

Archbishops of Olmütz, and the Metropolitan Chapter at Olmütz itself had made a kind of rule of a certain exclusiveness in the choice of its members. And so this Archbishopric of Olmütz was highly aristocratic, unlike any other in the wide Catholic world, and it was not by this armed body guard alone, and not even by its great possessions and riches, but by the fact that the College of Canons of Olmütz — according to an ancient institution — was exclusively composed of personalities belonging to the high aristocracy.

For three hundred years no plebeian had been placed upon this episcopal seat; the Archbishop Markus Kuhn, belonging to the middle-classes, had ruled the Archbishopric from 1552 to 1566. After that, Austrian archdukes, then dukes, princes, landgraves, bearers of the proudest names had been at the head of the diocese.

And now the first commoner to ascend the princely bishop's throne of Olmütz after many centuries was called Dr. Theodor *Kohn!*

A democratic party had been formed and they had wanted to appoint a canon belonging to the middle-class as head of the bishopric; there were two contending parties, and they could not come to an agreement, and so they decided on the expedient of conferring the dignity on a scholar.

Dr. Theodor *Kohn* had been Master of the Ceremonies with Cardinal *Fürstenberg* of Olmütz; he was Professor of Canonical Law, Chancellor of the Consistory, and displayed extensive literary activity; he wrote articles for German and Bohemian papers on subjects of Church Law, and had gained the favour and confidence of the Cardinal Fürstenberg.

Freiherr von *Gautsch*, Minister of Ecclesiastical Matters, acted as returning officer during the election of the Prince Archbishop by the Chapter of Olmütz on November 7th, 1892. After two successive ballots had taken place Dr. Theodor *Kohn* was returned successor to Prince *Fürstenberg*. Immediately after this election the antisemitic parties started a wild campaign against him, and the low clergy whom he had always kept strictly to their duties revolted against the "Jew";

a desperate fight ensued and the conflict lasted for more than ten years.

The election at Olmütz did not much concern us Jews, for Dr. Theodor *Kohn* had always taken care to avoid all semblance of favouring his kindred by race.

It is an old custom of the Jewish inhabitants of the diocese of Olmütz on special occasions to pay their respects to the archbishop of the time being. Dr. Kohn's predecessor, Cardinal Fürstenberg, had always thanked for every attention received and had returned it in the politest way. Prince Archbishop Dr. Theodor *Kohn* was harsh and refused every civility from the Jews. He evidently wished to manifest his indifference towards the Jewish people, from whom his grandfather had severed himself in order to be revenged on his correligionists. As a second son he had had no right to marry; but he married without a "family" (permission) and was denounced to the authorities, in consequence of a conflict, by an unfriendly neighbour.

Dr. Kohn always excluded the Jewish poor from his charitable works. An application for relief made by the Society of Jewish Women was left unanswered. The Jews were to have no part in the scholarship for grammar schoolboys which he founded. Even Liberal professors left off visiting Jewish families so as not to incur the displeasure of their Shepherd who in his lectures delivered at the Theological Faculty of Olmütz (published in the "Deutsche Zeitung") had declared the old resolution of the Councils, not to associate with Jews, as still valid.

Jewish circles, therefore, considered it rather strange that a Jewish deputation in Ungarisch-Brod not only greeted this Archbishop Dr. Kohn when he was visiting the town, but that the speaker, Rabbi Dr. Moritz Jung, expressed his joy in a long adress "to meet a personality who not only possessed human and spiritual greatness like Your Episcopal Grace, but who united it with genuine nobleness of heart". Now this compliment was neither just nor wise. The political parties warred with exasperation against this "Jewish Archbishop", individual clergymen rebelled against him, anonym-

ous pamphlets were written against him, and insults were heard on all hands against the "arrogant Jew, the Jewish parvenu and intruder". A little more, and the people, infuriated because a clergyman had been arrested by his order would have attacked the Jewish quarter after they had broken the windows of the castle. The Roman Curia did nothing to protect his authority. And thus it could happen that Dr. Gessmann — the Christian Socialist commander-in-chief — gave a lecture in Olmütz which was attended, not only by the Chief-Vicar Weinlich, but by a good number of the Canons of Olmütz.

In the Catholic Congress of Salzburg in 1896 Doctor Deckert, the apostle of race hatred and Dr. Max Anton Löw, the newly baptized who with more self-abnegation than good taste made public speeches on the depravity of the Jewish race — were acclaimed, covered with honours and distinctions, whereas the Prince Archbishop of Olmütz was greeted with jeers and gibes — for he was called "Kohn"!

At a pinch one could by the help of theological quibbles argue away the fact that Jesus of Nazareth was of Jewish descent. Mary, the Mother of God, St. Joseph, the Apostles St. Paul and St. Peter and St. Jakob were, its is true, of Jewish origin, but at least they were not called "Kohn"! The pious attendants of the Catholic Congress at Salzburg showed that they could, if necessary, be tolerant enough to forgive a "Löw" — but a "Kohn" — truly, Christianity ought to have been spared that. A sentence of deep worldly wisdom says: "There may be too much of a good thing."

At last it was decided in Rome to ask him to resign his high office and, for a pretext, he was reproached with having made some mistakes; his predecessor, Cardinal Fürstenberg, had not been hindered in climbing up the grades of hierarchy by many another and more momentous mistake. The "Wiener Fremdenblatt", the semi-official organ of the Foreign Office in Vienna, published the communication from Rome regarding the removal of the bishop of Olmütz with the following commentary: "The Pope made him (Dr. Kohn) understand that his name had caused too many disputes and that it would

therefore be impossible for him to exercise his high office at Olmütz successfully." Neither the purple nor the throne could protect him from the hatred against the Jews or reconcile with his Jewish origin. Unintentionally he had become a Jewish martyr. He would have thus merited respect from the Jews, had he not done everything in his power to forcibly sever every tie between them and himself and to disown the Jewish blood flowing in his veins. During the twelve years of his tenure of office he avoided every occasion of showing them his good will and thus to assure himself of their grateful memory. His name was too heavy a handicap for him, and when he broke down great joy reigned in the antisemitic camp. The fallen dignitary was called "Kohn"; that was enough. His father had been a simple peasant and, like all Tschecho-Slovakian peasants, given to clerical views. He had his son Theodore educated in the training college for theological students at Olmütz, and this son had inherited his father's unbending obstinacy. In spite of all the world he had retained the name of Kohn, and that was his doom. To be Prince Archbishop of Olmütz and to be called "Kohn" — that was more than the Austria of that time, after Count Taaffe's going out of office, could stand.

The way Count Taaffe behaved in the Butchering Campaign was another proof of how little he was imposed upon by antisemitic catch-words. In 1888 a congress of the Societies of Prevention of Cruelty to Animals had demanded, by a solemn resolution, the general prohibition of Jewish butchering in Austria, whereupon Count Taaffe, as President of the Ministry of Home Affairs, convened a special commission, ordering them to watch without attracting attention the various methods of slaughter practised in the Viennese slaughtering houses, and to report about what they had observed to the Ministry. The public knew nothing of this The report of the commission was a splendid justification of the ritual method of slaughtering! Ten years later the town council of Gratz petitioned through the Governor of Styria for a general prohibition of Jewish butchering, but the town council received the answer, by order of Count Taaffe, that

"the inquiries which had been carried on in 1888 about the customary method of "Schächten" practised by the Israelites, had led to the result that, all regulations of the ritual being fulfilled, cruelty towards animals could not be found in the Jewish method of butchering, and that the Ministry in consequence did not find any reason for proceeding against it.

Gratz, April 19th, 1893.

The Governor."

A year after this a decree for a prohibition of Jewish butchery was moved in the Lower Austrian Diet. Meantime Count Taaffe had gone out of office; his successor reigned in the Ministry of Home Affairs. I asked Ritter von Erb, the permanent official with whom I was on friendly terms, to give me a copy of these decrees. He referred me to the Minister, but he refused to let me have the desired copies. There was nothing for it but to have recourse to the aid of an antisemitic journalist of Gratz who procured the literal decree for me and this I published immediately in number 3 of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" of 1894. In a casual conversation the Minister declared that he did not blame me for what I had done, only he did not wish to appear as the author of the publication. Sektionschef von Erb said, with a shrug of his shoulders, that since Count Taaffe had resigned, all measures taken by the government were only treated from one point of view, viz. that of "what would Dr. Lueger say to it".

Foundation of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" (Austrian Weekly Review).

After I had entered parliament and had taken my political bearings I soon saw the necessity of having my own public organ for fighting the continual spreading of antisemitism. The hatred against the Jews had already become a destructive passion revealing itself in an awful brutality of all lowest instincts, a passion which loudly clamoured for victims and only waited for the proper moment to convert cruel thoughts into deeds. The popular mind was kept in a state of stir, agitation and ferment; the Jews, their ways of living, thoughts, and religion were painted in the most lurid colours. Our own ranks were getting discouraged; the number of cowardly deserters increased daily; antisemitic weekly papers and pamphlets started up like mushrooms everywhere; they were spread in thousands and thousands of copies in all sections of the population, but the Jews did not see the danger, because they did not read this literature. The Jewish leaders and political lights feigned imperturbable equanimity — the result of utter helplessness, and a proof of their shameful weakness and lack of moral energy for any action of rescue. I therefore considered a special organ to be the right thing and resolved to name the paper "Österreichische Wochenschrift". It was to be an apologetic paper, a fighting organ for rebutting all hostile attacks against Judaism; on the other hand, it was to teach and enlighten the readers how to parry antisemitic catch-words in public assemblies and private conversations; the paper was to be, and de facto became, the spiritual armory in the fight for the

honour of the Jewish name. Material assistance for the foundation of my paper was not to be obtained from any Jewish party. An endeavour to make Baron Moriz von Königswarter take an interest in it ended so miserably that I was soon convinced that all further efforts would be futile. Baron Königswarter was a Member of the House of Lords and was in a state of war with the Taaffe Cabinet, and especially attacked Dr. von Dunajewski, the Minister of Finances, whom he once took the liberty of addressing in the following terms: "Ministers come and go, but often the thought of their going is the only consolation during he time of their stay." I spoke to him of the dimensions antisemitic agitation had already attained, and of the dangers which were sure to ensue; I decribed the state of war all the parties were in, and that there was no one to take our part, and that everybody considered an alliance with us troublesome and compromising, and that we were doing nothing, but folding our hands in our laps and trusting to providence — I then drew the conclusion that such trust in God was praiseworthy in the case of an individual, but a mistake in a community. — In answer to all this I got a severe lecture on my governmental attitude in parliament, on my voting against the motion of the German Liberal Party, a thing improper in a man of German education. I roundly told him that a millionaire in his castle could easily allow himself the luxury of stinging oppositional speeches; that it was the small Jewish tradesmen and the poor defenceless pedlars in the Prater who had to suffer for it and that they were the prey of the antisemitic mob. Baron Königswarter hated the Eastern Jews, and in a public sitting of the House of Lords he did not hesitate to bring charges against them which subsequently served our enemies as a weapon in their fight against Judaism. He in particular denounced the Galician Rabbis. And once he said literally:

"In the Eastern provinces of the monarchy fanatic Rabbis exercise great influence, not only in the sphere of their profession, but also in all the walks of human life. A

Galician Rabbi meddles with family life, commerce, trade, leases, politics, and even juridical questions, and very often not only with words of admonition or wise counsels. If that has no effect they recur to the compulsory measures of medieval times in defiance of our century!"

It was no easy task to discredit the authority of such sallies which were repeated in manifold variations by the antisemites. In a speech delivered in parliament on February 11th, 1890, I gave him an answer and consider it best to quote the passage dedicated to these accusations. I said:

"Unfortunately Baron Königswarter is not acquainted with Galician affairs. But I will produce a witness who lives in the country, a man who is highly educated, absolutely just and impartial, a man whose name is known far beyond the Austrian frontiers. It is he who will refute these accusations."

"It was on September 30th, 1868, in the Galician Diet that a Polish deputy of Brzezany brought exactly the same charges against the people of our creed as Baron Königswarter did the other day in the House of Lords. At that time a celebrated Polish patriot rose in defence of the Jews and said: "The honoured deputy of the district of Brzezany has no liking for the Kahals i. e. congregations and rabbis. I must confess that I am not so well versed in Jewish religious institutions as to able to judge what a Kahal is; however, it seems to me to be a purely religious institution which has to settle not only religious matters and other social questions but also controversial matters among the Jews. Who can complain about that?"

"Does it not happen that in disputes between Christians and Jews both parties agree to submit to the judgment of either Rabbi or Kahal? I know of many such judgments, and I can tell you that they were just, and the parties submitted to them of their own free will. Would to God, the

speaker added, that we also had institutions we could appeal to in our private affairs. We too are beginning to take up this idea. Some people already act as umpires and pass sentence in private affairs — and I am among them. Nobody has as yet complained about this. And, for instance, would you, Gentlemen, complain if such confidence were placed in our Consistory as to request it to settle our private disputes? Certainly nobody would complain, and would to God that we resembled the Jews therein and could put such trust in our Consistories. We do not find fault with the Jews on that head!"

And do you know, Gentlemen, who spoke thus? No less a person than our most revered President.

I hope that His Excellency, the President Dr. Smolka, is a sufficiently impartial authority on Galician affairs — even to the Deputy Herr Türk!"

Baron Konigswarter declined to contribute anything to the foundation of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" nor could the other Jewish financiers be won over to the undertaking. Help came from somewhere else, not from a Jewish quarter.

I received the funds necessary for the foundation from a Christian fellow member, Baron Sochor, at that time Head Manager of the Galician Karl Ludwig Railway and Deputy for the town of Brody. He considered himself bound to his Jewish electors to support my undertaking as he had found it to be of necessity for the Austrian Jews; he promised further help, which, however, never came, as he had in the meantime been dissuaded by some Jews. I gave the printer the five hundred florins I had received, and on October 15th, 1884, the first issue of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" appeared, with an article outlining its programme and reproaching the leaders of the Viennese Jews with their sins of omission and appealing to all Jewish patriots to take their fate into their own hands and to join in mutual consultations and harmonious actions, so as to meet the threatening dangers. I wished the formation of a union of Jewish citizens,

which was to carry out everything that had been neglected by the old leaders. Besides the public organ an association was to be founded for safeguarding Jewish interests and in defence against attacks.

The "Österreichische Wochenschrift" had at first to overcome many obstacles and to fight against many refractory elements. I chose the name in pointed opposition to Henry Friedjung's "Deutsche Wochenschrift" which propagated German nationalist ideas among the Jewish youth. My political point of view was that the Jews had to declare themselves Austrians par excellence and not to be degraded into helots in the vile welter of nationalist party struggles. The "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift" was conducted in a Jewish-national spirit, all the articles were informed by the desire to thrill national feelings; nationally-Jewish, but not according to the method of the party-dogma, which came into vogue ten years later and excluded all those from Judaism who did not swear to the dogmas of the party. While the national Jewish dogmatists dissuaded all from Judaism who wished for an assimilation of any kind declaring them in that case not to belong to the Jewish community any more, the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" in contrast to this persuaded them that they were Jews, and tried to hinder the severance of any ties that still bound them to Judaism, desiring to rouse a feeling of kinship among all who belonged to the Jewish race and to make them conscious of their inescapable common fate, as well as at the same time arousing a noble pride in their common past of four thousand years unparalleled alike in suffering and in glory. Very soon infant ailments of grave aspect threatened my paper. When the first number had appeared, about fifteen hundred subscriptions were entered, most of them fully paid, so that the life of the paper seemed to be safe, but not my copyright. The printer considered himself to be the publisher and designated himself as such in the paper; besides the five hundred florins I had given him (from the Baron Sochor) he cashed all the subscriptions without allowing the books to be examined. He would not show me the cash book or the list of sub-

scribers. And it was I who had written and edited the whole paper, alone without any contributions, and nevertheless I knew nothing about the proceeds. It was very difficult to get rid of him, particularly as he alone knew the names and addresses of the subscribers. In the seventh number I discovered an article attacking newly issued bank shares. The purpot of his attack was obvious. I was, however, resolved not to open the columns of my paper to practices of this kind. On Thursday, December 4th, 1884 — the whole of the seventh issue had just been despatched and brought to the post-office — I took a carriage in the direction of the post-office and managed to have the whole issue handed over to myself. All through the night, in a small room of an hôtel in the Leopoldstadt, the addresses were copied out and next morning the whole issue was returned to the post-office. Number eight was already printed in another office. The first printer entered an action against me, but not with a civil judge, where he would have been obliged to account for his receipts and expenses, but — on the advice of his counsel — he summoned me before the Criminal Court for copying his paper in print. He well knew that he could not expect a favourable result at a trial. However, my being deputy made it necessary to obtain the consent of Parliament even before the preliminaries of an examination were entered upon. In vain I declared to the Public Prosecutor that I renounced my privilege, that he was to hear me, and that I was ready for the trial. The Public Prosecutor declined; he could not do it without having first appealed to Parliament.

As the lawsuit Rohling was still pending, my counsel Dr. Josef Kopp wished me to avoid a discussion in Parliament of this affair and to allow the claims of the printer; to pay a further sum of 1500 florins and at the same time not to ask him to show me his accounts. My financial situation was now very difficult. Besides the above mentioned 1500 florins I had to defray the printing costs for the rest of the year, while the first printer retained the payment of the subscribers for himself.

It took a good deal of courage and perseverance to over-

come these daily cares and troubles, but after some years of struggle the "Austrian Weekly Review" had won friends and readers in all the Austrian provinces, and later on it got subscribers all over the globe.

Gradually contributors presented themselves who wrote regularly. Among them were some famous men: Gudemann, Jellinek, David Kaufmann, Rippner, Heinrich Mayer-Kohn, the poets Ludwig August Frankl and J. J. David, Professor S. Ehrmann, Lector Friedmann, Professor Sam. Krauss, and others.

Among Zionists there was above all Theodor Herzl, who published his first Zionist programmatic article for a Jewish State in the columns of the "Austrian Weekly Review", further Oskar Marmorek, Dr. Kahn, Professor Dr. Heinrich Löwe, and York-Steiner.

Planned and started as a fighting organ in defence of the daily encroachments practised on Jews, and to refute all accusations against them, the "Austrian Weekly Review" has duly fulfilled its mission in the opinion of all contemporaries. By degress it had risen to be a magazine of war, a scientific armory where all who joined in our defensive war fetched their weapons, ammunition, advice and enlightenment, resource and information. Increasing and multiplying their knowledge of our history, realizing more and more the nature of Judaism, the Jews who had grown more self-conscious and capable of greater devotion to the whole, learned to view with a higher moral courage the phenomena of the times. It was one of the foremost aims of the newly founded journal to purify and deepen Jewish self-respect to spread the knowledge of Judaism and its glorious history, to communicate the inherited mental treasures to the present generation and to counteract treason and apostasy.

In course of time expressions of sympathy and understanding as well as tokens of acknowledgment and kindly encouragement were not lacking. The Jewish students of the Vienna colleges wrote as follows:

"Will you kindly permit the students signed below to assure you of the warm sympathy they bear towards the paper you have founded, an organ of loyal and self-concious Judaism, which was scoffed at by non-Jews, and abused by Jews. It is owing to you, Sir, that the torpor of fatalistic indolence has been broken which had until now tied down even the most intelligent of our race. To have started such a paper in these times of indifference to any interests of this kind is a glorious achievement. Will you, dear Sir, kindly accept from those signed below the expression of their deep gratitude fou your patriotic work and the thanks of Jewish students who cling in enthusiastic love to the ancient imperishable race they belong to and who confidently trust in its future.

Assuring you of our deep respect and veneration, we beg you, dear Sir, to believe us

Yours most devotedly:

N. Birnbaum, stud. jur., S. Burg, stud. med.; Arnold Ascher, stud. jur.; Abraham Salz, stud. jur.; Philipp Fischler. stud. med.; F. Binder, stud. ing.; David Weltreich, stud. techn.; Simon Kiesler, stud. med.; Max Bromberg, stud. med.; S. Silberstein, stud. med.; Moses Fischler, stud. ing.; Leon Capeau, stud. med.; Josef Weinstein, stud. med.; A. Jassinowsky, stud. med.; A. Fischer, stud. techn.; Benjamin Torbe, stud. techn.; G. Ausubel, stud. ing.; Sigmund Bromberg, stud. jur.; Salomon Jaffe, stud. med.; Isidor Seinfeld, stud. ing.; Aufricht, stud. med.; Skobritz, stud. med.; Wolf Fischler, stud. ing.; M. Stengel, stud phil.; Joel Kay, stud. ing.; S. J. Feuerstein, stud. jur.; H. Stecker, stud. ing."

After ten years of publicist activity I received from leading men of the Vienna intellectual Jewish society an address together with a gift of honour amounting to 12.000 florins. In spite of many adversaries the paper had succeeded in obtaining acknowledgment also in Vienna.

The effect the "Austrian Weekly Review" produced in Jewish circles outside Vienna and the enthusiasm it aroused, is reflected in the following somewhat extravagant letter.

"Prag-Smichow, December 29th, 1893.

Dr. Josef Bloch, Editor of the "Austrian Weekly Review". Vienna.

Allow me to present my best congratulations in commemoration of ten years of your successful activity for Jewish interests. You may be proud of your work and we are proud of you as an intrepid fighter endowed with keen mental gifts. Your name will rank among the names of Jechiel of Paris, Nachmanides, Josef Albo, Abraham Furtado and Gabriel Riesser. It is indeed a grievous coincidence that the most adequate apologist of Judaism in the pulpit, Dr. Adolf Jellinek, has just died. On the other hand we consider it an act of Providence that the new sun should arise before the old has completely set. This must be our solace and consolation for the future.

And so I greet you on this most honourable day of joy with the encouraging word of Psalm 45, 4—5.

Accept the assurance of my greatest respect with which I remain

Dr. Samuel Back, Rabbi."

It afforded me great satisfaction to hear words of acknowledgement of the literary value of my articles in the "Austrian Weekly Review" by Hofrat Ludwig Doczi, the poet, who, as secretary to Count Andrassy, had taken part in the Congress of Berlin and was afterwards one of the councillors in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was said of Ludwig Doczi that he was baptized, but for some time he took great interest in the "Wochenschrift". He sent me articles from time to time, but he never signed them. A story about Count Andrassy gave him great pleasure in telling.

"Once when coming home from a shooting party in Terebes the count had placed one of his secretaries beside him on the coach box; the villagers saluted and stared — the most humble to salute and the most eager to stare were a group of Jews in their caftans. The secretary, a rather forward young man, remarked: "Your Excellency certainly

Sehr geehrter Herr Doctor!

Sie stehen seit Jahren in der ersten Reihe, um nicht zu sagen an der Spitze derjenigen unserer Glaubensgenossen, welche den Antisemitismus, den offenen, wie den versteckten, muthig und geschickt bekämpfen, für unser Recht und unsere Freiheit einstehen und unsere Religion wie unser religiöses Schriftthum gegenüber planmäßiger Verdunkelung und absichtlicher Entstellung vertheidigen.

Sie besitzen wie Wenige das für diesen mühseligen Kampf erforderliche Rüstzeug: Genaue Kenntnis unserer Religion und Geschichte, Redegewandtheit, Schlagfertigkeit, Furchtlosigkeit, die Gabe lichtvoller schriftlicher Darstellung und, was Ihnen in diesem Kampfe am meisten zu anerkannten Erfolgen verholfen hat, einen angeborenen und klug angewendeten Spürsinn, welcher Sie befähigt, die Schleichwege aufzudecken, das Lügengewebe zu entwirren und die Machenschaften bloszulegen.

L. GOLLERSTEPPER.

Address on Occasion of the Decennial Celebration of the "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift"

deren die dunkelen Ehrenmänner sich bedienen, um durch Anfeindung der Juden und des Judenthums aus der Nacht ihrer Bedeutungslosigkeit und Dürftigkeit zur Geltung und Vermögen sich heranzuarbeiten.

Dass Sie bei diesem Kampfe auf Dank rechnen, glauben wir nicht.

Sie sind ohne Mandat in den Kampf eingetreten, lediglich dem innern Antriebe folgend, welchen die Liebe zur Wahrheit eingibt, und Sie finden, wie alle Vertheidiger des gekränkten Rechtes und der unschuldig Verfolgten in dem heiligen Kampfe selbst Ihre Befriedigung und Ihren Lohn.

Gleichwohl haben die Unterzeichneten es sich nicht versagen können, Ihnen ihren Dank und ihre warmste Anerkennung auszusprechen, was sie zugleich im Namen derjenigen thun zu dürfen glauben, welche infolge eines Aufrufes an der Ehrengabe sich betheiligt haben, die wir mit dem Wunsche überreichen, dass Ihnen Gott auch fernerhin in Ihrem gerechten Kampfe beistehen und Ihnen

Sieg verleihen möge.

Hochachtungsvoll

Wien, den März 1894.

D. Schmiedl
Rathmann

D. J. Gelbhaus
Rathmann u. Redigent des Tempel-Comm.-Bot.

K. Grünwald
Rathmann

G. Bettelheim
Real-Besitzer, Mitglied d. Tempelgemeinde im II. B.

Salomon Boer
Kaufmann, Vorsteher u. Rath d. Chebrah d. Linie Wien

Marcus Sobotka
Kaufmann, Chef d. Firma M. Sobotka & Sohn, Actien-Gesellschaft für Spinnerei und Weberei

Eduard Bermann
Fabrikant

J. Bum & Co.
Chef d. Firma J. Bum & Co., Besitzer der Fabrik für Leder und Lederwaaren

Samuel Löbner
Realitätenbesitzer, Vorstandsmitglied d. III. Bezirksvertretung

A. Eisenberger
Fabrikant, Mitinhaber d. Firma Eisenberger & Co., Actien-Gesellschaft für Baumwollspinnerei, k. k. Commercial-Rath

Max Fleischer
Architekt, Vorstands-Mitglied der israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

Theodor Otto von Goldschmidt
k. k. Bankier, Vorstands-Mitglied d. israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

A. Gomperz
Vice-Präsident, Präsident des Vereines für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden in Wien, Vorstandsmitglied der israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

Samuel Hut
Kaufmann, Vorstandsmitglied d. Chevra Kadischa

Albert Pasmanik
Cassier, Vorstandsmitglied d. Tempel-Ver. im II. Bez.

Dr. Gustav Kohn
Hof- u. Gerichts-Advocat, Vorstandsmitglied d. israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

Salomon Kohnberger
Privatier, Rechnungsrevident

M. Lenkowitz
K. k. Commerzialrath, General-Secretär der Prinz Constantin'schen Forcados'schen Familien-Fideicommisse, Vorstandsmitglied d. israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

S. Meisels
Fabrikant, Obmann d. Tempel-Comm. Bot. Israel, Vorstandsmitglied d. israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

Regen Merstadt
k. k. Commerzialrath, Vorsteher-Stellvertreter d. Tempel-Vereines im II. Bezirke, Mitglied d. israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

Alois Cossak
Fabrikant, Chef d. Firma B. Ullrich & Sohne, Vorstandsmitglied d. israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

Josef Eisenbaum
Fabrikant, Vorstands-Mitglied des Vereines für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden in Wien

L. Lorier
Kaufmann, Obmann d. Tempelverein „Schalos Israel" im II. Bez.

J. Schwarz
Chefarzt der Wiener Israelitischen Cultus-Gemeinde, Vorsitzender des Ausschusses für Armenkrankenpflege

Dr. Marcus Spitzer
Hof- u. Gerichts-Advocat, Vorstandsmitglied d. israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

D. Löwenstein
Hof- u. Gerichts-Advocat, Vorstandsmitglied d. israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

M. Weiss
k. k. Bankier, Vorstands-Mitglied d. israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

M. Israel Masaryk
Kaufmann, Obmann d. Tempel-Verein „Ahawas Achim" im VIII. Bez.

Politzer Tausig
Fabrikant, Vorstandsmitglied d. israel. Cultus-Gemeinde

Sr. Wolgeboren

Herrn V. J. Block

Reichsraths-Abgeordneten

Wien.

thinks that these Jews are admiring the Minister. That is a mistake; they are admiring me; they know me to be a Jew and my sitting here by the side of Count Andrassy appears to them to be a greater miracle than that the Lord of Terebes should sit in the Cabinet." The count laughed and said his career had not been a bad one either, and at table he asked his neighbour whose career he thought greater — his own or that of his secretary? He reminded him of the time of his banishment, the days when money had been scarce and the outlook gloomy; the secretary opposed his humble descent, the misery of his youth. The tragi-comical description he gave of his sufferings during college life — of days when he had lived on mulberries, and slept on a hard bench, of his first literary salary earned as a letter-writer to a cook — disposed the company in his favour. The angelic countess and her children were the first to forsake the Minister and even the count could not deny that a way up from such beginnings to the present position resembled some romance. "That is true," he said with a tinge of jealousy, "I had no idea that such misery existed. But", "he said with a flush of pride, "on the other hand you have never been hanged."

Foundation of the Union of the Austrian Israelites.

Among the numerous Jewish organisations and charity-institutions which owe their origin to the initiative and propaganda of the "Austrian Weekly" ("Oesterreichische Wochenschrift") the society called "The Union of the Austrian Israelites" was the oldest, largest, and most important.

In its very first issue I appealed to the public with a "call of warning and reminder" and demanded a political organisation of the Jews. I wrote:

> "All parties are in a state of war against us, none will show us any consideration, our alliance has become troublesome and compromising. In our own ranks despondency is spreading, cowardly renegades are multiplying daily, and our leaders are sitting with folded arms leaving the rest to providence — — — Our appeal goes to all those who have their eyes open to the threatening dangers and have patriotic feelings and enthusiasm for our ancient race, that they may unite to mutual action, to a defensive alliance and start the formation of an Israelitic society of citizens! Let us rally with our heads held high, conscious of standing for our right, and we will take up all the intellectual weapons at our disposal to fight the battle."

The call did not pass unheard. On April 4th 1885 several highly respected men, Viennese Jews from different classes of society and of various occupations, met for an exchange of opinions on Jewish affairs. Beside me there were present, the

lawyers Dr. Friedrich Ellbogen and Dr. Friedrich Zins, Docent of the University Dr. Josef Grünfeld, the physician Dr. Emil Pins, the bankers S. G. Fischel, Bernhard Kanitz and J. H. Singer, the barrister at law Dr. Jacob Kohn, and others. After a long discussion the unanimous resolution was adopted to found a Jewish Society with the object of bringing about united political action in all questions referring to Judaism, and to consciously directed influence on the amelioration of religious instruction, on the spreading of the knowledge of Jewish history among the Jews, and on the elevation and furtherance of Jewish race-consciousness, to take arms against the rapidly spreading "Semitic antisemitism" and to contend against all endeavours directed against the heightening of religious and racial contrasts.

A provisory committee was elected to draw up the statutes and to lay down the programme for the activities of the society. Members of the committee were Dr. Bloch, S. G. Fischel, Dr. Kohn, Dr. Pins, and Dr. Zins. I was returned without opposition as chairman of the committee in the constituting meeting, but I declined my election in view of my pronounced political position which was exposed to many attacks. I said in my speech:

> "I am ready to co-operate with you in the great mutual work, I will promote and aid it to the best of my abilities, but I am not the man fit to direct it. Fate has given me a position on the most advanced out-post, and I must defend it. A man standing on a dangerous out-post has his vocation and his duty, but he is not fit to lead and to direct."

At the next ballot Dr. Zins was elected chairman, Herr Fischel his substitute, Dr. Kohn secretary. As early as Wednesday the 8th the committee was able to confer about the draft-statutes presented and to finish them, and also to acknowledge numerous declarations of membership and encouraging letters.

We addressed ourselves to the public with a proclamation the introductory sentences of which were as follows:

"Co-nationals.

Whosoever with a heart and mind attuned to Judaism observes the circumstances in which in our days Jews live and Jewish youth is being educated in Austria cannot close his eyes to the sad conviction that quick and well directed help is necessary if the many thousand years' history of our race is not to become a thing of the past, if the religious, moral, and ethical education of our youth and the Jewish race consciousness of our generation is not to be entirely undermined, and if the rights of the Jews in Austria guaranteed by fundamental State-laws are not to become illusory in consequence of racial disputes and religious passions supposed to be long laid at rest. For our "modern youth" knows no branch of human science so little as the history and literature of its own race; they are not more ashamed of any low way of thinking or any immoral action than of being Jews, and none of their ties are so loosely knit as those which attach them historically to the most ancient of cultured peoples, to the most humane of all nations of antiquity, and to the pioneer in humanity's fight for culture, equality and freedom, for divine and human laws."

And the final sentences said:

"But if anyone believes that antisemitic agitation could be stirred up and quickened by the activity of a society such as the one we are planning we refer him to the results of an inactivity which lasted almost ten years.

Nothing has been done on our side, we have remained isolated and scattered, and we have nevertheless dropped into a state of which we can say that it could not be any worse.

We, therefore, confident of the success of our undertaking, certain that the influence of our society will be for good, appeal to all the Jews of Austria with that confidence and certainty which is given us by the consciousness of fighting for a good, just and holy cause, entreating them to unite all their strength for the foundation

and prosperity of this society and to address declarations of membership as soon as possible to one of those signed below.

Vienna, May 1885."

It was noticed that the new society addressed the "co-nationals" and not the "correligionists", but this did not cause any annoyance.

However, an agitation arose against the prospective society. This Jewish-political organisation was decried by Heinrich Friedjung as a "political Ghetto" and the member of the Board of the Congregation, E. Baumgartner, treated the Union-Society as a Bloch-party, the existence of which they ought not to permit. All kinds of obstacles had to be surmounted before the society could think of constituting itself.

In number fifteen the "Austrian Weekly" reported:

"The idea of our society has found an echo in the widest circles. We are already in possession of declarations of sympathy from Vienna, Lower-Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia. The desire for a common centre has been aroused and we soon hope to be able to constitute the society and choose the functionaries and the chairman, and we hope that highly respected men who have shown their grit in public life will take the lead. Written applications for membership may be sent to the address of the present chairman of the committee of the statutes, Barrister Dr. Zins, Vienna, I., Schottenring."

On April the 24th 1886 the constituting general meeting of the "Union of the Austrian Israelites" took place in the festive hall of the Lower-Austrian Chamber of Commerce and Trade. Among those present were noticed G. Simon, Town-councillor and President of the Congregational Board; Dr. Alfred Stern, Town-councillor and member of the board of the "Israelitic Alliance in Vienna"; Dr. Fürth, member of the Lower-Austrian school-board; Dr. Adam

Politzer, Professor in the university; Dr. Grünfeld, Docent in the university, &c. The chairman of the preparatory committee, Dr. Zins, barrister at law, opened the meeting with a speech from which I quote the following:

"If antisemitism is to be fought we must begin with the "Jewish antisemitism".

Our first task is to raise Judaism in the eyes of others and in our own, to battle against the inner humiliation and abasement and to win back the younger generation which has been almost entirely estranged from us, to win them for our glorious traditions of many thousand years, then to ward off the agitation which is being led against tolerance and humanity, to keep down all endeavours tending to heighten religious and racial contrasts."

The statutes, which were unanimously accepted, gave a definition of the aims of the society in their first two sections:

§ 1. The aim of the society is to raise the interest in Jewish science and in the affairs of Judaism among the Austrian Jews, to give enlightenment as to the errors and prejudices spread about Judaism and to fight against the endeavours to heighten religious and racial contrasts.

§ 2. In order to reach this end the society undertakes the following tasks:

(1) To deal with subjects of the history and science of Judaism in public lectures and periodicals.

(2) To discuss all Jewish matters under consideration in the Austrian Parliament, and to express our opinion concerning them in the form of petitions, resolutions, and the like.

(3) To endeavour to bring about with the help of the appointed factors of legislature and the executive:

a) The improvement of Jewish religious instruction for the young generation;

b) The regulation of the legal status of the Israelitish religious community in Austria by means of a constitution embracing all congregations of Austria;

c) The establishment of a College in Vienna to cultivate the history and science of Judaism and to bring up scientifically educated Jewish ministers for the Austrian congregations.

During the presidential election the scene was repeated in which I refused to accept my election and Heinrich Berger, the head of the firm of Berger & Son, was elected president. There were elected for the board: the banker S. G. Fischel, Docent Dr. Josef Grünfeld, the merchant Hermann Haber, Dr. Jacob Kohn, Clerk in the Court of Justice, the merchant Bernhard Kanitz, Dr. Emil Pins, Dr. Adam Politzer, Professor in the University, Dr. Gustav von Schlesinger and the lawyer Dr. Siegmund Zins.

At the conclusion of the constituting general meeting the Chief-rabbi Dr. Güdemann gave a lecture on "The Importance of Jewish Science for Judaism". At the end of this highly interesting address which was greatly acclaimed the speaker complimented the new society on having undertaken to arrange for lectures from the sphere of Jewish science and for having put down this fact in its statutes, a novelty for Vienna, but supplying a deeply felt want.

During fifteen years I was adviser to the board of directors of the society, I was a regular speaker in every general meeting if no other special lecture had been arranged, and I was present at every meeting of the board. Later on the board of the society considered it necessary to emancipate themselves from my influence, and I gradually lost touch with the society I had myself founded. In the first ten years of its existence the society had been a help and a support to me against animosities on the part of the Jews. There is nothing so characteristic of the state of mind of Viennese Judaism at the time of the foundation of the "Union" as the fact that I and others of my way of thinking had over and over again to mention particularly the necessity of a fight against "Semitic antisemitism".

The Jews were at that time on the side of "radical nationalism" (of all nations), they were above all fanatical defenders of German predominance — regardless of the state of Judaism. And it was the decision against the participation of the Jews in these wild national fights that brought many adversaries upon the society.

The First President of the Union.

Heinrich Berger was born in 1823 in Pressburg as the only son of the merchant Simon Berger, who had emigrated from Kremsier (Moravia) and settled there because he had not succeeded in getting a "Familiantenstelle" (a marriage permit) in his native town and was, therefore, unable to marry.

In 1848 the family moved to Vienna where father and son set up business as indigo and die stuff merchants under the name of S. Berger & Son. Heinrich Berger who was the soul of the business often had to travel to Amsterdam, Rotterdam and London where he got into relation with prominent personalities of orthodox views. Among others he made the acquaintance of Sir Moses Montefiore, who, when visiting Vienna some time later, also considered it worth his while to visit the Talmud Thora-School. For Berger was president and maintainer of this educational institution to his death-day — a school, in which the children of the Eastern Jews got a good education beside their religious training. The pupils being recruited from the poorest classes Berger provided for a distribution of food and clothing for all school-children. The maintenance of this establishment which had been poorly accommodated in an old house in the Sterngasse and afterwards moved to its own home (Malzgasse 16) required large funds to procure which was Heinrich Berger's constant care. The State authorities recognised the excellent results of this school by awarding it the rights of a public school. The liberal town-council of Vienna allowed it a subsidy (it was thus beforehand with the Congregation Board) which was afterwards discon-

tinued, thanks to Lueger's opposition. This loss was then made good by the endeavours of my "Weekly".

Heinrich Berger was one of the founders of the house of prayer in the Schönlaterngasse, and he belonged to its board for thirty-six years. The leaders of this prayer-house were counted among the German wing of the Viennese orthodoxy, who loyally declared to the chairman of the Congregation Board that they did not intend a separation from the community, but wished to remain members and tax-payers of the Congregation and to maintain the unity of it, a point of view Heinrich Berger strictly adhered to and defended in later years on various occasions.

In spite of his rigorous orthodoxy Heinrich Berger was a man of humane views, an advocate of education, and a great admirer of Jewish science; as first president of the Union he considered his task to consist in the propagation of the knowledge of Judaism by arranging for public lectures.

Such public lectures on Jewish history and literature were then absolutely new in Vienna ; and also in Germany the Society for Jewish History and Literature did not yet exist; it was founded some time later by Gustav Karpeles. Already the first lecture given in Vienna — by Professor Dr. I. Freudenthal of Breslau ("Faith and Knowledge" March 31st 1887) — remained an impressive event to all present. Berger considered it important above all to educate those who had been estranged from Judaism, and to bring back their Jewish consciousness by working from within. Later on the desire for and the necessity of political activity grew stronger; the hatred of Jews in the lower and middle classes of the population became more and more aggressive, and so it was necessary to pay continual attention to the defence against hostile attacks. In the general meeting of January 19th 1889 Berger refused a re-election, and Dr. Josef Grünfeld, Docent of the University, was elected his successor.

Heinrich Berger, a high-minded, amiable and tolerant man, highly respected by all, remained a true friend to me all his life, and I shall always remember him gratefully. Dr. Grün-

feld and I were also friends during many years. A number of influential members of the Congregation Board were strictly adverse to the new Society, above all Emanuel Baumgarten who was also my most intimate and inveterate enemy. To these men every political individual action on the part of the Jews — even a merely defensive one — appeared to be a breach of the elementary principles of their traditonal politics.

Emanuel Baumgarten.

Emanuel Baumgarten was born in Kremsier on the 15th of January 1828. He attended several Jeshivahs and was, therefore, theologically and scientifically trained. In 1853 he published a Hebrew poem glorifying the Emperor Franz Josef, and a year later a translation of Bachia's "Duties of the Heart". He adopted a commercial career afterwards without ever becoming well-to-do. From 1872 he was a member of the Vienna Congregational Board where he soon acquired a leading position thanks to his education and his eagerness for work. He was also chairman of the Alliance Israelite and the Viennese Beth-Ha-Midrash, and director of the charity-section of the Congregation; on his intervention and on his recommendation poor Jewish students often got donations from rich members of the community. He was decorated in 1868 with the Order of Francis Joseph; but this decoration had a special story, for it was originally meant to be given to Simon Szanto, the well-known author and editor of the "Neuzeit" ("Modern Times"). During the Austro-Prussian war in 1866 Szanto had personally, and by publications, taken great pains to help the wounded soldiers, and at his suggestion the Vienna Congregation had installed a large military hospital, a fact which was appreciated by the Government, so that after peace had been made Simon Szanto was also to have had a decoration, like many other people. It was the custom, before giving the emperor the papers to sign for a decoration that the secret police-office should investigate whether nothing derogatory was known about the person in question. Such a confidential question had been put to the Vienna Congregation by the State-police concerning Simon

Szanto. Upon this, Emanuel Baumgarten hurried to Simon Szanto and bought the decoration for a few hundred crowns, and Simon Szanto himself wrote to the police that it was not he, but Emanuel Baumgarten who had started the idea and erected the hospital, and that on that account the decoration was to be given to him who actually got it.

Emanuel Baumgarten was the type of those congregational tyrants who were formerly at home in the Moravian small communities, and driven by unwholesome ambition to let everyone feel their power. They had been given the name of "Takifs". — He had incontestable good-will and was ever ready to help those who besieged his house for the sake of getting small gifts, or even large donations through his favour and by his intervention, either from the cash-box of the community or from rich members of the community — but he was a sworn enemy to all those who were not obliged to beg, or were unable to do so. All those quasi-literary men, intellectual proletarians, who wrote reports to foreign Jewish papers to please him, were his protégés; and anyone who managed to place a lampooning article against me in some newspaper became a favourite with him. Not all editors were easily induced to print libels without discrimination. Doctor Rahmer in Magdeburg belonged to those who would unquestioningly accept the most abstruse stories; I had been in connection with him from an early date and had been one of his contributors for years. I was obliged to explain things in a manner which made it advisable for him to be careful in future with regard to Vienna letters.

Baumgarten was a strict master to all the employees of the congregation from the first secretary to the lowest synagogue-attendant, and the fear of him was sometimes really funny. It was his custom when he met a servant of the congregation who by chance wore a new suit to go up to him, catch hold of the lapels of his coat, finger the material and to exclaim in a surprised tone: "Another new suit!" They, therefore, got out of his way in the street, if possible. But where and when did one not meet Emanuel Baumgarten? One could meet him everywhere and at all times, and most certainly when one expected him

least. His private business seemed to take up little of his time; he was always settling some congregational affair or a charity business where he was not expected. Among the employees the saying went: "Buy a fresh roll from the baker's, break it in two — and out will jump Emanuel Baumgarten."

Saal, an attendant in the synagogue of the Seitenstettengasse, Vienna, once bought a new summer suit and kept it hanging in his cupboard for two months — for fear of meeting Herr Baumgarten. One Sunday afternoon he got the order to carry a locked bag of papers to a member of the board, out to Dornbach, a suburb of Vienna. Dornbach is a good way out of town, it was a Sunday afternoon, and he thought he could safely wear that new suit. "Adorned for the first time with the new suit I wandered out to Dornbach. You will not believe me, Doctor, but the first person I met there was Emanuel Baumgarten, and in a minute he was standing beside me, closely looking at my coat, touching the material and saying: "Another new suit!"

He could never forgive me the political part I had taken ; he spread a hostile feeling against me not only among the Congregational Board, but in all circles to which he had access as head of the charity-department of the Congregation. I could feel his hatred daily; he even knew how to influence the chairman of the Floridsdorf Congregation called Buchwald (he died in a lunatic asylum) in such a way that I could do nothing but resign my office in Floridsdorf.

I have already mentioned that the Rabbis Jellinek and Güdemann also had many an unpleasantness to suffer from him. He made them suffer not only through malicious observations or criticisms which hurt their feelings, but he also caused them financial losses. One day Jellinek war particulary excited on account of some mischief Baumgarten had done him, and in his anger he wrote an article for the "Neuzeit" the sole editor of which he was at the time in which Baumgarten's person and behaviour were drawn and severely criticised with fierce humour and very bitterly. Jellinek was

an artist in style, and the portrait he had sketched of Baumgarten as a pest to the community betrayed the master in every line. Baumgarten's name was not mentioned in the article, nor was it necessary, for everybody recognized him by that sketch. Two years had gone by and in November 1889 new elections for the Congregation took place; at last the "Union of the Austrian Israelites" thought it was time to send away a man who was its sworn adversary as well as mine and set up a rival candidate; three days before the election Jellinek's article was reprinted as a pamphlet and distributed among all the constituents as a warning not to re-elect Baumgarten. Jellinek's article naturally exercised considerable influence, particularly on the numerous admirers of Jellinek's rhetoric, so Baumgarten hurried to Jellinek and overwhelmed him with reproaches; he was so overawed and so much intimidated that he wrote a public declaration saying that his name was being misused, and that when the article had been written no thought of Baumgarten had entered his head. But this was not of much use, the candidates of the "Union of the Austrian Israelites" won by a great majority, Herr Baumgarten lost the mandate and withdrew from the Congregational Board.

And only from now onward the relation of the Board to the "Austrian Weekly" and to myself became more friendly.

I shall never forget a scene that took place on the morning after the election in the editorial office of the "Austrian Weekly". A teacher of religion who is at present a member of the school-board and who had rendered excellent services in his department, the son of a highly respected rabbi, wanted to make sure, if the news he had read in the paper that Emanuel Baumgarten had not been re-elected was really true and "if he really was no longer chairman and could not by any trick still remain chairman ?" When he was told that Baumgarten had been in the minority at the election and could, therefore, not possibly be chairman during the following years, because another man had got his position, he actually began to dance with pleasure. But the Chief-rabbi Dr. Güdemann also took occasion drastically to express his satisfaction at the results of the election — some months later, it is true.

My First Parliamentary Session.

Along with the official communication of the result of the election I was given a sum for my travelling-expenses for the journey to the three towns Kolomea, Buczacz and Sniatyn to present myself before my constituents. The journey to the electoral district and my reception there was like a triumphant entry in a fairy tale. Horsemen in coloured costumes on gaily decorated mounts fetched me in solemn procession and I was led through the streets to the Townhall whilst enormous masses of people rejoiced aloud; there enthusiastic speeches were adressed to me and I made my first political speech. Every word I said was acclaimed and they did not tire of saying that the electoral district was proud of having sent me to the Austrian Parliament.

The excessive quantity of incense, however, did not rise to my head; the question what marvellous feats these unsophisticated masses of people expected of me gave me serious concern. Add to this that the official heads, the mayors, town councillors, members of congregational boards, in a word the legitimate leaders, kept very much aloof; they had evidently been overrun, the whole event was not to their taste, and they had let things go on because they were, for the moment, unable to prevent them. And then it was only a by-election and the tenure to last only about a year and a half, and it scarcely paid the new candidate to spend large sums on canvassing for the short time before the new general elections. The mayor of Kolomea, Dr. Trachtenberg, in particular, made no secret of his opinions and would not even reconcile himself to the temporary state of things. But I thought, „Time and straw make medlars ripe“,

and hurried home to enjoy my new dignity. But I soon learnt to know what it means to be the representative of a large Galician-Jewish district. The deputy is the constant mediator for all private interests of every single elector and of all his near or more distant relatives. I had always to intercede personally not only in all matters concerning tax-paying or judicial affairs but also when an elector was insolvent, or could not manage to satisfy his Viennese creditors. Such interventions of the most various kind naturally took up a great deal of time and work.

Of the subjects of a general Jewish interest it was above all the manner in which proselytes were made, the way how there had developed in Galicia a systematic kidnapping of children, which I chose for parliamentary discussion. Cases of child kidnapping formed a standing column in the Galician daily papers. Whoever was conscious of having sinned grievously against God and Man simply caught hold of the first Jewish child he came across in the street and carried it off as a sacrificial victim to the parson or to the nearest convent where it remained buried for ever. It was a votive gift, the price of a church-absolution. What did the sorrows of the parents matter who were only Jews? The authorities only pretended to intervene and declared, in the end, that their power ended at the gates of the convent.

Thus I made the sad case of the family Stieglitz of Cracow the subject of discussion in the sitting of the House of Parliament on the 19th of March 1885. Rachel, the eldest daugther — fourteen years old — of the upholsterer Chiel Stieglitz in Cracow suddenly disappeared in 1882. The parents begged and prayed the police for help, but they did not take much trouble to clear up this puzzling case. Nine months later the parents heard that their child was living in a convent of the Benedictines near Wieliczka; the mother went there but was not allowed to speak to her child alone and without a witness. In the presence of the Mother Superior Rachel only said that she had been sent there by Pater Eberhard of Cracow. Soon after the girl was sent on to Alt-Sandec. When the mother had gone to see her there, too,

the child was sent off to some other unknown place. For three years the parents of Rachel Stieglitz longed in vain for their daughter of whom they were thus deprived. In vain the mother had appealed to all the authorities for help; in vain she begged them as well as the Jesuit priest Eberhard who had baptized Rachel Stieglitz to let her daughter return; in vain she assured them that she continued to dearly love her daughter and that her becoming a Christian made no difference and that she would ever continue to love her. In answer to the heart-breaking laments of the unhappy mother Father Eberhard said that her daughter could only be returned to her under two conditions, the one being that she, the mother, should become a Christian and the other that the father should give a written declaration that he renounced all his rights of a father to his child Rachel Stieglitz.

In December 1883 Father Eberhard had ordered the young girl, who was now fifteen years old, to be sent to Cracow. She did not, however, live in a convent there but stayed with a private family, under strict control and watch. Now the young girl had succeeded in bribing one of the guardians and had sent a written note to her parents in Jewish letters in which she implored them to do their utmost to free her from her highly unpleasant position. She was naturally immediately sent away and installed elsewhere.

Once when a deputation of English Roman Catholics was received by the Pope, a good deal was spoken of the "increase of Protestant propaganda in Rome" and it was mentioned in the daily papers that the Pope had said on that occasion, that "the Protestants misuse the miserable financial situation of Rome to make proselytes with the help of money". But the New Testament warns against seeing the mote in the eyes of others and not the beam in one's own. The way of making proselytes in Galicia, the abduction of girls from their parental homes — a traffic which flourishes there — the way of stopping the powers of the State at the gates of the convent, so cleverly practised there, are examples of so striking a type that one ought not to neglect them even at Rome.

Rachel Stieglitz' fate roused general sympathy since the case had been revealed to the public in Parliament. The Minister of Justice Dr. Baron von Prazak promised help; he had the records sent to him and had the firm intention to order the Supreme Court of Justice in Cracow to take action so as to set public opinion at rest. Frau Stieglitz came to Vienna, and I introduced her to the Minister of Justice to whom she gave a binding declaration that she would exercise no influence on the religious convictions of her child, that she found no cause of complaint about the performed change of religion, but that she had every reason to complain on account of the shocking infringement of the laws, because her child who was not yet of age was being forcibly kept away from her against every law of nature. But Father Eberhard always tried of shift the question on to religious grounds and to make himself out the protector of the child from Jewish fanatism. I then got the following letter from a Christian citizen, the gardener W. H. Morgenstern of Cracow, Kopernikus 38, dated April the 3rd, 1885:

"I see from the papers how warmly you spoke up for the family Stieglitz and, your love of humanity being well known, I hope that you will also endeavour to return to me and my wife our family happiness which unfortunately has been destroyed. We are in a similar situation to the Stieglitz family, and I will describe my case to you: I was born in Luther's native town in the province of Saxony, a protestant, married, naturalised in Cracow since 1861, and I have a son who is now studying Protestant theology at the University in Vienna, and a daughter Emma born in 1865. I had her carefully educated in a good school. But unfortunately I sent her in 1880 to a Catholic convent of the Sisters of Mercy here, so that she should acquire greater skill in the French language. There she made the acquaintance of Father Eberhard and the Jesuit Director Langer. The child was persuaded to become a Roman Catholic; my wife and I tried to dissuade her, and we were willing that our daughter should go to Podolia as a governess in 1881. A year later my daughter returned.

But Father Eberhard must have heard of it, so he renewed his acquaintance with my daughter and the consequence was that one day, it was on the 8th of November 1882, she suddenly disappeared without leaving a trace. My wife in her dispair went to Father Eberhard to question him as to my daughter's whereabouts. He asserted that he knew nothing about her, but added that even if he did he would give no information; he could only promise that he would refuse her daughter's wish to become a Roman-Catholic so long as her parent's consent had not come — a most remarkable consideration which has not been practised towards the Stieglitz parents, and a promise which he did not keep in the end. — We have repeatedly appealed to the police, to the Public Prosecutor and to the district-court — without succes. Since then two years and five months have elapsed and we are still looking for our child in vain, and at the district-court we were even told when we had again had a refusal: "It is not wise to prick such a wasps' nest." — — —

According to unreliable information my daughter is staying in the Convent Sacrament in Lemberg, and a Dominican Father has gone there on purpose to convert her.

We even repeatedly got letters from my daughter, sometimes from Vienna, sometimes from Paris or Warsaw, written by her own hand but with the contents evidently dictated. The letters are usually a long time coming. We are deeply pained that our good child, who was so well brought up, should be systematically trained to lie to her father and mother.

My poor wife's health is so shaken by this awful incident that the doctors are seriously anxious about her state of mind and she has been ill in bed for a long time.

Dear Sir, have compassion on an unhappy family and do all you can to bring back to our family the child from whom we have been forcibly separated.

Very truly yours

H. Morgenstern
Gardener in Cracow."

I presented this letter to the Minister of Justice and seriously demanded honest redress against such lawlessness. I also appealed to public opinion and had Morgenstern's letter published in all the daily papers. The continuation of these shameful events was universally followed with strained attention, but this curious chapter of the history of civilization ended without satisfaction being given to the disturbed public conscience. My action in parliament as well as the interference of the Minister only caused these two poor girls to be smuggled across the Austrian frontiers. The Roman Catholic Church adheres to the principle that a child which has once been baptized according to Roman Catholic rites is never to be given back to its non-Catholic parents. Such kidnapped children usually remain utterly lost, and only rarely a trace of their existence comes to their unhappy Jewish parents. No Galician judge ventured even to summon Father Eberhard.

I received the following letter from the Students' Society Kadimah:

Your Reverence, most honoured Sir,

If ever a man has merited thanks from the Jewish people and particularly from the Jews in Austria it is to your Reverence that it is fully due. Whereas many a Jew occupying a high public position neglects to stand up for his people from some inexplicable feeling of shame, if their honour and right are endangered, your Reverence has always openly entered the lists to defend Judaism with spiritual weapons and your Reverence has particularly done so as a Member of Parliament on every occasion. The Board of the Academical Society "Kadimah" takes the liberty of expressing to your Reverence the most cordial thanks and gladdest acknowledgment of all the members of the society in accordance with the unanimous resolution of the full assembly of April the 18th for having stepped forth in the affair "Stieglitz" in the public sitting of Parliament and for your endeavours for Judaism generally.

For the Committee of the Academic Society "Kadimah",
Student of Law M. Heilpern Student of Medicine H. Burg
Secretary President

Besides I find in the "Austrian Weekly" number 14 file 1885, a letter addressed to me by the noble philantropist Sir Moses Montefiore:

I pray to the Almighty that he may take you and yours into His keeping and that He may give you sterenght to continue your noble endeavours in the interest of our holy religion, for the benefit of suffering mankind, and for the victory of Truth and Justice. May He who guides the hearts of men inspire you with sacred zeal that you do not rest until all those who suffer innocently should be freed from their oppressors and Israel shall live in peace in all parts of the earth. With the assurance of my respect I have the honour to be

Moses Montefiore.

The Hebrew original is unfortunately no longer mine; during an electoral campaign in the following year one of my friends in the electoral district borrowed and never returned it.

Electioneering Campaign against Dr. Emil Byk.

The statutory term of the then Parliament was over and it had been dissolved by a speech of the emperor in the *Hofburg*. The writs for a new election were issued, and so I wrote to Herr Wieselberg of Kolomea telling him that I intended to go there shortly to report on my activity to the constituents. Wieselberg was officially only the chairman of the Congregation Board and Town Council but in reality he had the greatest influence on all departments of political life of the town as well as on the affairs of the community as the absolute leader of the ruling party. For ten years all offices, from the mayor's down to the night-watchman's, had been conferred by his patronage. He was a mere pettifogger, without any real education, but in the way of managing a lawsuit he was far ahead of all the lawyers of Kolomea. The mayor, Dr. Trachtenberg, who was not exactly overburdened with intelligence, was dependent on him, was his creature, and became rich under his protection. Little Wieselberg, with his long beard and clever eyes, was highly praised by all Kolomea and its surroundings. No one said that he was a good man but I was told that he was "bright as day". And in fact all grew wealthy who trusted themselves under his wing.

His answer to me was more than polite, even sympathising in a way. He said that it was a superfluous journey, very fatiguing and expensive, and that he would not advise me to undertake it. As matters stood my re-election was out of the question. The enthusiasm of two years ago was gone, the needs of life were sobering and would not allow any intoxication to last, be it ever so sweet. Conclusion: I was to save myself the trouble of

going there. — Dr. Emil Byk from Lemberg had employed the two years in very active canvassing, the mayors, town councillors and chairmen of the congregations of the three towns were on his side and no less so the owners of the small usurers' banks; his means made it possible for him to get the representatives of Government also under his influence. A reflection of this state of affairs was visible in Wieselberg's letter. I answered that I could not be prevented from thanking the electors personally for their confidence and from accounting to them for the way in which I had employed my mandate. I soon found that I had not lost the attachment of the mass of constituents and that Emil Byk's party for the present consisted of officers without an army. An electoral assembly had taken place on May 2nd 1885 in the synagogue of Buczacz of which an official telegramm reported that "Dr. Bloch's candidature was unanimously declared."

At the same time an electoral committee constituted itself at Sniatyn and four votes were given to Dr. Byk and twelve to Dr. Bloch. In Kolomea a Bloch-party was formed under the name of "The Good Fellows" which was joined by the important family Brettler, with the venerable patriarch Jacob Brettler at their head. As elections for the town-councils were drawing near, it was considered useful and perhaps a good chance to proclaim war against town corruption as a programme.

Numbers of the Polish intelligentsia with Wisniowski, the Polish author, at their head, took interest in the town-council elections and offered to form an electoral alliance with "the Good Fellows" to fight side by side with them in the parliamentary elections for Dr. Bloch, if in return they would promise, in case of victory, to enter the lists with Wisniowski in the fight at the town-council elections for a new mayor who was to belong to his party. This agreement was entered into and on May the first an electoral assembly put up a local election committee, decided on delegating a member to the Lemberg Central Election Committee, and Mr. Wisniowski who was entrusted with this mission delivered a glowing speech in favour of my re-election. He had been joined by his friend

Stephan Ritter von Szczepanowski and both together undertook the management of the campaign for the parliamentary election in the town of Kolomea. Both friends were men of vast experience, had been great travellers, and had spent some time in America. Szczepanowski's conception of the Jewish question is set down in an essay "Nędza Galizyi" ("The Misery of Galicia") which was published some years later. Several chapters contain a detailed description of the misery of the Jews. His principal maxim was: "Antisemitism is a very important sign of the return to barbarism, now visible in the whole world, after the example of Germany, and it belongs to that spiritual epidemic that is spreading from Germany all over the world."

He was elected M. P. of the town of Drohobycz two years later in recogniton and appreciation of his brave and determined behaviour in favour of my election, regardless of the Polish newspapers accusing him of treason and a breach of "national solidarity". Wisniowski called for a court of honour of colleagues after the end of the election and they unanimously recognised his behaviour as justified by the circumstances; besides Wisniowski put himself personally at my disposal.

On May 3rd I left Vienna for the electoral district where the party-fight had already begun. I stopped in the capital, Lemberg; the seat of the Central Election Committee was there, composed of delegates from all electoral districts of Galicia as well as of eminent representatives of the political parties, of the press, and other prominent persons, and it was said to be a duty of "national solidarity" to respect their judgment.

His Excellency Franz Smolka, the President of the Austrian House of Commons, had recommended me — out of sympathy with Adolf Fischhof — to his friends in Lemberg. Franz Smolka, a veteran of the Polish democracy and constitutionalism, with clear-cut features and a long pointed beard, a figure of very stately appearance, belonged to the most distinguished celebrities of the Galician Poles; there was a halo dating from the year 1848 round his head and he was venerated personally; his political advice, however, was

less respected. In the Galician "Landtag" (diet) he made a long and very effective speech in favour of the emancipation of the Jews and I recalled part of it to his memory at one time in parliament; since then he has been watering his wine. It was obvious that he tried to please all parties. He would have been the ideal personality for an impartial management of political bodies if he had not grown deaf in his old age. This deafness was abused by all the Radicals whose worst parliamentary excesses he usually did not hear, and if afterwards his attention was called to the flowers of speech they had used he would endeavour to blame them and had to read the shorthand reports with all the censured invectives and sallies to the great glee and amusement of the Radicals.

As he had already presided over the Kremsier Parliament he was able to celebrate his fifty years' jubilee as a President of Parliament. At the festive dinner Count Adalbert Dzieduszycki addressed to him the following words:

> "There is a myth saying that when a great man is born to a people the muse solemnly steps up to the child's cradle to kiss the new born babe and thus to determine the child's future and the direction of its genius. If the child is kissed on the mouth it will be a great poet; if the muse kisses the child's forehead it will be a great thinker, a philosopher; if she kisses his eyes mankind will be given a painter of genius; if the child's ear is kissed a great musician, a composer has been born! — Now tell me, Franz Smolka, thou who wast permitted to sit for fifty years on the seat of a President of Parliament in the Austrian Empire, where didst thou receive the kiss of the muse?"

Beside Franz Smolka Count Potocki had also spoken in my favour.

Count Alfred Potocki was one of the most elegant and distinguished representatives of the Polish aristocracy, a man uniting in his person all the virtues and merits of the Polish cavalier. The personality of Count Potocki was one of particular amiability among the number of statesmen who had

appeared in public life as active ministers of state in the course of time and since the existence of the Constitution in Austria. He was so absolutely a gentleman in all his views and convictions and so strict in his judgment of himself, so lenient towards others, that sympathy for him personally was continued even after his farewell to Government. Count Potocki was a benevolent and kind master to the Jews as Premier and then during the many years he was Governor of Galicia; he gave furtherance to their efforts for culture and was full of sympathy for their sufferings. He was on friendly terms with many Jewish families and was frequently the guest of the Kallirs at Brody; the head of this family was greatly honoured by him in spite of their differences on political topics. An unforgotten scene took place in 1884 in the Galician diet. Merunowicz, a notorious Member of Parliament, had addressed the following interpellation to the representatives of the Government:

> "Considering the fact shown by the Crakow trial of the murder in Lutcha that in this country an awful crime has been committed by the Jews (from religious motives) and that even a Christian has been induced by pressure to take part in it, the Representative of the Government is asked to declare whether the Government be not willing to revise the collection of religious and moral laws and the traditions of the Jews, especially with regard to ritual and civic laws and to investigate if these laws do not clash with the laws in force in Austria and with the norms especially issued for the Jews, and whether the Government does not consider it necessary to enlarge its right of supervision and control of Jewish institutions for the sake of preventing in future a spreading among the Jews of those doctrines dangerous to the community at large."

When this interpellation had been read, Count Potocki asked in a surprised tone as if he had been listening to some ghostlike voice: "But who has signed that?" This short question, put with so much surprise, was an annihilating

verdict against the antisemitic movement and illuminated very effectively the monstrosity of this antisemitic interpellation.

Count Potocki and a small number of his intimate friends warmly took up my candidature in the Central Election Committee of the country. It was natural for men like Dobranski, the owner of the "Gazeta Narodowa", to fight against me with animosity. Eusebius Czerkawski reminded the public of my action in the affairs Stieglitz and Morgenstern when "the member of Parliament standing for Kolomea had considered himself to be absolutely free from any regard for the Polish Club." It availed little that Count Potocki reminded the assembly that religious questions and interests were not subject to any resolution of the Club and that justice was due to Dr. Bloch's point of view. The assembly had long determined to excommunicate me as "being harmful to the nation" and to force the constituents to elect Dr. Byk. Afterwards I found an occasion to thank Count Potocki personally. The preacher Löwenstein made use of the pulpit to remind repeatedly the people of their duty of "national solidarity" with the Poles, whereas the Head-Rabbi Ornstein addressed himself to the Rabbi Hillel Lichtenstein in Kolomea on my behalf. The Jewish population in Lemberg also showed me their sympathy during my stay there, wishing me success in this unequal fight, which caused the Polish newspapers in Lemberg to write long invectives against the Jews. Everybody knew that this patriotic eagerness had been well paid; Byk's agents canvassed with full pockets.

Rodkinson also belonged to Emil Byk's enthusiastic friends; but he did too much of a good thing and was advised by two friends of Dr. Byk's to destroy two pamphlets against me already in the printing-office; they were afraid that the effect of these products of the press would be different to what had been intended. Preacher Löwenstein in particular had made this clear to Dr. Byk; however, Herr Rodkinson's fee had not been reduced.

The noise of this campaign was to be heard all over Galicia so that in every Jewish community parties for or against one of the candidates were formed. The singular East-

Jewish banter also entered into the campaign and was turned into a weapon; of the many bonmots that were passed round between "Bykists" and "Blochists" I only remember two. As chance would have it the part of the Torah that was being read in the synagogues during the week of election began with the word וישב and is, therefore, also called so. It turned out that the four letters of the word contain the strict admonition: "W—ählet J—osef Sh—emuel B—loch" (vote for Josef Shemuel Bloch). An argument against the Byk-party was the following: How can a Jew vote for Byk when it says in the Bible (Ex. 20, 5; 23, 24; 34, 14; Dt. 5, 9; Mich. 5, 12; Ps. 81, 10) לא תשתחוה in six different places that it is strictly forbidden to "bow". "Thou shalt not byk" (as the translation goes in Yiddish). The blind hatred and the savage slanders with which I was persecuted daily by the entire Polish press caused astonishment and anger and could not fail to awaken sympathy for me. Several hundreds of Jewish citizens in Lemberg addressed themselves in a petition to the Central Election Committee of the country for their approval of my candidature for which almost nine tenths of the Jews of Galicia voted. Considering the fact that the country of Galicia sends several Catholic and Ruthenian clergymen to Parliament, it would be no unjust demand to wish for a spiritual representative of the Jews in Parliament as well, especially as the Central Election Committee must be aware of the real state of mind of the constituents of the three electoral towns and that they are of the same opinion as the petition of the Israelitic citizens of Lemberg.

I arrived at Kolomea on May 9th and was greeted there by numerous friends with all signs of sympathy. A long row of carriages awaited and accompanied me to my hotel and I saw to my surprise that the houses were festively decorated. The crowd greeted me enthusiastically in front of the hotel again and again till I stepped out on the balcony and addressed them. I began with the word: "I have come with empty but with clean hands." These words had the effect of a bomb and demonstrated to Messrs. Wieselberg and Co. that they had underrated that Rabbi

from Floridsdorf. A constituent assembly at which I rendered my account came off more successfully than I had expected. The "leaders" of the town and the Kahals kept away and after a lawyer had blamed me for speaking Yiddish and not Polish to the constituents, I declared that I had wanted to show that the 800.000 Jews in Galicia had a right to confer about politics with each other in their own mother-tongue. On the Saturday I spoke in the synagogue; on Monday I left for Sniatyn. There the tax-gatherer had threatened many people to be very strict in collecting all the remaining taxes if "the d . . . . Blochak" were to be elected. I was to have gone to Buczacz from Sniatyn, but our delegate to the Central Election Committee of the country, Dr. Wisniowski, had come from Lemberg and had told me in a confidential interview that took place in a villa out of town about the proceedings at the meetings of the Central Election Committee of the country. He reported to me that Byk had declared Dr. Bloch's election to be out of the question "because he had not even the right to vote; his name is not to be found in any list of constituents, not in Vienna nor in Korneuburg to which borough Floridsdorf belongs. Bloch has no active and, therefore, no passive franchise."

This news struck me like lightning and I told Herr Wisniowski that I would immediately return to Vienna to see to the matter, but that he was to tell his friends that I had gone to report to the Prime-Minister about the behaviour of the organs of the State towards me. I myself understood that I had neglected an important matter, to see whether I were eligible. Formerly I had had the right as Rabbi of Floridsdorf, but I had lost it in consequence of my having moved to Vienna and having given up the calling as Rabbi; I had neglected to assure myself of my right by paying direct taxes and Doctor Byk had evidently been told about it by his agents. I was to have paid taxes as owner of the "Austrian Weekly", only by some incomprehensible negligence these taxes had not been collected and I on the other hand had not gone up myself to pay them.

Time for protesting against mistakes in the electoral

register was not yet over ; on the day of my arrival in Vienna I conferred with my lawyer and had a complaint lodged with the Governor by Dr. Josef Kopp, one of the leading men of the opposition, saying that the taxes which I was bound to pay by law had not been collected — I will not examine whether this had been done intentionally or by mistake — anyway, this can and must not serve as a pretext to take away a man's franchise, and Dr. Kopp added reasons and arguments. At the same time I called on the Prime-Minister, reported what had happened, and begged him to cause the governor to put my name on the register at once. This was done and twice twenty-four hours later I had the governmental decree in hand, stating that a correction of the Vienna register of constituents had taken place on my complaint, and that my name had been inserted.

I did not succeed in making the chairman of the Congregation Board of Floridsdorf again give me the function of a Rabbi though unpaid; the reason was the passive resistence of the president who would not convene a meeting for that purpose. For a very long time he had belonged to the party of Dr. Byk and Emanuel Baumgarten.

My opponents had correctly explained my "flight to Vienna"; on my arrival in Vienna there had come telegraphic inquiries — officially at the Governor's, and privately, with paid answers, at the Corporation's: One wished to know about my electoral right. The Governor kept the inquirers waiting for two days and then gave the confirmation of my electoral franchise in his own name.

And now I had to go back to Galicia where I again stayed in Lemberg for two days. Dr. Byk was of opinion that he could buy off my candidature with a heap of money because my financial situation was bad, but I of course refused such an offer with due indignation ; however, I desired to speak with him and I said to him :

Let us stop giving such an ugly example of fighting, which only pleases our enemies. The enemy is looking out for a favourable moment to make use of the mutual

animosity for his own ends. Let us both go to Kolomea, Buczacz or Sniatyn, let us convoke an electors' assembly in one of these towns — you may choose which —and he who is elected by the constituents wins. I will bind myself by writing to submit unconditionally and without any prevarication to the decision of the Jewish assembly of constituents."

Dr. Byk refused this loyal, just and unselfish proposal by referring to the decision of the Central Election Committee. However, he was sufficiently aware of the disposition of the constituents and had acquainted himself with it by personal experiences. He wished to speak to Jewish electors in the synagogue, but no audience was to be found. When the Mayor Stern offered to pay a florin to every attendant in the synagogue, he was advised to dress up peasant lads in Jewish costumes and to pack them off to the synagogue. In Sniatyn he got a rough lesson as to the frame of mind the Jewish mass of electors were in. However, he believed in the invincible power of money among a poor and suffering Jewish population, and he believed in the unerring ability of those electoral hyenas who until now have always had their way. His confidence was founded above all on the fact that the burgomasters, town-councils and municipal clerks of the three electoral towns who had to put together the lists of constituents were all in his service. Bernhard Stern, burgomaster of Buczacz, once cynically boasted of his tricks at the poll: he counted people with two first names three times in the lists, with both at a time and then with one of the two; if they were in his service he could let them vote three times, if not he could refuse them; it was easy enough for him to state who was who as he was president of the electoral committee.

On my way to Buczacz I stayed for a few days in Stanislau as a guest of the families Halpern and Lipa Horowitz. There I made the acquaintance of a very well educated and intelligent young man, Horace Schorr, a friend of the ill-famed burgomaster Berisch Stern in Buczacz. This young

man one day spoke to me confidentially saying : "Dear Doctor Bloch, don't you believe that the electors will be of any use to you if Berisch Stern sits at the box and counts the votes together with his prefect ! He told me he would not let you have more than a hundred votes." I hurried back to Lemberg, went to the Governor and insisted on a representative of my party in the electoral committee, which I was promised. On arriving at Buczacz after this, I was fetched from the station by nearly the whole of the Jewish population and there was no end of jubilation and cheers, but I had to look for a room in a private family, for the prefect had ordered his secretary to strictly forbid all hotel and innkeepers to put me up. Everybody had been forbidden by the mayor to look into the electoral lists ; they contained the names of many dead people for whom dummies had been told to vote, and as that kind of people were not forthcoming in sufficient numbers some had to appear repeatedly in front of the box, so that a peasant lad afterwards declared to the court of justice in Stanislau — at a trial — that one was generally of opinion that everybody could vote for Dr. Emil Byk, also those without a right of voting.

The way canvassing went on became worse and worse the nearer the day of election approached ; a number of Polish journalists went all over the district speaking for Byk : whoever wanted to earn a bit of money offered them his services.

The Country Central Election Committee sent a special delegate to Kolomea to warn them in the name of the country against electing Dr. Bloch. This delegate was Jan Dobrzanski and he told the constituents in an assembly that if they elected Dr. Bloch they would fare badly, not only in town, but that every individual elector would have occasion to feel the wrath of the country. In Buczacz the Jewish mayor told the Christian inhabitants that Dr. Bloch was being defended by the Jews because he was an enemy of the Christians and had already endeavoured to put two honorable Catholic priests into prison. Public posters written by Jewish lawyers appealed to the

fanaticism of inextinguishable hatred of the Jews to fight for the Jewish parliamentary candidate Dr. Emil Byk.

During the day of election and a few days earlier I stayed in Buczacz. Two days before the election the Jewish electors had not got a single electoral certificate, not a single ballot paper. The entire Jewish constituency was assembled in front of the town hall on those two days (Saturday and Sunday), waiting for their certificates and ballots. Nobody left, they had their Sabbath service in the open air, but the mayor (who had been saved from bankruptcy by me) refused to give a single certificate. They complained by wire to the Prime-Minister and Governor; orders came to satisfy the electors, and the burgomaster at last condescended to hand out twenty ballots.

The fight began again, the electors rushed to the prefect and he gave orders for certificates and ballots to be immediately distributed among the electors. Again ten ballots came, but were filled up with the name of Dr. Byk. At that moment one of the electors remembered the electoral law, went off to the prefect and asked for a duplicate of his certificate, but instead of an answer he got — a box on the ear from the prefect. But the constituency did not lose patience and persisted; they asked for certificates and ballots, the police had to interfere and endeavoured to send away the discontented electors — all in vain! The police threatened to shoot, and the electors uncovered their chests and a many-voiced shout said "Shoot!" The fight lasted for two days and after repeated complaints at the Prime-Minister's and at the Governor's the Jewish electors had at last succeeded in getting 450 certificates and ballots.

On Monday morning they all assembled in the synagogue to take solemn oaths before God and the community to vote for the candidate of Judaism, Doctor Bloch; they went to the election, everyone of them, and none stayed at home, and everyone of them delivered his vote. At the poll which took place with the exclusion of the public, 306 votes for Bloch, and 503 for Byk were found. It is true Buczacz had altogether scarcely 300 Christian electors, but Herr Stern had managed his trick once more, and I had been defeated.

But how about the Governor's promise to allow my party two confidential men for the electing commission? Mayor Stern had dubbed two of his henchmen "Bloch's partisans", presented them to the prefect, and he summoned the two men proposed by Mayor Stern to the electing commission and sent his report about them to the Governor.

Everybody was very glum, the more so as very soon after news came from Sniatyn that I had been in the minority there too. When the result of the poll favourable to Dr. Byk had first been made known in Sniatyn, the worthy constituency rushed to the Jewish cemeteries in their first intoxication of victory, smashed tombstones, and pulled down the wall of the cemetery. The Jewish population fled to their homes; they dreaded bad excesses from the fanatic crowd.

So the battle had been lost, for news from Kolomea also sounded far from comforting. The peasants of the neighbourhood who politically belonged to the town had come up and were well fed; they besieged the electing-room and were continually reinforced. When the news from Buczacz spread, our party mourned and was discouraged. The election in Kolomea lasted till late at night, it was midnight, and still the constituents crowded up to the electing-room and demanded the permission to vote. At one o'clock at night the election had to be interrupted and put off till next morning, because the members of the commission were over-tired and exhausted. The ballot box was sealed up by the prefect and well taken care of.

At three o'clock at night our party-leaders held an intimate meeting about what was to be done now, and at this conference the delegates from Drohobicz were present also who had come to help our party. The Jewish leaders were disheartened, for in consequence of the deceit practised by Stern in Buczacz, the opponents had a majority of about 450 votes; in view of this fact our leaders wanted to resign themselves to their fate. They prepared to slip home slowly, unseen by the opponents who were joyfully bustling about in the street. At that moment the Pole Wisniowski began to speak, and told the people to keep in mind that Dr. Emil Byk's agents

had not left out or neglected a single vote which it had been possible to buy, and that the paid people had done what they had been paid for. Therefore the number of constituents who had not yet voted consisted of people whom it had not been possible to buy with money. The electors of the following day would therefore exclusively be in Dr. Bloch's favour and canvassing must be continued. His encouraging words were approved of, carriages were procured to fetch the Jewish electors from the suburbs, and the work of rescue was being prepared. Work began at six o'clock in the morning. Women and even children went from house to house imploring the people to go and vote. Some electors had hidden themselves from fear of the members of the Congregation Board, for instance the melamdin (the teachers of children), the (Jewish) butchers, &c., but their own wives had given them away, they were brought out of their hiding places and taken to the urn by a crowd of women and children. The excitement was very singular; old women hurried to the cemeteries and implored their dear deceased for help in the good cause, and the synagogues were filled with praying men.

Wisniowski's logical argumentation proved more and more to be correct; those who went to vote now or had been taken to the poll were not corruptible men, they did not vote for Emil Byk. The opponents recognised this too and Mr. Wieselberg hurried into the street and addressed the assembled crowd, saying they were not to forget that Dr. Emil Byk had promised to build a synagogue for the Jews of Kolomea in case of his election, and a church, organ and all for the Christians. But the constituents in question on this second day were deaf to all arguments.

The election was ended at two o'clock in the afternoon, votes were collected and the result was a majority of about 28 votes for the Bloch-party. I will not discribe the scenes of joy that followed, I will only state that no interest was shown for any other election, all over Galicia, except for this one of Kolomea. The reports about the state of mind of the population of Lemberg were of special interest. Dr. Byk was president of the Congregation there and had thousands of social connections with the inhabitants. When the first news arrived from Sniatyn

and Buczacz not the faintest sign of satisfaction was noticeable. Dr. Byk invited his faithful adherents, chiefly representatives of the Polish press, to a solemn banquet to celebrate the victory. The leading article of the "Gazeta Narodowa" said: "It gives us little pleasure that Dr. Emil Byk was elected in Kolomea, but that Dr. Bloch was defeated is highly gratifying, and we welcome the fact as the sole redeeming feature in the dark picture of the latest elections in Galicia." — So Dr. Byk was only treated as the mechanical tool, as an instrument to kill a hated man. However, it was too early to triumph; of a sudden news came that the election was being continued at Kolomea, that the war was still raging, and the parties standing ready to strike at each other. When at last the final result came to Lemberg by wire joy reigned in the streets; men and women who had never seen me, never spoken to me, congratulated each other. False news were spread that I was coming from Kolomea and hundreds of people hurried to the station, and greeted those who got out of the train, cheering loudly; this was in my honour, but it was the agents of my opponent who were thus received.

It had been an unequal fight: on one side there was the power of wealth, the real value of good money, the crushing force of the country's Central Election Committee, the terrorism of the mayor and the municipal authorities, the power of the prefect and his political organs, the savage unfettered wrath of a corruptible, lying press; on the other was a man with empty hands, and no other authority, no other credentials but the favour of the constituents. And that was why all — the orthodox people as well as the advanced, the pious attendants of the "Klaus" as well as the people in the factories — watched this curious duel with genuine sympathy.

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But I had not heard the last of Dr. Emil Byk yet. He had sacrified fantastical sums for the campaign and got nothing in return but defeat and the malignant joy of many. He bade his head clerk go once more through the entire district

and note down unlawful proceedings that might have occurred during the election, for instance that votes had been sent in for dead people, that people without franchise had voted, that some had been permitted to vote several times — facts about which the leaders of his party were well informed, having practised these deceits themselves, and which well sufficed to annul any election. As soon as Parliament sat again, protests signed with hundreds of names were sent from each of the three towns. To make interest in favour of the Petition Dr. Emil Byk called upon the parliamentary leaders of all parties, in particular on German Liberals, Dr. Herbst, Baron Chlumecky, also on Prince Liechtenstein, &c. But from my electors protests came in with a description of the acts of violence committed by the mayor and the prefect of Buczacz against the Jewish constituents.

The Verification Committee entrusted a well-known Member of Parliament — with the consent of the Polish Club — with the report; it was Dr. Weeber of the German-liberal party. He naturally asked for enquiries into the said facts, and they were made by a special delegate of the Governor's. The documents, including the reports of the witnesses only arrived in parliament at the end of 1888, by way of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The discussion of this election-affair before the Plenum was demanded repeatedly and with increasing energy by the antisemitic members backed by the press; they expected all kinds of facts against me. However, even the strongest of hopes and the sweetest of dreams can be disappointed. The sitting took place on May the 20th 1889. Long speeches were made, all proceedings during the election were mentioned singly, and in a matter-of-fact tone, but at the same time stress was put on the fact that these misuses could be naturally only laid at the doors of those who had practised them and could only be put to the charge of him in whose favour they had been performed; all speakers urged that excessive agitatorial pressure had been practised for the benefit of my opponent, that the representatives of the municipalities, the mayors of the three towns — very important factors at

elections — had been the chief agitators for the rival candidate, that the chief weight of national authority, the Country Central Election Committee, and the whole public press, had been for him. The municipal representatives make up the registers of constituents and if dead people had been accepted, it is doubtless in whose favour this had been done. The entire machinery of the election was in the hands of the opposing party, the entire electing commission consisted of their friends, and if people without franchise had been admitted to vote, it was doubtless in whose favour this had been done. The reporter described the behaviour of the mayor and the prefect of Buczacz, the tampering with the ballot box, the declarations of 450 electors to have voted for Bloch and that only 350 were said to have been found in the box, he reported the many sums of bribery (from documentary evidence before courts of justice) which Dr. Emil Byk had distributed, and added:

"Taking all this into consideration you come to the certain conclusion — at least I did — that the great majority of electors had been on the side of Bloch and that there was a minority, I could almost say a clique, against them, disposing of large sums of money. If you consider that many Polish Jews who are already dead have voted for Christians and that the Government-Commissioner, the prefect, did not protest, you must confess that Bloch's electors were treated without any regard."

The reporter stated in contrast to antisemitic speakers that the greater number of those who had committed acts against the law were Christians, and that fourteen Christians were summoned because they had sold their votes for money. Baron Chlumecki said that

"the documents about the election prove that the pressure of the authorities and the corruption mentioned were enacted in favour of Dr. Byk and that he could not understand the logic of wishing to annul an election for the sake of saving the liberty of voting from corruption and pres-

sure, because a candidate had been elected in spite of the bribery and influence exerted in favour of his opponent."

The reporter's proposal to acknowledge the election was accepted with great majority.

This parliamentary session was a day of honour for the East-Jewish masses of electors, because the antisemitic parties had expected all kinds of scandal, and on the contrary proof had been given of their strong moral resistance against the temptation of the golden calf. Imagine a population dreadfully poor and having to work hard for their daily bread, and then suddenly a man appearing who distributes large sums — just for a vote. And if, as is said, all Aryan Rome was to be had for a gold-laden ass, why should it not have been possible to buy a few hundred Jewish votes for the price of 30 to 60 thousand florins — at a time which was financially very sad and critical for these Jews? Nevertheless this man had to retire crestfallen with his gold; he failed with the Jews!

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There is another fact which I do not consider unworthy of being remembered.

About two months after the parliamentary elections, the writs for new elections for the town-council were issued in Kolomea, and the Jewish masses of constituents of all classes, even the Chassidim from the "Klaus" again hurried to the ballot box to help the candidate nominated by a Christian election-committee to victory so that the should sit in the town-council and fill the office of a (Christian) mayor; thus they kept their word given to Wisniowski and Szczepanowski — according to the agreement entered into.

Dr. Karl Lueger.

Among the antisemitic members who got into the Austrian Parliament when all parliamentary mandates were renewed, my attention was particularly attracted by Dr. Karl Lueger whose public career was a series of brilliant triumphs and who was the most popular person in the Vienna antisemitic gallery. The average citizen of Vienna worshipped him, as mayor he was cheered wherever he appeared in public, so much so that the court people remonstrated because the ovations presented to him were louder than those to the old emperor.

He was a tall handsome man with black curly hair, most fascinating to women whom he had to thank for a great part of his political success. When a student Lueger had associated a good deal with Jewish comrades; when a young barrister he was best man to a Jewish colleague; his chum was Dr. Ig. Mandl who made him acquainted with the affairs of the municipality and directed his way in politics. He associated chiefly with Jews, he dined and slept with Jews, he took advice from Jews, he met with truest friendship, purest devotion, greatest self-abnegation from Jews — all this did not prevent him from becoming the commander-in-chief of the "Antisemitic Parties".

Dr. Lueger would often refer to his ancient descent. He probably heard — to his great surprise — first through me that it dated back to the reign of the ill-famed Duke Albrecht. For the "Kleine Klosterneuburger Chronik", published by Dr. Zeibig in the "Archiv für die Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen" (Archives for the study of the sources of Austrian history) gives a minute report of the persecutions

of the Jews instigated by Duke Albrecht. In this chronicle it says in Vol. VIII, p. 245:

"Darnach am Schwarzen Suntag mordert man dieselben juden, all die zeigten vill guets an, von der erden, zu Wien und hat man allein verprent 240 person, ein jüdin zu Closterneuburg liess sich tauffen und wardt genant barbara, hat vor zu der ehe den schebeleinjuden gehabt, die nam darnach zu der ehe niclasen, des lueger, eines erbaren bürgers son."

(After that on Black Sunday there were murdered these Jews who had property of this earth and in Vienna alone there were burnt 240 persons; a Jewess from Klosterneuburg let herself be baptized and was called Barbara and she had had for a husband the Schebelein Jew, after that she took in marriage Niklas, the son of Lueger, an honest citizen.)

This wife of the Jew Schebelein who was saved from the stake and had received the name of Barbara in baptism and then married Niclas Lueger in second marriage, was the ancestress of Dr. Karl Lueger.

When reading this ancient Klosterneuburger chronicle we are deeply touched by the lot of those poor Jews who sacrificed their lives rather than give up their faith, who went to the stake so as not to be untrue to the God of their fathers. All of them, old men and young, women and girls went quietly and with resignation to their doom, without any heroic pose, the confession of the Only God on their lips, to death in the flames to which they had been doomed by the patented worshippers of the "religion of love". In Vienna alone there were "verprend 240 person". And how many saved their lives and fortunes by sacrificing their religious conviction? A single one! All of them were martyrs to their faith, with the exception of one who was destined to become the ancestress of Lueger, the antisemitic mayor of Vienna. Who is not touched by the fate of these simple, believing men, who died for their conviction without even having the comforting idea of being one day sanctified as martyrs. They died as Jews, because they had wished to live as Jews only. And there is another

point that shook me when studying that old chronicle. I said to myself: Thus died the professors of a religion, the descendants of a tribe to whom any cad, if he but proudly call himself antisemite may deny ideal feeling, higher sentiment. Such are the Jews, supposed to be steeped in avarice, supposed to love only filthy money, and to be ready to sacrifice their all for it — — —

In this decendant of the Jews saved from the stake the antisemitic faction got a highly gifted commander, who knew how to excite the masses, to concentrate and keep them together, to change the catch-word according to the necessity of the moment, and to give the lead to suit the desires of the crowd. The sincerity of his antisemitism was doubted not only by his opponents. He developed his programme on April 27th 1885 to an assembly of his electors in Vienna and declared literally:

> "The democratic party must consider it to be one of its chief tasks to perpetuate the fundamental law of the State of the general rights of the subjects, to keep to what has been attained, and to complete what is missing. Thus we will keep to the principle of equality of the religious sects, &c."

Again only a year later he lifted his hand for a solemn oath in front of the town-house in the Landstrasse (the third district of Vienna) declaring solemnly:

> "God is my witness that I know no denominational difference; Christians or Jews, I consider them equals."

I have already mentioned that he offered me his assistance as a lawyer in my law-suit against professor Rohling. He often said to me that the "Jews" had made him an antisemite. By the "Jews" he meant the liberal party with whom he had endeavoured to work; but they would not have him. He used to say, particularly at the beginning of his upward flight: The liberals may thank themselves for having me as an opponent, they did not let me rise in their own ranks. He then

endeavoured to found a democratic party; and if Adolf Fischhof's enterprise had succeeded he would perhaps have remained true to his flag, like the democrats Kronawetter and Kreuzig. But after Fischhof's endeavours had been forcibly destroyed by Heinrich Friedjung and his party, he turned off with his entire party into the antisemitic camp, after he had recognized the magic power of the catch-word "antisemitic" over the masses. He had a single aim in view on which he concentrated all his energy, and that was to become Mayor of Vienna. To reach this goal he found that all means were permitted, that every way could be used unscrupulously, and that he was ready to change his conviction as often as he deemed necessary.

His versatility and ability were admirable, even though one had reason to be annoyed and aggravated. He was reputed a liar and a swindler; actually he was only an actor. Whatever he did and said, it was the stage on which he stood, his audience, that was partly responsible for it. He always spoke with an artist's instinct who not only commands his audience but who is also ruled by it in the sense of the part he at first assumed of himself, but which then carried him on with demonlike force, often farther than he had ever wanted to go. It is not possible for anybody to act the part of Richard III, or Franz Moor ("Robbers" by Schiller) well, without enjoying — at least during the acting — the pleasure in evil things, the intoxication of malice, the lust of cruelty, which are parts of such natures. But after the play the great actor washes off the character with the paint and only retains the satisfaction of applause and financial success. Lueger fought the Jews as a race, as one fights in war, in a brutal, inhuman way, without conviction, merely from a tactical point of view; but when he had to tell some Jewish municipal employee who was complaining of his lack of advancement that there was no chance for him, he would show his genuine sympathy and regret. He was ashamed of himself, and in some cases he even offered advice to the man, who had complained, and would try to help him to some more successful career.

He remained on the same intimate terms with his Jewish friends of former times. He even allowed an American lady journalist to interview him for the "American Israelite"! The following letter of recommendation opened the doors for her to the Antisemitic Chief and secured her a friendly welcome:

"Dear friend, I am introducing a relation to you, Mrs. Rosa Sonnenschein, who writes for American papers and would like to interview you. Please receive the lady kindly. Don't be too hard on the Jews so that I am not compromised on the other side of the ocean. With kindest greetings, your old friend of the Jewish persuasion, Dr. Emil Frischauer, barrister-at-law."

Once when travelling from Baden where I was staying for the summer to Vienna I sat in a railway-compartment and opposite to me sat two generals; the mayor, Dr. Lueger, entered; but he did not sit down next to those two gentlemen, but beside me and we talked with each other during the whole journey.

He was personally extremely amiable and did not consider it beneath him to court popularity even among the Jews — if it were not in public. If it could be done quietly and privately he was also ready to do a service to a Jew, and thus he also managed to get followers among the Jews. It would certainly have been more respectable to refuse such gifts — as was recommended in the "Austrian Weekly", but "necessity knows no law". Once the town councillor Klebinder told him that a certain H. ... living in the Landstrasse (the 3rd district of Vienna) had lost his whole fortune by some ill-luck, was exposed to dire poverty, and that his wealthy relations did not trouble about him. Dr. Lueger knew the man from former times, and he called on the manager of the Länderbank, Lohnstein, and said to him: "Look here, you must do something for H... from the Landstrasse." And Lohnstein gave the man who had been thus recommended the position of an agent of the Länderbank at the Vienna Stock Exchange.

When Klebinder, the town councillor, died Dr. Lueger would not be prevented from rendering him the last service although his health was already very bad and his doctors had advised him not to go. By mistake he was a quarter of an hour too early in the cemetery and gladly followed an invitation to wait in the well-heated room of the Rabbi. There he met old Rabbi Schmiedl and Lueger spoke to that patriarch in the most cordial and amiable way. On that occassion Lueger related a charming anecdote. "I will not wish you, Rabbi," said Lueger, "that, as the saying goes, you should remain fresh and healthy till you are a hundred; for I remember a saying of Leo XIII that is little known. On his ninetieth birthday, among other birthday-wishes, the Holy Father received those of an abbess, who expressed her devotion and added that she hoped the Almighty would give His Holiness the boon of living to be a hundred. Leo XIII smiled with faint irony and said: I thank you for your good wishes but one should not put limits to the omnipotence of the Lord."

An old Jewess kept a coffee house on the extreme edge of a suburb of Vienna and lived honestly by the proceeds of this business. When the tramlines were extended it happened that a loop was laid in front of this house, so that the customers were hindered from going in. All protests had been useless, the manager of the Municipal Tramway was deaf to all her implorations. Who minds what a poor old Jewess says? Well, she took heart and went up to see the mayor; she was permitted to walk in and she told him the story of her woes, and then she said, that if he would help her she would pray to God for his long life! Next day the mayor came out himself to look at the situation and to see if the old woman's complaint were justified. He then returned to his office, called for the director of the tramways and ordered him to have the *status quo ante* arranged in front of that coffee house and to have that loop put in somewhere else. When the old Jewess appeared at the mayor's to thank him he said to her with uplifted finger: "And now mind you pray!"

Thus all kinds of traits were told among the lower-class

Jews to prove that Dr. Lueger's antisemitism was only skin deep.

However, such half-shamefaced feelings of his were more than counterbalanced by his public activity which was ever and everywhere directed against the Jews. He never had the courage to stand up for what he had done privatly.

Dr. Lueger was pious in the same sense as he was antisemitic. Personally it was not of much account, but it was useful. He was proud of having "refilled the churches". The principle sentence in one of his speeches once was: "Our Lord has always shown a bit of gratitude towards us." The poet Anzengruber makes an old sinner say: "Our Saviour won't allow that; He knows what we have done for Him."

Lueger was an artist and an actor, but one who unknowingly falls more and more into the mental attitude of the audience on the galleries. The criterium which makes the difference between a great man and a popular one consists in the great man's searching for what is nobly human in the masses, to raise them by its means, whereas a merely popular man looks for what is low and brutal so as to raise himself. Dr. Lueger had succeeded in doing the latter and it was tragical that he was perfectly aware of how little the quality of the goods corresponded to the price he was paying for them.

It was known before, how little sense it takes to rule the world, but we are always surprised to see with how very little it can be done!

If we search ever so closely in Dr. Lueger's speeches — and he spoke a great deal in his life — for a valuable word, a deep thought, nay, even an earnest conviction, we will look in vain. The secret of his success was the art of banality. Like none of his collaborators he knew how to turn every public question into banality, and then he had won his game. At bottom this is not over-surprising. A harmless example from literature gives a sufficient explanation. Marlitt, a writer of German trashy novels, quickly conquered the nation of thinkers and poets, that very same nation that knows even to-day but little of Konrad Ferdinand Meyer, and that permitted a

Schopenhauer to spend twenty-eight years of bitterness before he was able to think of a second edition of his principal work. The main point was that he adjusted himself to the level of the intelligence of his audience.

He would speak in the plainest manner imaginable and his audience would be enthusiastic. Once he hit upon a really important question of social character when surrounded by his faithful adherents. It was a question of the physical weal and woe of school-children, of the growing generation; what could have been more important? The intellect was being looked after, but only half the work was being done, if the physical development of the juvenile organism was not taken into consideration. You might say that one is to think of that at home and let the family-doctor look after that. Excuse me, that can only be the case among the wealthy, for whom the whole school-question is of no account; they can manage without public schools if it comes to that. But the immense majority who cannot do without public schools, for them it were a boon if the school children were brought up according to the receipt. *Mens sana in corpore sano.* The broad masses are not able to keep family doctors; means for daily observation are wanting; in the struggle for daily bread time and often very naturally understanding is missing. How much good could be done, how much evil prevented, if a growing disease could be diagnosed in time and properly treated. Eyes, ears, teeth, heart, lungs and stomach, all these organs ought to be regularly examined, and in truth when some day school-doctors will be introduced one will find that they are scarcely less necessary than the teachers themselves.

And what had Dr. Lueger to say to this question? He put it off *ad calendas Graecas*, because it was difficult, with one of his *bon mots*. He is afraid that now and again a school-doctor would be found, who examined the Viennese girls a bit too closely! You see, again banality, vulgarity, but his audience laughed and declared themselves satisfied. Because some perverse exception might occur, a thought of human import is buried with roaring laughter under an unclean joke. The case was extremely advantageous for a condemnation. There are

many Jews amnog the medical profession; the Jews are therefore hit *par ricochet.*

He knew how to twist every matter of public interest somehow into the neighbourhood of the Jew-question, and then he could be sure of having touched his audience to the quick.

Men had revelled in humanity in the eighteenth century, at the age of enlightenment; love of mankind was the word of the day; was the topic of every conversation, the theme of all political pamphlets, was preached from the pulpit in churches, from the desk in Parliament, and in all public assemblies, till one got sick of it, and nerves were utterly deadened to such feelings; the reaction came at last, they longed for contrasting spiritual food, and hatred in all its various shapes, as religious hatred, racial hatred and hatred of caste became a necessity, gratified spiritual desires, and he who touched on such subjects was cheered and had won the willing ears of the masses. And in the art of varying the Jew-theme Dr. Lueger was an unrivalled master, and thus he made his greatest hits.

After his great electoral victories the Lord of Vienna who could easily solve all questions, and who beat down every adversary without any trouble, seemed to be the man of providence. He embodied the hope of the mighty: Here is a man who can manage the social-democrats and the German radicals, who can put down revolution and high treason. This was a great illusion. He was able to lay low liberalism, that had become untrue to its old traditions, but in spite of all endeavours he was not able to keep down other parties, which at bottom also derived their power from the sources of hatred and were thus essentially of the same quality as himself.

But Dr. Lueger certainly knew how to make his work look splendid; Vienna really became more and more beautiful and especially horticultural progress was not overlooked. The town gardens were kept in better order than they had ever been before, and the town at last got a head-gardener it ought to have had long ago. The new architectural works that grew up on all sides were a fine sight too. But even though we would ascribe to the mayor all the growing green and the

stone glories — which perhaps would not entirely agree with truth — we still have the right to ask with Schopenhauer: "But is the world a puppet-show only?!" The world is not only there for us to look at but to live in, and what good are splendour and beauty if unjustice and intolerance spoil and embitter life for thousands of citizens in the midst of these beautifully decorated surroundings? It may be doubtful if the beauty of nature and buildings are chiefly to be credited to Dr. Lueger, but it is absolutely doubtless that the full measure of responsibility for the sufferings of a minority persecuted and crushed with hatred lies at his door. — — —

But there was one thing that lifted him high above all his comrades. He was not scrupulous as to the means by which he wished to get on, but he never misused either his power or his popularity to enrich himself or his relations. His hands were clean and his pockets empty. He had no business beside his office, no separate income, nor did he patronize anybody through whose influence, as is so often the case, money goes back to the hands of the patron.

I often had hard parliamentary fights against Doctor Lueger, but I must confess that of all spirits that deny I found Dr. Lueger the least troublesome.

Dr. Ferdinand Kronawetter.

Dr. Ferdinand Kronawetter who was buried on the 2nd of February 1913 at Potschach, was during many years a dear friend of mine and a faithful companion in many a fight. He was an upright, enthusiastic and fervent apostle of humanity, to whom I owe a faithful and grateful memory. He stood by democratic traditions unwaveringly. When Adolf Fischhof left his solitude to unite the liberal elements of all the nations of Austria in one strong People's Party, Ferdinand Kronawetter and Dr. Karl Lueger, two democratic leaders of strong popular eloquence, also joined his flag. But it did not last long. The "democrat" Lueger had succumbed to the temptations of power and had swerved aside to the reactionary camp with the masses of his followers. Ferdinand Kronawetter remained alone but firm, strong and true — neither temptations nor threats could draw him away from his convictions. The fact that he was an employee of the Vienna municipality could never prevent him from openly condemning the excesses and acts of violence committed by the rule of the antisemitic faction.

Antisemitism pleases to adorn itself with catch-words of a socialistic political tendency. Dr. Kronawetter was the living contradiction of these hypocritical phrases. He repeatedly said that Jew-baiting was patronized by the feudal lords only to ward off the socialistic danger from the castles of the lords and masters, and to divert it to the houses of the Jews.

In Parliament Dr. Ferdinand Kronawetter on every occasion took the part of the reviled and persecuted Jews as well as that of all other weak and oppressed classes. When

from some inexplicable weakness the Jewish members of the liberal party suffered the worst offences and calumniations of the Jews and Judaism to pass unrefuted, Dr. Ferdinand Kronawetter would stand up and defend the honour of the Jews with the flaming crimson of rage on his brow and the noblest enthusiasm in his heart, with the whole fire of his singular popular eloquence which appealed to the masses. As long as I was a member of the Austrian Parliament he always went hand in hand with me, as he knew me to be a faithful friend and companion in all fights. As often as I spoke in Parliament Kronawetter hurried to my side, stood near me so that he should not lose a word or a turn of speech. All this was naturally very hateful to the antisemites and the cause of disgusting denunciations of a man who staunchly withstood all temptations to break his faith. In the "Margaretner Wählerverein" (society of electors) a Herr Maier remarked on November the 2nd, 1888, that he had heard **Kronawetter was to be the President of the Jewish Congregational Board**; if this were true (!) Kronawetter must have become a Jew and on the motion of a Herr Schwarz a vote of censure was passed to Dr. Kronawetter "on account of his apostasy". This could be read literally in the clerical paper "Vaterland".

Dr. Kronawetter was questioned by antisemitic party-organs in an assembly of electors at the "Grüne Tor" in the Lerchenfelderstrasse in 1887, why he had not supported the petition against the immigration of Russian Jews. He answered with the following words:

"It is true that I was not prepared for this interpellation. I was not prepared to be reproached for not going hand in hand with the reactionaries and the antisemites. I have not helped the antisemitic petition and will never aid it because it goes against my principles, against the programme of democracy.

I find it unjust and unworthy of a politician to withhold the same rights as those of the other members of the state, from those who have the same duties and it is entirely incorrect to say that a certain race of men, as the antisemites assert,

is by nature good or bad, be they Jews, Chinese or Aryans. It is inhuman and unjust to make the rightful position of man depend on the characteristics of race.

I will never go with those people who forget the principles of humanity and even decency from a point of view of blind race-hatred.

Now, as to the petition, it was a mistake brought about by race-hatred, and I shall never make myself its tool. It is true, if they had made a petition that the Russian subjects should have the right of reciprocity — it would have been just, but always to persecute the Jews and only the Jews, is without sense or reason. And if the questioner asserts that all Jews are rich I can assure him that there are Jews who are bitterly poor — I know that from the time when I had to report the taxes.

The fight against Judaism is really nothing else than an ill-directed fight against capital. But you will not solve this question by killing a Jew now and again (Laughter). You are greatly deceived there.

You will always find me at war with corruption from whatever side it may come, but you cannot, nor must you demand it of me to preach hatred against the Jews. Once more, I abhor all fights against a race, now and in future."

In the sitting of the Austrian Parliament on January 30th, 1893, Dr. Kronawetter spoke on the newly introduced school prayers and the short hand protocol noted the following incident.

Dr. Kronawetter:

"It is said that the next move of clericalism will be that the children will be forced to say the Lord's Prayer and the Ave Maria in the schools. **The Lord's Prayer is a Hebrew prayer** from the time of the Babylonian captivity. (Laughter on the right.) The science of languages is not my line nor is social history. I read it somewhere, I can't remember where. (M. P. Treuinfels: Nice education that!) Good Heavens, you will also have read a good deal on law and speak about some law-matters in a similar way. (M. P. Treuinfels: But you ought to know that, Doctor!) I am not a theologian by

calling. (Laughter.) And besides, what I have read may be true! The second prayer the children will have to say is the "Ave Maria".

I ask all gentlemen here as to the Ave Maria: What is a child in a primary school to understand by the fruit of the womb of a virgin? (Murmurs on the right.)

Vice-president Dr. Kathrein (interrupting): I cannot allow you to continue like this, Sir. Please leave this theme; I cannot let you speak in such a way about that which is most holy to us Catholics. (Cheers on the right.)

Dr. Kronawetter: I state that I have not used one word or said anything by which that which is most holy to a Catholic can be in the least offended or disparaged. I disdain contempt or ridicule of any other opinion, in particular of any religious opinion whatever. I have never said anything in the least like it.

But one must be permitted to speak about everything in a purely academical way. If you must be silent in all cases when you hit upon another view of a matter, and if a Parliament can no longer suffer a discussion treated in an academical way because it is uncomfortable to the clericals, if the freedom of speech is thus limited — all this is the best proof of the victory of clericalism over the Austrian Parliament.

We have sad times before us in Austria, and in a region where we never expected it the progress of reaction is rapid."

Thus far the short hand report.

By some chance I was not present during this scene and appeared immediately after. The reporter Hofrat Beer told me of the incident and remarked that according to what he knew quite a lot of literature existed on the origin of the "Lord's Prayer" to confirm Kronawetter's assertion. However, the clerical members were furious at the suggestion that the Christian "Lord's Prayer" should be of Jewish origin and gave notice of a motion to lodge a protest against such poisoning of the people.

On this I offered to send in proofs of the Jewish origin of the "Lord's Prayer" not from Hebrew originals, which

they could not check, but from the scientific commentaries on the Gospels. I fetched the following works from my own library: F. Norks, **Rabbinische Quellen und Parallelen zu neutestamentlichen Schriftstellen** (Leipzig, 1839); Dr. August Wünsche, **Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch** (Gottingen, 1878) p. 83—90; Charles Taylor M. A., **Sayings of the Jewish Fathers.** Appendix V. The Lord's Prayer, p. 138—145 (Cambridge 1877). These works contain all the Hebrew original texts and parallels to the "Lord's Prayer" with exact notes of the sources and they made an impression on the clerical Hotspurs.

Gfrörer who was no Jew says that not only the character of the "Lord's Prayer" is Jewish but that some of its sentences are, and that they appear again and again in various Jewish prayers. For a Hebrew scholar it is not difficult to find numerous corresponding passages to the "Lord's Prayer" in Hebrew writings.

"Our father which art in Heaven" — Abinu Shebashamayim (Sotah 9, 15; comp. in the eulogy of Shema: Our father, compassionate father).

"Hallowed by Thy Name" — Jithkaddash sh'meh rabba (in the Kaddish prayer).

"Thy kingdom come" — Wejamlich malchutech (ibid. or in the Mussaph-prayer of High Holidays: Galleh k'bod malchutecha alenu).

"Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven" — Iassoth rezon'cha blebab shalem (in the festival prayer for the union of mankind; comp. Talmud, Treatise Berachot 29 b, where it is said that Rabbi Eliezer used to pray: Thy will be done in Heaven and peace be in the hearts of those who respect Thee on earth — comp. also Ps. 135, 6).

"Give us this day our daily bread" — comp. Hatripheni lechem chukki (Prov. 30, 8).

"And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us" — S'lach lonu abinu (in the eighteen-prayer; immediately after this follows: My God, beware my tongue of evil, my lips from false words, and let my soul keep silence to those who revile me (comp. Berachoth 17 a).

"And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil" — Weal t'wienu — — — lide nissayon (from the morning prayer; comp. Berachot 60 b and 16 b respectively; comp. also Ps. 121, 7: "The Lord save you from all evil").

"For Thine is the kingdom" — Pi ha-malchut shel' cha hi (from the daily prayer Alenu, spoken at the end. According to the Talmud Jerushalmi the end of all public prayers were the words: Baruch schem kobod malchuto leolam woed — Praised be the name of the Glory of His Realm for ever).

Kronawetter took the books and showed them to the M. P. Abbot Treuinfels and the vice-president Dr. Kathrein who were not a little surprised at this demonstration. In particular Taylor's very profound explanation struck them. Even the clerical Hotspurs gave up their intention to return once more to what Kronawetter had mentioned, they did not speak about it any more and Hofrat Beer, who was to have answered them as reporter and had therefore taken the above mentioned works — had no further occasion to treat the "Lord's Prayer-Question".

Ferdinand Kronawetter was one of those men who sacrificed strenuous and busy lives to the enlightenment of the people and whom those born later ought to remember in veneration and gratitude.

Incidents of my Second Parliamentary Session.

On April the 2nd, 1886, when the Budget for Cult and Instruction, item "Expenses for the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists in Vienna" was under discussion, I had to speak, and I will here quote the first part of my speech from the short-hand report:

"Gentlemen, Allow me to make an observation before passing on to the subject in question. We are almost at the end of a long discussion on the budget for instruction, and he who has followed with some attention the debates in this House and has listened to the numerous speeches in which, from the left side of the house, Judaism and "Jewification" were denounced, might be temped to believe that almost one half of the budget goes into the cash-box of the Jews, that large funds go to Jewish institutions for education, to Jewish-theological Faculties and to expenses for Jewish cult-wants — for only in this way could I unterstand why the gentlemen of the opposition have taken the Jews as the object of their onslaughts.

Now, it is true that we have allowed very important funds for religious purposes, but these considerable subsidies are solely awarded to various Christian denominations, to their theological educational institutions for the maintainance of religious instruction and for the covering of expenses for various cult-purposes. The speeches made in the House led me to expect from one item to the next that something would be allowed for us, sums for Jewish cult-purposes which had so much irritated these gentlemen.

I saw that something was put down for all Christian denominations, but that which at long last was allowed us could no more be cut down by any ever so rigorous representatives of the people. Although we Jews take an equal part in the burdens of the State with our Christian fellow-citizens, in accordance with our means and the laws, we get nothing in return, and have until now not even complained that our religious needs have been completely overlooked. It is true that, legally and constitutionally, we have equal rights, but it seems as if this equality were like that of the gentlemen from Bohemia — who also are accustomed to speak of their national equality of former times; the principle seems to be: "We must not carry equality too far."

W. Türk, the speaker of the day before yesterday, in his endeavour to harmonize the principles of the constitution with his progamme, moved that equality should be administered and adjusted in proportion to the ratio of the population. He found it necessary to propose that the Jews should only be admitted to colleges and high schools in a percentage corresponding to the population; I do not know whether he is of opinion that the higher and middle positions of judges and the higher and middle offices for military and political administration should be open to us only in proportion to the percentage of the population. I do not know whether he is of opinion that we are also to become counts and princes in proportion to the percentage of our population.

However, it were not so utterly absurd to put in our State-budget a sum for Jewish cult-purposes proportionately to the percentage of the Jewish denomination. And I state that in spite of the much-lamented "Jewification" not one, not the smallest sum allotted for our religious needs appears in the whole budget, and that I had to choose this item of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists — a congress furthering among others the study of the Hebrew language and the science of antiquity — to make several observations which I cannot avoid. I can only say that I heard and saw with great satisfaction that the next Con-

gress of Orientalists will take place in Vienna and I thank the Government for allowing the expenses for this purpose. The honour of a State does not rest only on the glorious deeds of its powerful army and on the riches of its highly developed industry, but also on those men of science who hold up its flag among the nations. As to the study of Hebrew Antiquity, Germany, France, Holland and England vie with each other and surpass each other in productions and scientific activity which certainly will be praised by posterity. Austria is quite alien to this scientific movement. And when the Vienna Court of Justice once had to choose specialists of Hebrew philology necessary during a law-suit — they actually had to address themselves to foreign countries, not being able to find such specialists at home. The only man who came into consideration in Austria modestly declared himself to be no expert on that point. This is nothing to be proud of for an Austrian. I hope that the Seventh Congress of Orientalists in Vienna will give a great impulse to the treatment of this branch of science in Austria and in the Austrian universities.

However, this will scarcely be possible without the assistance of many a Jewish teacher, and I believe that no university can prosper scientifically if the views developed by Herr Turk will become of essential influence.

I am surprised that this M. P. does not find it necessary to raise his voice against subsidizing this Congress, because there are also Jewish members who will participate in it. He counts fifty-five teachers of Semitic descent in the Vienna university, and his feelings are hurt by such a phenomenon which besides offends his patriotism. I must confess that I should feel more frightened if fifty-five antisemitic professors were to endanger the honour of the university. And as to the "Jewification" of the Vienna university I can entirely set his mind at rest. Matters are not so bad as he believes them to be.

As to the law and medical Faculties there is only one professor of the Jewish persuasion in each. That probably

will not be too much even after the ratio proposed by the M. P.

Counting all the Jewish "Privat-Docenten" (unsalaried lecturers) and professors not paid by the state we find the number to be twenty-two, according to the lists of 1885. But it is a well-known fact that if the Vienna medical faculty still attracts foreign students it is not owing to the professors paid by the State, but thanks to the specialists and unpaid professors, a relation quite different in other towns, especially in Berlin. Austrian students go to Berlin to hear the professors paid by the State there.

I will not examine the reasons. We only reach the number Herr Turk named by adding those who are — it is true — Semites by birth, but not Jews by denomination, who have therefore corrected this fault of birth long ago. But if this will not content him I can tell Herr Turk that we have already several Christian clergymen and priests of Semitic origin in Vienna, and if that continues the whole church will be "Jewified".

(Herr Turk: We have got enough of that too, we don't want to have any more!)

But it is no use your "having enough of it", and as Christianity itself and the spiritual conquest of the pagan Aryans came to pass with the help of baptized Jews, by Semitic apostles and martyrs, nothing remains for you, Gentlemen, but to return to the ancient, unchaste heathen Gods of the Germanic peoples if you would evade "Jewification".

You may try ever so hard and ever so cunningly — you will never succed even in extracting from the German language and literature the Semitic spirit which took part in the creation of the language as far back as Luther's translation of the Bible. If you win the power you will be able to suppress some individual Jews, you can worry them, but you will not get rid of the "Jewification". (Laughter.)

In this fight against "Jewification" you resemble some funny fellow who swimming in a pond continually wards off the waves with his arms so as not to get wet. (Laughter.)

Herr Turk has insulted Professor Spitzer for the purpose of gaining an argument against Jewish professors. Herr Turk refuses to apologize. Gentlemen, what do you call a man, who shoots off a poisoned arrow against a defenceless and innocent man from a safe retreat? We call that insidious and malicious. That may be antisemitic — it is certainly not honourable.

The president (ringing the bell): I don't see the connection between the subject of debate and your remarks. (Laughter.) Please speak to the point, or I shall have to ask you to sit down.

Dr. Bloch (continuing): I bow to the judgement of the President and will say no more on this head.

Speech made in the Sitting of Parliament on the 11th of February 1890.

We cannot help calling it an irony of fate that at a time of growing hatred against the Jews in Austria the government should have put before the two legislative bodies a bill for regulating the legal status of the Israelitic Religious Community. Numerous petitions to the ministry and the House of Parliament and several resolutions from the Bohemian Diet asked for the enactment and publication of such a law that was to provide for an urgent want of the Austrian Jews. The liberal ministers put the petitioners off with empty words, and only under the government of Count Taaffe was the promise seriously taken into consideration — a promise of which they had been untiringly reminded by the "Austrian Weekly" and the "Union of Austrian Israelites" according to their statutes. Count Taaffe was wise enough to bring in the bill, not as was customary, first before the House of Commons, where it would have been the occasion of wild excesses of speech in passionate debates, but had it first discussed in the House of Lords where old Excellencies sat, former ministers and retired high officials whose passion had long since cooled down and from whose mouths even critism was couched in terms of suave welcome. The

law was discussed in a committee of the House of Lords, supplied with amendments and accepted as a resolution in a plenary sitting; it then went to the House of Commons where, after having for some time been the subject of thorough discussions by a committee, it was presented in the beginning of February 1890 in a plenary meeting of the House of Commons as the subject of the day for discussion and decision.

Antisemites of all sects, German Nationalists, Christian Socialists and Clericals had prepared themselves for this discussion and from the mouths of their numerous speakers all those accusations could be heard which the literature of the hatred of Jews had accumulated for centuries. All these most awful accusations against the Talmud and Jewish literature, against Jewish religious customs and the pretended low business-morals were told with that demagogy which represents the modern art of eloquence. This performance was witnessed not only by all the Ministers and all Members who were entitled or obliged to appear for the discussion, but the galleries were crowded, too; the German nationalist students of the Viennese colleges and antisemitic town councillors with their followers crowded the House.

It was only after antisemitic speakers had monopolized the debate during two days that the first Jew stood up on February 7th, Dr. Alois Zucker, professor in the Bohemian university, a highly esteemed teacher of law who sat on the benches of the Czech conservatives. He was well prepared. His speech was listened to with the greatest attention of the House during an hour and three quarters, often interrupted by applause from the right benches. It was an excellent defence. The adversaries did not even try to disturb him by interrupting exclamations. He came to see me next day to thank me for services done and for the offered help, for he was justly pleased with the reception of his speech by the press and in social circles.

Two days afterwards I took the floor. I spoke for two hours and a half amid the ever growing attention of the House. In contrast to Zucker, who spoke in defence, I stood

up — after a short reply to an unjust and unwise speech in the House of Lords by Baron Königswarter — to attack, above all, antisemitic schoolmasters whose political opinions had made them unfit for the calling of education, and I sketched characteristic heads of antisemitic chiefs and morality-preachers, causing the whole House to roar with laughter.

One of the German champions, called Türk, who had vomited poison and gall against the Jews on the previous day, for two hours actually wriggled unter the whip which came down on him with a vengeance. Every interrupting exclamation brought down fresh defeat upon the head of the culprit, and his partisans on the galleries, who were hit at the same time, had repeatedly to be called to order by the President.

A long chapter was dedicated to the blood-accusation, and here too my defence soon turned into an onslaught. The number of the marshalled historical facts made a strong impression, and the most important part of the speech was given to the Talmud which had again been dragged in by the anti-semitic speakers. It was the first time in the history of Jewish Diaspora that a Jew had spoken on the Talmud and for the Talmud in a Catholic State and before five hundred representatives of Christian nations. Everybody listened, and the clerical and agricultural members crowded round me when I told my astonished listeners that the Catholic Fathers had sat at the feet of Talmudists; the tension increased from minute to minute when I began to describe the history of the study of the Talmud among the Christians and to read the judgments of these prominent representatives of Christian learning. I, of course, also had to mention the dispute in the law-suit of the obscurantist clericals of Cologne Pfefferkorn and Hoogstratten and I said in passing: "Johannes Reuchlin, the crown and pride of Germany, as his contemporaries called him, who was a German nationalist said — Herr Türk ought to remember that — the Talmud is not here for every rascal with unwashed feet to trample on and to exclaim that he can do it too" ("Roars of laughter"

says the short hand report). Then I passed on to a sketch of the social stratum to which the authors of the Talmud had belonged, and to the social-political ideas set down in the Talmud and which, had they been effective would have made all those excesses of capitalism impossible which form the weapons of the Jew-haters of to-day. After producing statistical returns of Jewish charity I exposed economic anti-semitism in its sordid causes and fatal consequences, and wound up with German nationalist antisemitism. Here I explained in detail that the hatred of foreigners forms a pathological degeneration of national sentiment and that the Germanic race, the Germans being the only great nation of Europe enjoying more hospitality in all countries of the world than they offer, must be against the spreading of the hatred of foreigners, because it would greatly injure the Germans in all parts of the world. I said literally:

"There are three times as many Germans in France as there are Jews, in Italy twice as many Germans as Jews, in England three times as many Germans as Jews. Not to speak of North America or Russia. Russia which has been so highly praised by Herr Turk has numerous German colonies which are endangered now-a-days by the newly kindled hatred of foreigners."

"National sentiment is of a different nature from imperial sentiment. Whereas imperial sentiment fosters the state in its position of power among the realms of the world, nationalism setting aside the regard for the state wishes to support its co-nationals everywhere, and the Germans who are everywhere obliged to accept hospitality, whose national interests are in many respects dependent on hospitality begin to refuse hospitality! The national idea tends everywhere to an extension of language and custom. The French who have taken the lead in the national idea have carried it through the world under the flag of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. The nations vie with each other in enlarging the province of their languages, and the antisemites say: The fatherland must be smaller, a Jew must not belong to it! (Long continued laughter and exclamations of "Very

true!") And therefore I say, Gentlemen, national antisemitism is madness, for it turns against the essential national interest. There is nothing so sacred to the national interest of the Germans as hospitality and the Germans ought to be the last to give Europe an example that a race because it is different should be annoyed and oppressed! What fate awaits the Germans in France, England, and Italy if the world is in a mood of hatred against foreigners? Imagine the breaking out of a war with Russia: what would happen if the savage rage and unbridled hatred of the people turned against the Germans?" I said this in February 1890. In answer to the German nationalist Turk who spoke of the homelessness of the Jews as an inherited curse, because of their participation in the crucifixion of Jesus, I reminded him that somebody else had taken part in it: Pontius Pilate in whose power Jesus had been and who might have released Him. "And have you forgotten that he was a Teuton, born at Pforchheim in the Rhine-Pfalz? Therefore you share this curse." The last chapter was dedicated to a statement of the services rendered by the Jews to the German nation in the course of centuries, by their having faithfully retained the German language as their own mother tongue, and having carried it through all countries and parts of the world winding up with showing what harm was done to the Germans as a nation through their hatred of the Jews. "Gentlemen, if ever a people has for centuries spontaneously entered the service of another race we Jews have done this for the Germans. We have fought for Germanism in all the countries of Europe. (Herr Hevera: "Unfortunately!" — Great mirth.) Herr Hevera is right: yes, unfortunately. Even in Poland where we have been received with the greatest hospitaliy, where kings and princes have dealt out favours and benefits to us we continued to remain true to the German language. We were the martyrs of the German language, we have brought upon ourselves dislike and doubt, justified dislike and justified doubt from the nationals, because in spite of our living in the country for centuries, we have not yet given up this foreign language. I repeat: For the national

interest of the Germans there exists nothing so valuable and so sacred as hospitality, and the Germans ought to be the very last to discredit this hospitality. However, the German nationalist of Austria praises the wisdom of the Czar, because he oppresses the Jews although he not only hits the Jews but the Germans as well.

The leaders of the Jewish State in antiquity thought differently. Palestine, this narrow strip of country, only six hundred English miles in length and about forty miles broad, closely populated and obliged to live on agriculture and the products of the soil, gave hospitality to 153.600 foreigners without rousing narrow-minded jealousy among he natives. You can read that up in the second chronicle, Ch. II, Verse 6. This was the Semitic idea. The antisemitic idea is: extermination of foreigners. The Aryans have the same word for foreigner and enemy."

I ended with a quotation from a speech of Dr. Smolka, the President of the Austrian Parliament, made in the Galician Diet. The short hand report notes at the end: "Acclamations on the right. Speaker is generally congratulated." After the sitting, as I was leaving the House, Ritter von Jaworski, the chairman of the Polish Club, came up to me and said: "Thank you, Doctor, you have been a credit to us to-day."

The antisemitic member who was to have spoken after me passed the word on to Dr. Lueger so that he should answer me and lessen the effect of my speech. However, even he was not very successful that day. He heaped the most curious accusations on the Jews. Jews were the cause of the erection of a monument to Giordano Bruno in Rome which was an offence to the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church. In the war of Austria against Napoleon theJews had merely taken part as contractors and profiteers. He then enlarged on the criminal bankruptcy of Galician Jews and finally he wanted to know from me against whom Johannes Reuchlin had uttered the words I had quoted.

In correcting his statements I urged that in the municipal council of Rome at the time of the decision to erect a monu-

ment for Giordano Bruno a single Jew was present and that he lodged a protest against the erection of the monument and that all the municipalities of the Italian towns that had sent in their consent to the erection of the monument did this in spite of the protest of the Jewish members — who had recognised and appreciated the merits of Giordano Bruno but had also foreseen that some day men would come who would lay the erection of this monument at the door of the Jews. Unhappily their protest did not save them from this. Then I named the profiteers of the time of the wars against Napoleon, the families who had got baronies: Fellner, Wimmer, Dietrich — but there was not a single Jew among them. As to the Galician bankruptcies I quoted the business report of the Vienna Kreditorenverein (society of creditors) according to which the creditors in Galician bankruptcies as an average got forty per cent, whereas in Upper-Austria, Salzburg, and the Tyrol, where are very few Jewish tradespeople, the sum only amounted to thirty-four per cent; there the creditors get least. Again, Johannes Reuchlin's words were directed against the obscurantists of Cologne. I therefore had addressed it to those against whom it had been directed.

According to my opinion a speech in Parliament is to be judged less by its matter and manner than by the effect it produces far and near. When the reports of the discussions of the Austrian Parliament were made known by the daily papers I got more than a thousand telegrams of thanks from almost all the congregations of Austria and Hungaria, some of them with masses of signatures. I also got numberless addresses from which I will only quote those from eminent contemporaries or such as came from beyond the Austrian frontiers.

Rabbi Dr. Schmiedl wrote:

Dear Doctor,

Kindly accept my sincerest and most heartfelt thanks for the invaluable services you have rendered to the most

sacred vital interests of our race and to the immortal truths of our religion many aspects of which are misunderstood. And not only bythe irresistible power of the rhetoric coming from your heart did you render these services, but also by your admirable knowledge of the subject and your remarkale erudition. In you, most honoured Doctor, is truly fulfilled the prophecy of the eloquent prophet (Isaiah 54, 17). I believe that whosoever has a Jewish heart in his bosom will bless your name and pronounce it with veneration. And in this sense I also sign my name.

Yours most sincerely and devotedly

Rabbi Dr. Schmiedl.

Fünfhaus, February 23rd, 1890.

Dr. Adolf Fischhof from Emmersdorf:

Most honoured Sir,

Kindly accept my heartiest congratulations for your brilliant speech. You have exposed the meanness of antisemitism with a profusion of knowledge, acumen, spirit, wit, and sarcasm, and also the necessary pathos was there, when you wished to voice the indignation of the insidiously calumniated.

You have merited the thanks of all our co-religionists by your annihilating fight against Rohling and the heavy blows you dealt his followers in your philippic against his desciples.

Along with my congratulations accept, dear Doctor, the expression of my highest esteem.

I am yours very sincerely

Dr. Fischhof.

Emmerdorf, February 14th, 1890.

From Lemberg an address came with seven hundred signatures.

One came from Budapest containig only the following sentence:

ברוך המקדש שם שמים ברבים

This address was signed with almost a thousand signatures.

From Czernowitz:

Most honourend and reverend Sir,

Need I express my pleasure when reading the speech you delivered in Parliament? What friend of truth would not have felt the same?

As David says:

גַּם אֶת הָאֲרִי גַּם הַדֹּב הִכָּה...וְאֻנְכִי בָּא אֵלַיִךְ בְּשֵׁם ה' צְבָאוֹת אֲשֶׁר חֵרַפְתָּ

(1. Sam. 17). You might say to the representatives of the antisemites: The fighter against Rohling and his company is coming upon you in the name of Judaism and its confessors whom you have calumniated wickedly.

Most respectfully yours

Dr. Igel.

Czernowitz, February 23rd, 1890.

Königlicher Amtsanwalt M. Goldring, Mayor of Jarotschin in Posen, wrote:

Allow me to join with the entire civilised world in congratulanting you on the great success of your speech in Parliament on February 11th. May Heaven preserve you — the pioneer of truth and justice — for a very, very long time strong in body and mind for our Judaism.

With most cordial greetings yours sincerely

M. Goldring.

On February the 28th I got the following telegram with fifty signatures from the same town:

"Enchanted with your parliamentary speech of February 1th, read here in yesterday's assembly of the "Chewra Kadisha", we offer our thanks and wishes to you, the brave warrior for justice and truth."

Breslau, February 20th, 1890

Dear Doctor,

I must express my delight at your wonderful speech, a delight shared by very many people here, by thanking you a thousand times for the great קדוש השם *you have rendered. At last our cause has spoken officially through you, and truth has never yet had a more worthy exponent. God save you! We need you.*

Best greetings. Yours very sincerely

Dr. Rosenthal (Breslau).

Berlin, February 14th.

I really must congratulate you most cordially on the magnificent success of your splendid speech, a קדוש השם *in the widest sense of the word. By your bravely coming forward and by branding the incendiary crew you have deserved well of all our co-religionists, not of the Austrians alone, and you may be proud of it. With friendly greetings yours very truly*

Dr. Hirsch Hildesheimer.

Bucharest, March 18, 1890.

Most honoured Sir, dear Doctor,

Your brilliant defence of February the 11th of this year has found a loud echo also among our co-religionists in Roumania. The Grand Lodge "Zion" No. 9 for Roumania of the Indepentent Order B'nai B'rith has decided unanimously to express their complete and most cordial acknowledgment to the warrior who stands up for the highest interests of our people with so much wit and talent.

In expressing this decision we ask you, most honoured Sir, kindly to accept our sincerest devotion.

The Gr. Secretary *The Gr. President*
Josef Stern. *Dr. Adolf Stern.*

A similar address came from the "Commitatea Templu" lui Ritul occidental din Capitala" in Bucharest.

The following letters came from the lodge "Instructionea IX U. O. B. B. in Focsani":

To Dr. Bloch, Member of Parliament, Vienna.

In consequence of your warm defence of Jewish morals as well as of Jewish and generally human interests in the Austrian Parliament our Lodge has decided — at the meeting of the 14. 26 of this month — to express our thanks by rising from our seats, a decision which has been unanimously accepted and carried out.

We take the liberty of acquainting you with this fact and expressing our esteem not only personally, but also in the name of the Lodge.

Vice-President:	*Secretary:*	*President:*
Salzauer.	*L. Grünberger.*	*Dr. Strelisker.*

At the meeting of the Polish Club a reverend Catholic priest, Ruczka, reported that the Bishop of Tarnow had expressed himself satisfied with my last speech during the debate on the "Law for the Jews."

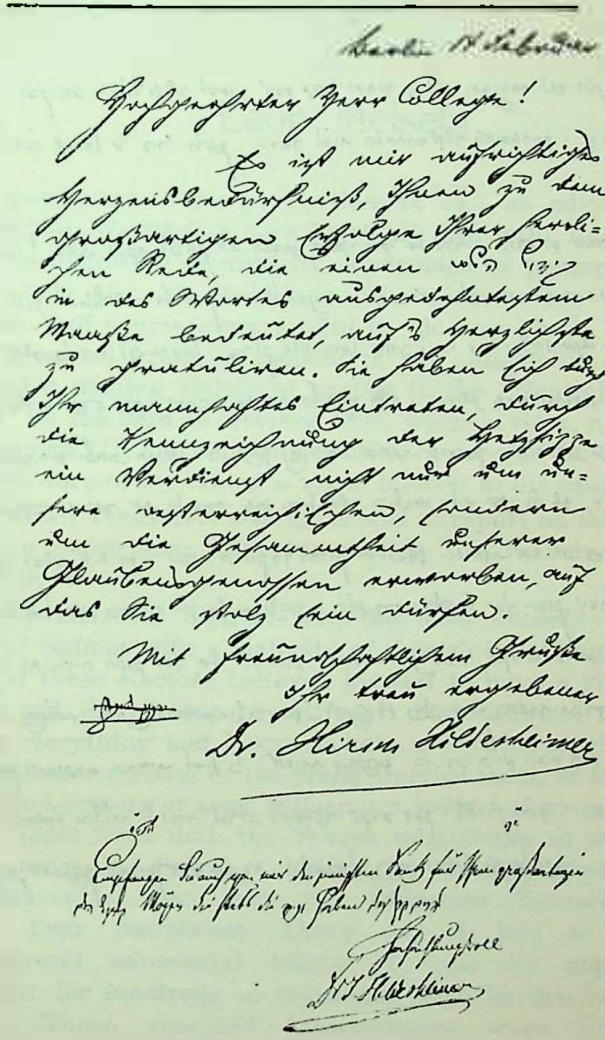
The Polish Club had at that time still carefully avoided every connection with the group of Antisemitic Members. When Prince Liechtenstein — on the occasion of the nomination of candidates for the Committee of Petitions — had proposed the election of a representative of the antisemitic group for the committee the proposition called forth a very lively debate in the centre of the Polish Club. The reverend Canon Ruczka, a man of extremely moderate opinions, one of the most amiable representatives of those Catholic priests who are models for all friends of humanity, made a very impressive speech. He referred to the danger of having an antisemitic M. P. sitting in the Committee for Petitions, an institution which has so often to deal with the most preposterous desires on the part of the electors. "But also political reasons force us to refuse most decidedly any approach to the antisemites. There can be no reconciliation between a fervent Roman Catholic, in particular a priest, and the antisemitism in vogue at present." The Polish Club therefore decided unanimously not to choose Dr. Pattai for the Committee of Petitions, but Herr Kreuzig.

The following short episode was characteristic. In consequence of a defensive article which appeared in the "Austrian Weekly" Lieutenant Fritz Gabriel Ilger who had not been exactly well treated in this article, sent me a challenge by one of his colleagues; this was evidently meant to be an intimidation. I entrusted two members of the Polish Club to settle this affair and showed them some personal documents concerning Lieutenant Ilger. When the representatives on both sides met for the first time the Polish M. P. wished to have some details about the behaviour of Herr Ilger in a certain affair. This explanation was promised for the next day — however, nobody came, and Herr Ilger considered it wiser to let matters rest at that. Ten years later he had to leave the army, because he was considered unworthy to be an officer. Ilger had entered the family of O. F. Berg by marriage and had managed by all kinds of manipulations to get into the possession of the comic paper "Kikeriki" which had been founded by Berg and which he made antisemitic in its tendencies. The reason why the military court of honour had examined into his private affairs and had then judged him unfit to be an officer was a scandalous affair which had become known to the public during a law-suit between him and his wife.

However, the tendencies of the Polish Club changed and changed thoroughly when the Pope's blessing for Prince Liechtenstein came from Rome and the Curia openly sided with antisemitic radicalism against the Austrian bishops.

REDACTION DER „JUDISCHEN PRESSE"

BERLIN, C. GIPS-STRASSE 12 A



By Rabbi Dr. Israel and Dr. Hirsch Hildesheimer

By Rabbi Samuel Mohliwer in Bjalistock

Leon Meisels.

Beside my work in Parliament and as editor of the "Austrian Weekly" I was busy all day with interventions for the liberation of unjustly condemned or persecuted Jews and often also of Christians, who came to me with their affairs. I of course always tried to do my best for them, but it caused great excitement in the antisemitic camp, and evoked a flaming article of protest in the "Deutsches Volksblatt" on the 23rd of October 1894, when a vicar, a Christian clergyman (!), had sent in a petition by me: He did so because he was sure of my taking a warm interest in his case.

Abbot Treuinfels was appointed to report on this petition and in accordance with his motion the Plenum complied with it.

My electoral district was the most densely populated one of Galicia with a majority of Jewish inhabitants. Everyone of these electors believed himself to have a right to my time and that I was to settle all their affairs; they came with everything and I was to help everywhere, whether the tax-gatherer pressed or the prefet worried them, or the government in Lemberg or some antisemitic judge had wronged them. And apart from that, the Jewish inhabitants of the district had near or distant relations or friends in other towns of Galicia — and they too addressed themselves to me with their complaints. Every day I had to intervene at several ministerial offices; I was the unpaid legal adviser for hundreds of thousands — a burden not easy to bear. These repeated interventions were often very unpleasant — I took them upon myself patiently and steadily,

remembering the saying צרבי עמך ישראל מרובים ודעתם קצרה After all this I hoped that no Jew would be set up as a rival candidate in the coming parliamentary elections. In this hope I was disappointed.

Towards the end of 1890 the mandates of the Parliament then sitting had expired and the writs were issued for the beginning of the new year 1891. In the electoral district of Kolomea—Buczacz—Sniatyn my opponents had begun their agitation very early; for they wanted to deprive me of my seat at any cost, now that I had for the third time to court the confidence of the constituents in these towns. During the last years Dr. Emil Byk had for the electors of the three towns conducted gratis all cases tried at the Supreme Court of Justice in Lemberg, and he had also managed to put influential personages under obligations to him, so that he was the chosen rival-candidate. However, some prominent men among the Galician Jews tried to put matters straight and they succeeded at last in securing for Dr. Byk another seat — the mandate of the Lemberg Chamber of Commerce was first taken into consideration, but later he decided upon the towns of Brody-Zloczow. It was not disagreeable to Dr. Byk to resign, because in this hotly contested district of the three towns each of these had separate interests and each could by standing aloof endanger the success of the most fortunate acompaign. Now that I had thus safely got rid of one adversary — thanks to the endeavours of my friends of Lemberg — another came quite unexpectedly from afar, viz. from Paris, and brought a curious company of orthodox rabbis along with him — sure of conquering the electoral district at a first attack.

This new and most peculiar opponent was called Leon Meisels, and as could be seen by his name, he had good family traditions. for he was a grandson of the famous Warsaw Rabbi. Leon Meisels was of an eccentric disposition, stubborn and headstrong, and would never listen to reason. He was married to the daughter of the Russian millionaire Brodsky, but the marriage was unhappy and he had been carrying on an action for divorce for twenty years from Paris, where he lived, against

his wife, who lived in Vienna. In the course of these twenty years she had often tried to get rid of Meisels and to get a divorce by means of some financial arrangement — but all endeavours had been in vain. At last, in 1890, the Chief Rabbi Dr. Gudemann succeeded in bringing about this arrangement. Meisels got the sum of one million florins and in return he gave his wife the divorce which was carried through by the Vienna Court of Justice and the Vienna Rabbis. After her divorce had been pronounced this lady, who had thus at last become free, married the famous eye-specialist Dr. Ludwig Mautner.

Dr. Ludwig Mautner's name is recorded in the annals of science. He was one of the greatest and most brilliant representatives of his speciality. His scientific researches in ophthalmology, mathematical optics, diseases of the nerves and muscles of the eye have procured world-wide fame for him. At the same time he was an extremely witty man, wrote an excellent style, and was a first-rate speaker; his acquaintance is one of my most pleasant memories. Numberless anecdotes were told of Mautner. Once he was called to Russia to perform a great operation, and just at that time Jews were forbidden to enter Russia. At the frontier the passengers were asked if a Jew were among them, and Mautner immediately came forward and got out without a word at the official's request. He then telegraphed the event to his patient — who was in a high social position — and a few hours later the minister's command arrived to let the professor pass the frontier. Mautner who had promised to perform the operation travelled on to his patient, but when another distinguished sufferer — who had probably heard from the minister of the famous operator's presence in Russia — asked him by wire to come to him too, Mautner lost patience. He wired an answer which evidently only reached its destination because the telegraph-clerk did not know German, for it was worded in the plainest terms. It is clear under these circumstances that the scientist was not exactly persona gratissima in "high circles", but they could not very well prevent him from getting a professorship on account of his

works and his fame. But though Mautner's outward behaviour was often harsh he had a very kind heart. There is a little story of his practice which amusingly illustrates this. One day he had finished the treatment of a patient from Galicia whose exterior was not exactly that of a wealthy man, and the man modestly asked what fee he owed. Mautner growled at him furiously: "You ass, give your twelve children something warm to eat. You want to give me money? Now, mind you get out, and quick!" — "But, professor" — the patient began. "Professor..." — "Out you go", Mautner yelled and his voice was so threatening that the patient was frightened into silence and left all of a tremble. Several days later Mautner met a lawyer, a friend of his, and in the course of the conversation this friend said: "I sent you a rich patient the other day; you might at least thank me." — "You sent me somebody?" Mautner asked in surprise, "but whom?" After a longish conversation the case was cleared up. "That fellow is rich?" Mautner asks. — "Oh, he is worth about a million" says the lawyer. — "Well," Mautner laughs. "I cured him and then I turned him out".

This truly great man had a tragic fate: On October 20th 1894 the "Wiener Zeitung" published his appointment to the first chair for ophtalmology at the Vienna university — the aim of his ambition was attained, it was the zenith of his life — but this well-merited triumph came too late: the night before a heart collapse had ended that life which had been entirely devoted to science and suffering mankind. There is a monument in the arcades of the Vienna university erected in his memory.

In the mean time Meisels had become jealous of the social position his wife had reached by her marriage with Professor Mautner, for the Mautners were all very talented and successful men. One of Professor Mautner's brothers was President of the Chamber of Commerce and M. P., another, a lawyer, was solicitor to Rothschild's Bank and a member of the Jewish Congregational Board, and Ludwig himself was, as mentioned above, a man of great learning. And so Meisels wanted to prove to the woman he

had had to give up and perhaps also to himself that he was capable of doing something out of the common, and the elections for Parliament being near he desired to be elected to the Austrian Parliament. The intellectual author of this candidature was a man called Markus Pelz, Privy Councillor to His Holiness the Wonderrabbi of Belz — thus the whole affair was invested with the authority of powerful patronage.

A few months before the election Marcus Pelz came to see me and in the course of conversation he asked me to contribute 5000 florins to the Hebrew newspaper of the society Machzike Hadas (Society for the Preservation of Orthodoxy among the Jews of Galicia); this was to be the security which every weekly paper had to put down in Court in those days. The president of the society was a man called Ignaz L. Schreiber of Drohobycz who had got a fortune amounting to millions by marriage but who was charitable only with other people's money. It had therefore been decided to obtain the money for the security of the paper from me as a reward to the society for not putting up a rival-candidate. All my possessions did not amount to such a sum, and I had to refuse Pelz's suggestion that I should make a collection among the Vienna Jews for this purpose as I did not wish to risk being laughed at for my pains. I quietly explained this matter to Markus Pelz and he took it as an offence. He was deeply irritated, and I on my part got furious at the imputation, and the conversation ended by my cursing him in the jargon of his native country. So he set to work immediately and proclaimed Leon Meisels as the candidate of the Galician orthodox Jews. Markus Pelz never lived to see the end of the campaign; he died of an apoplectic fit in Cracow before his new candidate, in whose company he was, had set foot in the electoral district.

With surprising confidence and energy Leon Meisels set to work in carrying out his plans. He called on the Governor in Lemberg and told him straight out that he would and must stand for Kolomea even if it should cost him 100.000 florins;

and he spoke so confidently that it was evident he himself did not doubt the possibility, and that he was even certain, of final victory. As he was no longer sure of being an Austrian citizen — having lived in Paris for so many years — the Mayor of Buczacz, Berisch Stern, helped him in getting his citizenship and his elective franchise. And now numerous agents flooded the district and spent enormous sums quite madly. The Jewish population in these three towns is notoriously poor. Poverty there has reached such dimensions that people actually starve; now great gifts were distributed everywhere, and they only had to stretch out their hands to get sums which at other times, owing to bad business, a whole year's hard work would not have brought them. When the candidate himself appeared he was always surrounded by a great number of stranded Rabbis without a position — one of these he had even imported from Paris. Dr. Adolf Jellinek published a proclamation addressing the electors in favour of the former member which he signed with his full name and at the end of which he added an impressive warning to Leon Meisels asking him to desist from his injurious activity. I will quote some parts of Jellinek's proclamation:

"The elections for the Austrian Parliament stand in the foreground of politics within our monarchy. All parties are in full activity, Nationalists, Reactionaries, and Liberals are working hard, meetings are being held, reports are read, programmes published, questions put and promises given. Our interest is mainly centered on one electoral district, a Galician one named above.

"We who profess to be Jews must be represented in Parliament by a man of our faith who has the faculty and power to fight for Judaism, its doctrines and its honour, and to oppose antisemitic impudence and lies, persecutions and calumnies. This man must be thoroughly acquainted

with the teaching of Judaism and with the brutal ways in which our adversaries fight, he must know their catchwords, arguments, and commonplaces. Such a man represented us in the Parliament now dissolved, he was the victorious speaker against the well known antisemitic surgeon and wounded him so badly that he left Parliament gored. This man was the representative of the electoral district Kolomea—Buczacz—Sniatyn, Dr. J. S. Bloch, and he must be re-elected. It is not a question of personal sympathies but of a common concern of the Jews of Austria. It is certain that however the elections may turn out, the antisemites of the lowest and meanest sort will appear in the future Parliament, and as they are incorrigible they will again attack the Jews on every occasion — suitable or not, — they will be impudent and scornful towards them, with pot-house eloquence they will fall upon and cast dirt upon them and their belief, their morals, and their way of living, and disgrace the Austrian Parliament and the name of Austria. In such a case a representative of Judaism must stand there prepared for battle to smite our enemies to the ground, whether they disgrace a princely crown or bleed Judaism, or plead for Jewish usurers and mortgage poor Christian debtors. Therefore it is a sacred duty for the Jewish electors in the said district to re-elect their present delegate; they will hereby deserve well of their co-religionists in Austria. — We also expect of Mr. Leon Meisels that he will give up the attempt to oust Dr. J. S. Bloch, as he is by no means capable of filling the place of the present M. P. for Kolomea. He will neither lack thanks, if he answer our expectations, nor ill-will if he continue to stand for a seat in the Austrian Parliament. Dr. J. S. Bloch will be elected because he must be elected!

Dr. Ad. Jellinek."

Leon Meisels ordered his people to distribute a large number of Hebrew pamphlets against my Biblical criticism

among the people in the electoral district. A particularly strong pamphlet was published in Yiddish. Ignaz L. Schreiber of Drohobycz, President of the Orthodox Society, sent letters to the constituents in which he was not ashamed to lie to them that Dr. Bloch had always striven to work against the orthodox Jews in Parliament. But these allurements were in vain and in spite of the authority of the wonderrabbi of Belz, in spite of the seduction of his money and all endeavours of corruption Leon Meisels never dared to appear in a free electoral assembly.

An episode I experienced very many years later is extremely characteristic.

It was in April 1921 that I was sailing on the "Maurotania" from New York to Cherbourg. On the third day of the voyage Mr. David Blumer (288 St. Lawrence Boulevard Montreal, Canada) was announced and wished to speak to me. He had heard of my presence and though he had never seen me personally he had the urgent desire to make my acquaintance because he remembered my name from his youth. In the course of conversation he told me that he had been living in Canada for many years and that he went shopping to England several times a year. He was born in Kimpolung in the Bukowina and he remembers distinctly that when he was a boy of ten, a Bachur (a young man studying the Talmud) used to dine at his father's house every Sabbath. After dinner his father had the habit of asking his young guest to sing something to him and he remembered that he sang a song of the electoral campaign Meisels—Bloch. The first verse was:

"Kinderlach, getraje
Die ganze Chewraje
Mir solln alle über e' Jahr erleben.
Ma derf scho gehen
Zu Meisels Lewaje
Und for Blochn die Stimm abgeben."

In the next verses Meisels is called "a Parisian Frenchman" at whom stones had been thrown and a sad fate is prophesied for him.

"I heard this song when I was ten years old", said Mr. Blumer, "but I still remember the face of the young Bachur who dined with us on every Sabbath, how it almost shone with pleasure, and it is as if I still heard the triumphant melody accompanying the words."

In truth one had to respect the brave constituency of this district that gave proof of such incorruptible moral and physical courage. Although Leon Meisels had sacrificed more than 80.000 florins for the district he did not buy one hundred votes with the money. Meisels did not dare to go to the town of Buczacz. His people went to meet him at about an hour's distance, took his money and told him that he was already elected. At his arrival in Kolomea he was so badly insulted that every decent candidate would have retired straight of, but on the eccentric and probably not quite normal temperament of Meisels this behaviour of the Jewish electors had another and a curious effect. He decided to mobilize the masses of Christian electors for himself and to stir them up against Dr. Bloch's candidature. Meisel's agents went across country and told the peasants in the villages that great danger was threatening Christianity by the election of Dr. Bloch, that Dr. Bloch was quarrelling with Catholic priests in order to shame them publicly, and that if he were elected a third time he would certainly become minister and would introduce statute labour so that the peasants would in future have to slave for the Jews. Dr. Bloch also had the intention of turning churches and convents into imperial storehouses. For many days the peasants were treated to drinks. Christian agitators were supplied with high sums to bring about a union of Ruthenian and Polish peasants in favour of Leon Meisels. — But in the end he was here too a tricked impostor. For when the work was done, the clergy got hold of the ready organisation, set the minds aflame which had been sufficiently heated and roused to a general hatred against the

Jews, proclaiming the canditature of count Starzenski, so as to hoist the district out of the hands of the Jews. The clergy informed the peasants that there was no essential difference between Leon Meisels and Dr. Bloch, and that good Christians must not vote for any Jew whoever he be. And this is what brought about the candidature of Count Starzenski for whom Jewish renegades had also canvassed during many weeks in the capital of the country. The Jewish sham Poles and the liberal Tartuffes of Lemberg had their own paper "Ojcyzna" in which Polish chauvinism and religious apostasy were preached in every shape. This paper was edited by a journalist who manifested his Polish patriotism by denouncing all Jewish societies, in particular the Israelite Alliance, to the hatred of the Poles and by slandering the morality of the Talmud in the style of antisemitic scribblers. For many weeks this man had filled the columns of his organ with calumniations of the former M. P. for Kolomea and he took care that his dirty, lying products were reprinted by the Polish daily papers of Lemberg. Never had these despicable renegades prostituted themselves more shamlessly than at that time in Lemberg. "These gentlemen live by patriotism", a Polish Christian delegate said with fine irony of these informers of Lemberg. These men were proud of their feats, proud of having stirred up the national Polish passions against me. The Polish Central Committee thus had a handle by which to reject Dr. Bloch's candidature and then recommend Count Starzenski's.

Ritter von Jaworski, the Chairman of the Polish Club, in vain tried to prevent such a resolution; national chauvinism won the day and all adjurations to keep quiet and be prudent were disregarded. Count Starzenski was therefore proclaimed "national" candidate. Prince Sapieha was the special protector of this candidature. It was considered right to conquer and prevail against the Jewish majority by cowing them with the help of drunken and excited masses of peasants.

I arrived at Kolomea on February the eleventh in company with Mr. Moses Gartenberg, an owner of large factories, and Josef Schreier of Drohobycz. A deputation came to meet

me at Stanislau, and at the station in Kolomea the notabilities of the town and a crowd of thousands of people were there to greet me. In front of our carriage rode a band of Huzules and accompanied us to the hotel; there I thanked the constituents from the balcony for their spontaneous demonstration and their confidence in me. My accounts of my activity, my speeches in the temple and in various societies were received with cheers of approval and enthusiasm. I went to Sniatyn from there, where the same scenes were repeated and on February the 18th I arrived at Buczacz. Here too there was an imposing reception at the railway station, my political program was accepted enthusiastically, and I was unanimously put up as candidate.

The prefects began to persecute Jewish electors in all kinds of ways, and I reported about it to the Prime Minister. The Governor of Galicia, Count Badeni, had been in Vienna just before the writs for the new elections were issued, and his intimate friend, the Prime Minister Count Taaffe, had accompanied him to the railway station; there they spoke of various candidates and Count Taaffe asked the Governor to "protect me from violence". But now a Count Starzenski was my rival candidate, and not to throw in the weight of Government in favour of a Polish count was deemed an unpardonable sin. I was in a position to prove to the Prime Minister that the government employees referred — in their intimate circles — to privately received instructions when requesting the help and support of prominent personalities in favour of Starzenski's election.

This induced Count Taafe to write a letter of warning to the Governor of Galicia. The election took place on the fourth and fifth of March. I was re-elected by 2128 votes; 1778 had voted for count Starzenski, and 97 for Meisels.

The elections in Buczacz and Sniatyn went off very quietly, but there were dreadful disturbances in Kolomea. The peasants who were for Count Starzenski went round throughout the town and illtreated the Jewish electors. All shops were closed, several people were wounded and — to make a real

tragedy of the sad comedy — one Jew was stabbed, and the Jewish cemetry in Kolomea was destroyed. The rioters were afterwards punished by the law. Leon Meisels, this unfortunate candidate who at bottom was responsible for these excesses and who had spent a fortune on 97 miserable votes, died a few months later on June the twenty-eight 1891, of typhoid fever.

Count Starzenski was a pronounced enemy of the Jews; this did not prevent the young-Jewish sham Poles of Lemberg from persecuting me even now in the Polish press, denouncing me on account of pretended anti-Polish tendencies and setting the Polish Club against me. The comrades of the renegade Feldstein afterwards became national Jews, the former contributors of the "Ojczyzna" turned into fervent Zionists, and then they once more fought against me pretending that I was an "assimilator". Formerly they had accused me of hindering assimilation and now they discovered that I was the true bacillus of assimilation. The swampy ground of Lemberg is a hot-bed of curious Jewish patriotism. I shall never forget the mean breach of word and confidence these people committed against me.

When I was in Lemberg the Rabbi Dr. Caro had arranged a private exchange of ideas between these people and myself, and these men wished to have a strictly confidential account of the political situation, a description of the intentions and position of the various parties towards Judaism, and after they had given their word of honour to keep it secret I gave a lengthy explicit exposé on all questions. And everything I had spoken that night among those Zionists of Lemberg, all I had said about persons and their tendencies in the Polish-Club could be read word for word next morning in an antisemitic paper. Mind, not a fortnight later, no, actually during the very same night the report was sent to the antisemitic press.

This mean trick made my position in the Polish Club rather unpleasant for some time; many a colleague disliked me in consequence, and the fine gentleman who committed this dishonourable act with a quiet conscience is probably still

playing the part of the great Jewish patriot in Lemberg, whilst I am writing down these memories.

One day I complained to Count Bilinski M. P. (afterwards minister) about these infamous lies and calumniations of the Galician press, and he answered:

> "I am treated no better. If they say in a paper one day that I have stolen a horse and I give them the lie, I can read on the day after that Bilinski M. P. was right, and the report was inaccurate: I did not steal one horse but two."

The conduct of these Lemberg press-pirates was the more regrettable as they consisted chiefly of sham Poles and belonged to the kind we call "Semitic Antisemites".

Ernst Schneider.

The part once played by the Mysteries in the Roman Bacchanalia is now-a-days allotted to antisemitsm. Ovid tells us that the number of the "initiated" grew with the increase of their atrocities and the most noble Romans of both sexes were not ashamed to belong to this honourable guild which almost represented a conspiracy against public morals. Antisemitism had likewise grown with every fresh moral defect of its leaders and great men; almost all the celebrities of the antisemitic party were somehow branded by the law. "One hardly ventures to say what Wolf said about Schönerer or Schönerer about Wolf, but it is certain — that both were right." — This sentence was pronounced by Dr. Lueger on June the 22nd 1902 in a speech delivered at a meeting in Gaunersdorf. But he too got a lesson from the High Court of Justice and the antisemitic paper of Steyr wrote about him: "It is harmful to public morals, and challenges the feeling of justice owned by the better sort of men to dedicate a wreath of laurels to Dr. Lueger." In fact, all these people, like K. H. Wolf, Vergani, Pattai, Fiegel &c. were marked either by judicial or moral scars. Not one, however, in this queer company stood on such a low level, or was so severely branded — as Ernst Schneider who was almost a criminal. Dr. Lueger once expressed himself thus: "You must be very careful in the presence of Schneider, because you never know whether the man is not an agent of the "Vaterland" party, or an agent provocateur of the police or possibly even both." It was a secret where he got the abundant funds at his disposal. During many years he led

the antisemitic pack in the boozing dens of the suburbs, until feudal aristocrats became aware of his talent and employed him as an agitator for their purposes. He became an intimate friend of Count Egbert Belcredi and Prince Alois Liechtenstein, and in this way he got into the Lower-Austrian Diet and then into Parliament.

In July 1897 he wrote in a controversy against antagonists in his own camp published in the "Deutsches Volksblatt":

"Where was this young Herr Wedral when I started an antisemitic organisation 20 years ago in Paris? Where was this Herr Wedral when I worked for antisemitic agitation in 1881 in Trieste, Venice, Rome, Bologna, Florence, Pisa, Graz and Klagenfurt, and in 1885 in Hungary?" In 1881 Schneider was a mechanician out of work, nor did he hold any public office at that time. Who paid the costs of these expensive agitation journeys? And in fact, the intense Jew - baiting in Central Europe began in 1881.

Forging of ballot papers was Schneider's speciality, also the fabrication of false stamps, and he was on that account nick-named "Stampiglius".

In the action brought by a Jewish owner of a shoe-factory, Frankel of Modling, against an antisemitic editor, Schneider addressed himself to Munich to call witnesses from there against the shoe-factory. He applied to a certain Attenberger in Munich to write a letter to the Vienna Court of Justice concerning the trial and the text of this letter was dictated by Schneider. Attenberger was to tell the Court that when travelling on business he had by chance gone to Vienna and that, attracted by the posters of the Modling shoe-factory, he had bought a pair of boots there which could not be worn after he had used them a fortnight. The writer was to declare that the heels came off immediately, that the soles got loose on the right side, &c. and he was to add what a bad impression it would make abroad and how very bad it would be for the authority of Austrian justice if the accused editor were — God forbid — condemned because the Modling

shoe-factory would then have a judicial patent. The letter was to have been signed "one of those who were cheated and who feel ashamed of being victims to this clumsy swindle." Schneider goes on to to assure the man that he promises himself a good effect on the Austrian judges from that letter. This disclosure was published by the "Austrian Weekly", and the letter to Attenberger was afterwards published in facsimile by Dr. Hein.

Schneider's propaganda for the "blood-lie" was another of his specialities. A comrade of his, an antisemite called Hollomay, tells a story of how Schneider before Easter brought him a picture representing the murder of a Christian child by Jews. Hollomay was to reproduce this in 20.000 copies and Schneider wrote an explanatory text to it. When ordering it he added cynically: If a Jew riot is to break out I shall hear of it six hours beforehand and then I vanish'. He was not only a criminal, but a coward. In the "Austrian Weekly" of 1894 Nr. 34 a Jewish manufacturer told the following story: One day Ernst Schneider made an excursion to Jedlesee, an industrial suburb of Vienna where Jewish manufacturers also have some establishments, and there he met men of his own mind in the restaurant at the railway station and they insulted Jewish business people. A Jewish manufacturer, Herr F., who happened to be present, protested energetically against such indiscriminate insults, and as Schneider did not feel safe enough to discuss the subject out there, he was silent and took the train back to Vienna; the above mentioned manufacturer went also back by the same train. When he arrived at the North Railway terminus in Vienna, Schneider suddenly found his strength returning on this native soil (like Antaeus) — and he stood up to meet the above mentioned Herr F. on the way out with a face full of energy, shouting at him with a stentorian voice and such offensive words into the bargain that the manufacturer who was usually a prudent man treated him without giving him a single word in answer to a sound box on the ear. Schneider was not generally known at that time, but this scene caused a great commotion. The

policeman on duty immediately took both gentlemen to the police-inspector at the station and reported what had happened. Herr F., a courageous gentleman and well reputed manufacturer from Budapest, did not hesitate to own frankly that his misdemeanor was a tresspass on the law, and so Schneider had to confess that he actually got this well merited box on the ear, and that he had not challenged Herr F. in return. It so happened that the inspector had known F. for many years and that he respected him very much and so he could not help telling Schneider, who was a small businessman, that his antagonist had certainly only been impelled to an aggressive action in a public place by some provocation and he advised Schneider — calling his attention to the harmful consequences of a further judicial action to himself and his interests as a small man of business — to offer an apology to Herr F. for the attacks against the Jews made at Jedlesee. Schneider, thinking of his material interests as a mechanician, and because he was at that time catering for several high state-offices and also for Jewish clients — condescended to apologize to F. so as not to endanger his material advantages. Afterwards he played the hero and demanded the confiscation of Jewish property with the cry: "Why are we not to expel this race, this baggage, this d — — baggage?" His regular phrase was: "The Jews ought to be hanged by law; they are not to be treated as human beings, but as beasts."

This Ernst Schneider was the rival candidate in the Leopoldstadt (a Viennese district) of Professor Eduard Suess, the sometime Rector of the Vienna University, a geologist of renown, and who had immortalized himself by the sanitation of Vienna. I amused myself by publishing a proclamation in favour of Ernst Schneider. I enumerated his heroic deeds, viz. giving false evidence, using forged stamps, publishing an infamous picture calculated to stir up the passions of a misled mob, which he would have left in the lurch had matters become serious. The antisemitic party could not find a better, a worthier deputy.

"Aryan constituents of the Vienna Leopoldstadt, you are seriously admonished — in so far as you are still "unjewified" and not tainted by Semitic ideas of morality and honour to

Vote for Ernst Schneider!

Do not be misled by the shouts of the Jews who envy you this great man. Just to spite them, vote for Ernst Schneider! He is worthy of you, and you are worthy of him. It is true, he tried to tempt Attenberger to be a false witness; so much the more his courage, his devotion, his pure mind must be duly rewarded.

He ordered false stamps to be made at Alois Potschka's, but as he has gone unpunished, it was probably permitted in the honour of God.

Hollomay, the antisemitic Hollomay, called him "an agent of the blackest of clericals" — that cannot possibly harm him in your eyes; he was called a creature, an agent, a dog of the government — but he is no slave of the Jews and nobody knows how to abuse pedlars and "Jew boys" as well as he.

The Town Councillor Vetter called him a "rogue" — what does that matter? One must practise indulgence. You are all antisemitic brethren. Buschenhagen called him "a blackguard"; that does not matter! In hoc signo vinces! Herr Schneider is an honourable man, so are you all, all honourable men!

Vote for Ernst Schneider!

Me ric!

The proclamation was circulated and had its effect; the electors still preferred Professor Suess. But in another electoral district, in Funfhaus, Ernst Schneider's star rose; as above mentioned he was put forward by Prince Alois Liechtenstein and became in turn M. P. and Member of the Diet, and in the end a Member of the Landesausschuß (Select Committee).

In Parliament, when he had just been madly aggressive, I called out to him, that he ought not to sit in the "High House" (as Parliament is called officially in Austria) but in the "Grey House" (the Vienna popular expression for prison). "And you have only to thank the incredible indulgence of the Public Prosecutor that you are at large".

At the time I was criticised for saying that but soon Schneider caused the House to hold the same opinion of him which was expressed by the President and the great party-leaders. In the sitting of October 1891 it happened that in place of a deputy who had died, a new member was to be elected to a committee for vine culture. As the distribution of the committee-mandates among the various clubs had been very exactly regulated at the beginning of the new session, and the order of election had been accepted by all the clubs, in this case the candidate Hübner, who had been proposed by the Left had the indisputable right to be elected by all the other clubs. To save the members the trouble of writing, the voting papers with the respective names filled in are usually put on their desks. The servants or secretaries collect the votes whereupon the official scrutiny takes place. Now, Ernst Schneider, to whom the forging of ballots had become a second nature, had gone round the seats on the right side of the House, whilst the respective deputies were staying in the corridors, and had changed the votes lying on the desks in such a way as to cross out the name of the liberal M. P. Hübner, and write the name of the antisemite M. P. Muth in its stead; and then he himself threw these ballots into the box. Thus it happened that 71 votes were for Mr. Muth. The list of candidates had been decided on before the election and by mutual accord. The parties of the Right were therefore subject to the suspicion of having broken their word of promise. But this manipulation had been noticed from the seat of the President, and he himself denounced Schneider's behaviour in severe expressions. "The Presidency will not proceed in this any further, as the order of business does not contain any provisions as to what should be done

in a similar case, because naturally such a thing could not possibly have been foreseen and has never happened for thirty years, that is since the existence of Parliament in Austria. I must express my displeasure at such proceedings, which judge themselves, and add my deep regrets that the obtaining business order does not give us a handle to censure such unsuitable behaviour, a misdemeanour by which many members have not only been hindered in exercising their free right of election, but have besides been exposed to the suspicion of not having kept a compromise which they have entered into."

The whole House accompanied these explanations of its President with applause. Ernst Schneider was impudent enough to declare that the changing of the ballots practised by him had been done by agreement with the members of the Right. On this the chairman of the Club of the Right, Count Hohenwart, took the floor in the name of his Club to state that the Club authorized him to say, "that the assertion of the last speaker to the effect that he had the consent of the respective deputies to change votes was utterly untrue in so far as this declaration concerned members of his club."

The noise and the strange threats of the fraction Liechtenstein and Lueger had but one result, viz. to cause the chairman of the German Left, Herr von Plener, to move an expression of agreement of the House with the President.

In the name of the Poles the deputy Mr. Madejski unreservedly endorsed the declaration of Count Hohenwart. "I believe it to be a matter of course in decent society to express their displeasure at such behaviour, but because silence in this case might be misinterpreted I expressly state that as far as my club is concerned a consent to the changing of votes has not been given, and that the assertions of Schneider as far as they regard my club are simply untrue."

The speaker declared that the Poles approved with all their hearts and with absolute conviction of this motion of Plener's. All parties made the President's withering words their own. Thus my judgment and the words I had spoken publicly when

he entered Parliament were fully justified and verified by the vote of the whole House.

Ernst Schneider did not venture to give Talmud quotations from Rohling's "Talmudic Jew" or Aron Briman's "Jewish Mirror" in his speeches in Parliament, because he knew what answers he had to expect from me; he, therefore, had recourse to a mean trick. The contents of the writings of Briman and Rohling against the Jews were to be presented in Parliament by means of an interpellation which must not be discussed and which would thus be smuggled into the shorthand report, invested with the authority of a parliamentary publication and thus avoiding prosecution by law. The Talmud forgeries were to be made immune. The interpellation had been brought in by Schneider at the end of a Saturday sitting, and at the beginning of the next sitting I was already able to present a petition of the "Politischer Volksverein" (Political Association of the People) in which the calumniations were minutely refuted and their authors stigmatised as liars and hypocrites, and Parliament was called upon to demand the application of the full rigour of the law against the propagators of such disgraceful literature. I moved that the petition I had presented were enclosed in the Parliamentary shorthand report, which was accepted by the majority and thus the mask had been torn from the face of Falsehood and the Truth about Briman and Ecker was fixed in a parliamentary report.

In the following I give the words of the petition.

High House,

In face of the just excitement and indignation among Austrian Jews caused by the publication in Number 2308 of the "Deutsches Volksblatt" of a pamphlet "The Truth about Judaism" (dating from Leipsic February 1893) and included in the interpellation of the seventh of this month lodged by the deputies Schneider and Associates, the Board of the "Politischer Volksverein", a society dedicated to the

furtherance of the spiritual and social interests of its Jewish members, believe it to be their imperative duty to protest against the aforementioned hostile publication, in the place which has been the outward cause of it.

May we be permitted to bring the following facts to the notice of the House in protection of the honour of Austrian subjects of the Jewish persuasion, and the sacredness of their religious and moral teachings:

That the libel forgotten long ago, and now again fetched forth just before the elections for the Town Council of Vienna is nothing but an epitome from the so-called "Jewish Mirror in the Light of Truth";

that this miserable concoction alleged to be an Expert Opinion of Dr. Jakob Ecker of Münster was in the course of the well known action for libel of Professor Rohling against Dr. Bloch before the Vienna Landesgericht (Court of Justice) from 1884 to 1885, proved to be the work of Aron Briman(vulgo "Justus") who was condemned by the Vienna Court of Justice in 1885 for fraud to several months' penal servitude and to expulsion from Austria;

again that in this same lawsuit Rohling against Bloch every quotation contained in the so-called "Opinion" and taken over from it into the pamphlet was examined by the sworn experts and specialists Professor Dr. Theodor Noeldeke of the University of Strassburg, honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Science in Vienna, and by Dr. August Wünsche of Dresden, Professor of Theology, and that it was judicially proved that the quotations consisted in part of falsifications and in part of crass mystifications, that. therefore, they were only fabricated to kindle and increase hatred and animosity against the Jews with the help of deceptions, lies, and stultifications.

With the unerring conviction that the present revival and renewal of all those grave and revolting calumniations contained in the pamphlet and directed against Judaism again are to serve no other purpose but to increase beyond measure the passions of religious and racial hatred already perniciously roused;

And in view of the religious feelings of the Austrian Jews having again been deeply hurt by this fanatical outburst of intolerance the "Politischer Volksverein" respectfully signing this petition begs the "Hohe Abgeordnetenhaus" (Austrian Parliament) that it may invite His Excellency, the Minister of Justice, to order the application of the existing law against the publication and propagation of this libel directed against the Jewish Religious Society.

Vienna, June 9th, 1895. *"Politischer Volksverein".*

Dr. Fialla. *Dr. Skrein.*

My accompanying words were as follows:

"The petition of the "Politischer Verein" (six hundred members) which I had the honour to present concerns an infamous libel circulating in one hundred thousand copies which was annexed to an interpellation to the Government at the sitting on the seventh of this month, and the contents of which is a series of unheard-of accusations and denunciations against Jewish religious teachings and Jewish religious writings. The pamphlet is the short abstract of a book, the author of which had been in 1885 condemned by the Vienna Court to some months' penal servitude on account of fraud and forging of documents respectively. Now, though this nature of the libel and its origin may be a merit in the eyes of those who carry on the falsification of evidence as a profession and for party interest, the sad results of such libels, the riots in some quarters and suburbs of Vienna, may justify my motion in Parliament to embody the present petition completely in the shorthand report.

This motion was passed.

In Parliament a stream of filth poured down on parties, classes, races. And the liberal sheep lowered their heads and crowded out of doors to the quiet lunch room or the comfortable smoking-room and let Ernst Schneider have his way. I alone was left behind to oppose him and chastise his

impudence. And once when he used quite vulgar language insulting the people of the press he got the following answer from me:

"Yes, Gentlemen, pray look round among the stars of the antisemitic party — how many of them are sitting inside? (Laughter) Do you seriously believe this to be your privilege?"

"There may certainly be some bad individuals among the press-people, but is that the fault of the calling? And is any calling able to eject single bad individuals?

Mr. Schneider will understand that. He is an M. P. and knows that even Parliament is not able to get rid of inconvenient individuals." (Laughter and 'Very good!').

One day Ernst Schneider got a fat letter sent to him in the House of Parliament. As he found it rather suspicious he opened it in the presence of the postman and an antisemitic deputy. The letter contained a nice rope and there was a note attached to it with the laconic words: "Stampiglious, go hang!" "That can only have been written by a Jew!" he said. When Prince Liechtenstein soon after — on Christmas week 1887 — arranged his accustomed meetings against the Jews with the burden, "Buy from Christians only!" Ernst Schneider called out that one ought to prepare a rope for every Jew, so that he could hang himself. And then the point of it came out: The sender of the rope with the wish was a veritable antisemite.

When I was no longer in Parliament he misused the parliamentary platform undisturbed and utilized his privilege for the propaganda of the fable of ritual-murder. The time of the affair of Polna was the summit of his incendiary activity.

Besides Hans Arnold Schwer it was Ernst Schneider who caused the condemnation of innocent Hilsner — and Schneider bragged publicly of having done this.

I here will call attention to an episode of the Hilsner Case. On December 11th 1899 a trial against the responsible

editor of the "Deutsches Volksblatt" August Schreiber took place, who was accused of having offended against sections seven and eight of the Press Law in publishing several articles in the above mentioned paper about the Polna Case before the final trial at Kuttenberg. The Public Prosecutor Dr. Bobies at that time pleaded that the incriminated articles were written with the intention to offend the Israelitic Religious Community. It was known that an unauthorized private commission had constituted itself to ascertain facts and check the judicial proceedings in a manner unforeseen by the order of criminal proceedings, that they had gone so far as to send a special emissary and that the researches were made to suit party politics. This examination was superflous and unsuitable. A roundabout way was found to summon the witnesses once more who had spoken in court and the private commission made them repeat what they had said in court. The reproduction of the evidence of these witnesses was an incriminating fact according to section seven of the Press law.

But this publication constituted also an offence against section 3 of the Press Law. "A short time ago a leader (Schneider) of the antisemitic movement said at a meeting that "he only wished to live long enough by the grace of God to be able to prove the ritual murder, because then at last the Jews would be expelled from human society." Certainly these are not the principles of the political party in toto, but they are certainly those of some partisans of this political party. It was also the purpose of the above mentioned publication to exclude the Jews from human society, for in truth whosoever was convinced that a crime, than which none more horrible can be imagined, was committed by Jews in their religious rites would have to plead for the expulsion of Jews from human society. The incriminated article was calculated to call forth such wishes. It was not the question why a young girl was murdered — that was a detail; nor was it the question why the murderer was only caught four days afterwards; that was a detail. The chief thing was that a Jew was named as having committed the crime and that

this presented an occasion to lay this crime of an individual at the door of Judaism. And if either the evidence or the leaded type did not suffice to produce the intended effect then they adjusted and arranged matters to suit their purposes."

The Public Prosecutor then read from the incriminated articles the sentences containing a distortion likely to influence public opinion or even the judicial verdict. From the mayor's report on Hilsner's moral conduct they quoted that he had always been seen in the woods and had always tried to violate girls. But this sentence does not appear in the report; that is pure invention. Again, they say that the law had let four days go by unused after the discovery of the murder. That is a misstatement of the results of the trial. Nineteen witnesses had been heard during the first four days and Hilsner had been arrested after the first examination. It was said to have been proved that the girl Klima who had been found murdered, as well as Agnes Hruza, were slaughtered by three Jews. "We have proved it", they said. But such a proof was never given.

The court, under the vice-president Dr. von Holzinger, pronounced the accused guilty of offending against sections seven and eight of the Press Law and condemned him to a month's prison. A well prepared storm of invective broke loose against the Public Prosecutor in the parliamentary sitting of December 12th, 1899. The antisemitic blood agitators brought in an interpellation on account of Herr Schreiber's condemnation and had arranged with the secretary that he was to read out the document at the top of his voice. I quote the shorthand report:

Deputy Leopold Steiner: "Where are the ministers?"

Secretary Horica (reading): "On the eleventh the responsible editor of the "Deutsches Volksblatt" August Schreiber (loud voices of hear! hear! among the Christian Socialists) before a Senate of the Vienna Law Court the second counsel for the prosecution Dr. von Bobies..." (loud shouts of hear! hear! among the Christian Socialists).

Schneider: "That Bobies is a knave!"

The President calls deputy Schneider to order.

Schneider: He is a knave, a knave! The President names Deputy Schneider again. Bielohlawek: "He is a miserable slave of the Jews in optima forma!"

Deputy Gregorig: "A slave of the Jews!" (Continued noise.)

Secretary Horica (reading): "... an accusation brought forward on account of the publication of statements about a pending lawsuit which in the first instance seems to be over . . . condemned to one month of prison . . ." (Hear! Hear! among the Christian Socialists.)

Deputy Bielohlawek: "The Alliance Israelite has once again sent out a command!"

Secretary Horica (reading): "... to present in court on political parties and their tendencies..."

Deputy Bielohlawek: "Disgusting! That is no judge! Out with the fellow!"

Deputy Gregorig: "What's to become of the respect due to court when such proceedings are possible?"

Deputy Wohlmeyer: "Such is the state of law in Austria!"

Secretary Horica (reading): "...The condemnation of the accused editor Schreiber means that from now onward every report of occurences of the nature of criminal proceedings..."

Deputy Bielohlawek: "So that they can kill more people, those Jewish pigs, those mean fellows!"

Deputy Wohlmeyer: "Kill Christians! Yes, if one writes the truth one is imprisoned!"

Secretary Horica (reading) "...The interpellants therefore ask the Minister of Justice: 1. Is he ready to subject the above mentioned occurence to a close examination and to take action that a repetition of such and similar arbitrary acts which seriously damage the good repute of our judical life be henceforth impossible? 2. As to the

above described proceedings of the prosecuting counsel Dr. von Bobies is he ready to . . .?"

Deputy Bielohlawek: "Out with him! He must not remain counsel for the prosecution any longer!"

Secretary Horica (reading): "3. Is he ready to provide in favour of the right of free opinion by reports of the public press organs?" (Loud shouts among the Christian Socialists. — Commotion.)

In this way the parliamentary platform was misused to intimidate judicial persons, public prosecutors and gentlemen of the jury and to enforce a condemnation of Leopold Hilsner. And nobody ventured to thwart these brawlers. The affair in the Lower-Austrian Diet in which Ernst Schneider criticised Dr. Ignaz Edler von Ruber, afterwards President of the High Court of Justice, was more fateful and more decisive for the Hilsner trial. It was sad enough for the administration of justice in the old Austria that Schneider was allowed to say what he did without a serious examination ensuing which would have brought out the guilty and have handed them over to avenging justice. He boasted in a public meeting of the Diet that he had made it impossible for Ignaz Edler von Ruber, who was Minister of Justice at the time, to let the affair Hilsner take its normal course. It was absolutely evident from his words that Schneider had exercised a pressure on the Minister of Justice in consequence of which the re-arrest of Hilsner took place, although he had already been released from the preliminary arrest as innocent and which led to the judicial crimes of Kuttenberg and Pisek. This pressure could nominally only be exercised by Schneider in connection with a criminal affair concerning the manufacturer Ritter von Leon and which the Minister of Justice was then dealing with. Ernst Schneider bragged in a public sitting of the Diet that he had succeeded in bending Law and Justice by his personal influence on the Minister of Justice.

And yet this well acted rage was only a comedy. In the Trades Congress of Lemberg Ernst Schneider appeared

utterly transformed; there he said to a deputy of the diet Dr. Goldmann: "What I am in Vienna has nothing to do with me here." Of course that had a reason of its own.

Immediately after his arrival in Lemberg a huge man, the Jewish tailor Rosengarten of Stanislau had come up to the deputy Schneider. "I am the tailor of Stanislau" he had said to the frightened apostle of hatred, "You are the" tailor "(pun on the name Schneider which means 'tailor' in German) of Vienna — it will be well if we both behave decently in Lemberg." After saying which he touched his hat with his enormous hand and stepped back quietly into the line of his comrades. And the "tailor" of Vienna did not forget the tailor of Stanislau during the whole time of his stay at Stanislau. He behaved quite nicely, fraternised with the Jewish trades people, he stepped up cordially to the separate tables where the strictly confirming gentlemen were eating their ritually prepared food and he introduced himself to them without any shame.

And this man Ernst Schneider, one of the most odious excrescences of the political life of the old Austria, was decidedly the most active founder of the antisemitic party.

He began as an agitator in a small way and ended as a rich manufacturer and well paid School Reporter of the Lower-Austrian Select Committee.

He trained his children always to add to the answer to a question of what they were called, "I hate the Jews"; but this did not prevent his daughter from marrying a Jew called Kreitner and from becoming a Jewess in fulfilment of a vow made when her husband was dangerously ill.

But Ernst Schneider also had a son about whom the official "Wiener Zeitung" published the following

Warning.

"We, the undersigned, warn everybody from lending or giving in trust to our son Ernest money or money's worth

and hereby declare that we render no payment of whatever kind for him.

Vienna, the 11th of August 1900.

Ernest Schneider
M. P. and Deputy of the Austrian Diet.
Bertha Schneider."

It seems that they did not expect much good from this son of Ernst Schneider's because the warning not to give him anything in trust would otherwise have been senseless. Father Schneider was a most fanatical race-antisemite, Frau Berta Schneider head manager of the Christian Women's League, and their son is sure to have enjoyed the best Christian-Aryan education.

Thus both of them were overtaken by avenging Nemesis.

Incidents of My Third Parliamentary Session.

During the meetings of the Austrian Parliament in the second half of the month of October 1891 a law about the establishment of boards of physicians was to be discussed, a welcome occasion for the antisemitic members to come down on the Jewish physicians. Several of their speakers followed each other and everyone of them repeated the theme of the Jew-doctors stealing into Christian families in order to destroy the Christians.*)

The Jewish doctor who sacrifices his own person and his knowledge for the benefit of his fellow-citizens, for instance when cholera breaks out, is a hero and is justly admired. Laurels are his due and he ought to be looked up to with awe and veneration. But to throw dirt at him in reward and to drag down the purity of his mind to the level of their own meanness — as has unfortunately been the case in those meetings — it is not possible to leave that unavenged.

Herr Ernst Schneider, Member of Parliament, had also quoted passages from that ill-famed Expert Opinion of Dr. Ecker's and those quotations had caused painful surprise. I took the floor immediately after and told them of the origin of that "Expert Opinion" and my biography of Aron Briman was the cause of a good deal of hearty laughter in the House.

Again I quote the shorthand report:

*) In the antisemitic meetings they insulted doctors in the meanest way. In one of the sittings of the Lower Austrian Diet Dr. Lueger once said: "There are a great many old women who are cleverer than the doctors", and Schneider accused the Jewish doctors of sending their Christian patients to the hospitals where they died and were then dissected by Jews.

"Allow me to cite a document from the Court of Justice. In the Vienna Landesgericht (Court of Justice and Prison) — if the gentleman who spoke last is not afraid to go there and read . . . (Screams of laughter. Deputy Swoboda: "Catch him going there!" Renewed laughter.) In the Vienna Landesgericht there is a document signed by a Roman Catholic Professor of Theology in the University of Innsbruck (Tyrol) in which he declares outright that this so-called "Expert Opinion" of Dr. Ecker's was drawn up by a baptized Jew, viz. by the plaintiff in the case in whose interest this expert opinion had been given, that Dr. Ecker had then taken an oath upon this said Expert Opinion and published it in his name, so that he should get a professorial chair on the strength of that. You can find all that in the documents of the Vienna Landesgericht, statements by a pious Roman Catholic priest and Professor of Theology in the University of Innsbruck; and such a false Expert Opinion is here quoted as an authority. (Dr. Lueger: "It is by a baptized Jew!")Yes, but what kind of a baptized Jew? (Dr. Lueger:"A badly baptized one!" Loud laughter.) No, by a Jew who was baptized only too well, who in succession turned Jew, Protestant, Roman Catholic, and, as the saying goes, perhaps Mohammedan. (Roaring laughter. Dr. Lueger: "He's got experience!") And, Gentlemen, this is why he is a favourite Jew with the antisemites. Oh, those gentlemen hate every decent Jew, but with a Jewish rascal they like to associate. (Loud laughter, and "Very good!") Those are the kind they need. The Jew in the university is reviled, but whosoever has behaved meanly in any way and goes and sells himself to those gentlemen as King's evidence and expert, he is welcome, for with him business can be done. ("Very good!" on the Right.)"

I then turned to the case of the physicians and gave sketches of Jewish medieval physicians, quoted John William Draper's book "The History of the Intellectual Development of Europe", the chapter "Influence of Medical Ideas through the Nestorians and Jews", mentioned the physicians to European Princes and Popes and reminded the hearers of King Frederic II of Sicily's words: "We see that usually no other

but a Jewish doctor enters a convent," and finally Pope Bonifac's IX. dictum that "the Jewish doctors are complaisant in the practice of their art, that they are good-natured and obliging, hasten to help the poor and needy, do not press for payment and are highly experienced in their art".

That was too much for Dr. Lueger, and he interrupted me saying I was to come to the doctors of the present day. I immediately referred to some documents of modern times and added: "Let us speak openly and honestly! Gentlemen! How do matters really stand? The antisemitic gentlemen here among us insult Jewish doctors and not only here; they also go to public meetings and instigate the people against Jewish doctors, but when they themselves are ill they don't call in the antisemitic quack but a capable Jewish doctor. I even believe that there, on the extreme Left, quite close to Dr. Lueger, people are sitting who are being treated by Jewish doctors." I was able to confirm this assertion by passages from the parliamentary short hand report, and to prove that antisemitic deputies who vomited poison and gall against Jewish doctors called in Jewish doctors when they were ill. They did so also in case of the illness of a member of their family, and I said at the end of this affair: "This is how they are: They drink wine secretly and publicly preach water. In is true that they recommend the antisemitic quack to the people, but they themselves go to a Jewish doctor."

Herr Schneider has told us some weird stories about the preference accorded to Jews in the Vienna hospitals as a consequence of the influence of the appointed Jewish doctors. Thus Christian corpses are dissected and kept for the purpose of study, whereas all Jewish corpses without exception are left to be buried. This communication properly staged had made a great impression. My explanatary reply during which I was often interrupted I here print from the report:

"The gentleman who spoke last has told us some more horrible things: In the General Hospital in Vienna, he says, only Christian corpses are dissected and never a Jewish one. Well, Gentlemen, do you know why? I will tell you.

(Dr. Lueger: "I am very curious!" But you are not quite innocent. (Laughter.)"

"In fact a post-mortem examination is made of every corpse to state the cause of death, but the Jewish corpses are then buried, and the Christian corpses are kept for study. The gentleman who spoke before me was right here, for the first time he has proffered an actual fact. (Laughter.) Dr. Lueger goes to the elective meetings and recommends the Christians to "do as the Jews do, to them it is all one if a man believe in God or not" — so that is what the Christians are to imitate."

"The people think, why is one to bury corpses — and they leave the corpses of their relatives to the hospital."

"But we Jews believe in God and we believe in an immortal soul and that is why the relatives of a deceased person bury the corpse. For every corpse that is asked for can only be handed over by the administration of the hospital."

"Who has the disposal of the corpses? Professor Kundrat."

"It is known of him that he does not feel over much sympathy with the living Semites (Laughter), and I do not see why the man should feel particular tenderness towards the Semitic corpses. (Loud laughter.) He hands over every corpse that is asked of him."

"But by your incendiarism you have brought the Christian people to a state (contradiction on the extreme Left), certainly, Dr. Lueger, by your agitations you have made them lose all respect also for their near relations."

"Among us Jews there exists a burying-brotherhood in every community, even the very smallest. It is their bounden duty to bury every corpse in a separate grave, also that of the poorest Jew."

"We have such an association in Vienna, too, and they consider it their most sacred duty to bury every Jewish corpse from the hospital."

"You may see the Town Councillor Gustav Simon at every funeral, also at the funeral of the very poorest, he

never tires of fulfilling his duty. These societies are older than our congregations, they are as old as the Jewish Diaspora."

"Well, you call yourself a "Christian-Social" party; imitate the Jews in this. (Dr. Lueger: "We have not got the money for it!") There are plenty of rich people among you, for instance His Highness the Prince Liechtenstein; you ought to start such a society; practise Christian charity! Instead of spending the money on antisemitic agitations do as the Jews do; perform a work of Christian mercy, found such a society. You have similar societies, but they care only for their members; if you really wish to do something for the people — hic Rhodus, hic salta! That is how you ought to "imitate the Jews", Dr. Lueger, found such "holy societies" as they are called with us. Do not attack the Jews because they treat their relatives with pious respect; do the same with the Christians. That is commendable — of course, Gentlemen, Prince Liechtenstein, the Schrolls, and the other Aryan millionaires should give the money for it! They evidently have more important aims for it! (Hauck: "Why don't the Liberals do anything?') Have you ever asked the Liberals to do anything and did they refuse money for this purpose? (Boisterous laughter.) Why don't you try? (Loud laughter and applause on the galleries.)"

"*Vicepresident Dr. Kathrein:* I request the galleries to be quiet; I cannot permit them to disturb the House."

I then sketched the symptoms of the brutalization and demoralization of the people in consequence of antisemitic agitation and I described well-known scenes that had taken place in Vienna and where Christians who by some chance looked "a little like Jews" had to submit to serious ill-treatment, so that even a pious Christian with a hooked nose cannot venture out into the street. And then I spoke of two events, of which I gave documentary evidence, which had happened at short intervals successively in various provinces. A Jewish shop-boy from Mährisch-Friedland saved a Christian boy of

nine on the 31st of December. In Nauheim Moritz Löb of Friedeberg was drowned when trying to save a protestant theologian. The protestant clergyman had been to see his fiancée, both went out in a boat and the boat capsized. Moritz Löb jumped in after them, tried to save them both and was drowned with them. He was the only son of a poor Jewish family. But the protestant pastor Becker tells us another story in this connection: Let us imagine ourselves on the banks of an Austrian river. A big crowd is assembled there and looks on how a man battles with the waves. They say: "Let him drown; it's only a Jew!" They make fun of him and laugh. They call out again: "Let him drown; he is a Jew!" Then a man pushes out from among the crowd, jumps in and endeavours to save this so-called Jew. And lo and behold, he was a Christian. And he who tells us this is no Jew but a protestant clergyman."

'A further illustration is offered by the decree of the Wurttemberg Consistory of Stuttgart. A Christian baker of the electoral district of the usurer and antisemitic deputy Pickenbach to whom the Jews had confided the baking of the "Barches" (a kind of bread for their Sabbath) had put sulphur from scraped matches into all the loaves. Remember they were his customers, and he tried to poison them! And that is why the Consistory interfered, not, however, in order to protect the Jews, but to prevent the damage done to the Christian people through the antisemitic agitation."

"It is true you will find bad fellows everywhere, also among Jewish doctors, but if I were to enumerate the list of eminent antisemites who are punished for usury and other dishonourable delinquencies I should have to read for hours." I named several prominent leaders as examples and reminded Dr. Lueger of the judgment of the High Court of Justice on his own practice as a lawyer as "protector of the small trades-people". I then showed up Herr Ernst Schneider and his various feats and added: "I am not angry with him for his fine deeds. If antisemites needs must sit here in Parliament they should only be like Ernst Schneider and no different. But you ought to be a little tolerant too when you

catch hold of a Jewish rascal anywhere and don't go and ring all the bells of the capital as if he had encroached upon your privileges. Don't be too pretentious! All rogues can't be antisemites!"

In conclusion I opened my portfolio and took out a series of letters — the originals — by Herr Ernst Schneider adressed to well-known anarchists: sensational disclosures of Schneider's activities as *agent provocateur*.

I quote from the shorthand report:

"In truth, Gentlemen, you are sailing under false colours. You do not trouble about the corpses nor about Christianity, and I will take the liberty of proving this by authentic evidence. You call yourselves a "Christian-Social" party, but you are anti-Christian and anti-social.

Gentlemen, letters from ministers and private persons have already been read in this House; that is a sufficient case of precedence for me, and so I will show from some confidential letters of these gentlemen that they have another platform for the man in the street and another for their inner circles.

The intimate circles of the antisemitic leaders do not trouble their heads whether Christian bodies are buried or not. There they show their real faces. I have a letter here in which a leader of the antisemites tells a colleague some intimate things from a meeting. (Hauck: "Who is that leader? We must at least know that!") I will tell you — and more than you will care to hear. (Laughter.) He says in that letter (reads),

> "I have cheered the *radical labour party* and *all present joined enthusiastically*."

If you care to read it yourself I can give you the letter, it is signed "*Ernst Schneider*", and is written on Ernst Schneider's notepaper. I am ready to present it to the House, so that it may be examined as to its being genuine. In their intimate circles they, therefore, did not speak of Christianity and Socialism, *but of the radical labour party*.

Again, Gentlemen, in a second letter he invites the addressee to (reads),

"Please bring along as many *red friends as you can, the lovers of truth arn't worth a scrap!*"

The "lovers of truth" are the moderate Socialists. But the "red friends" are the people to his taste, men of his colours. (Hauck: "How did you get hold of those letters?") — Dr. Lueger: "They were stolen!") I assure you, in the most honest way! (Laughter.) — Dr. Foregger: Without falsifications!" — Hanck: "Talmud talk!")

Gentlemen, I here have a third letter which begins by reporting (reads),

"I will write to Schönerer to-day on account of the protocols."

The date of this letter coincides curiously with a number of Georg Schönerer's paper „Unverfälschte deutsche Worte". There it is said in Number 21 of November 1885 (reading):

"Thus the army of the Infallible is trained for the battle against Light. Their so-called science is nothing but paganism, for only the untutored masses are led by superstitious fairy-tales; an educated man will no longer stand such stuff — not even in the nursery."

Herr Schönerer writes that and at the same time he is in connection with people who to outsiders call themselves "Christian Socialists".

Again the letter reports of agitation work done by a certain Motz.

"Motz has gone for me to Bohemia, Moravia, and perhaps also to Silesia."

And then it says (reading):

"Motz will perhaps only be back in a week; if the funds don't give out I will then send him to Styria."

But who is this Motz? He is an agitator of this much praised radical labour party.

As an anarchist he was forbidden the country by the police during the days of martial law. The Christian population

does not seem to be prepared for the true aims of the party — in fact it is not prepared for them. The population is not so easily to be had for pillage and murder; they must be trained and brought up to that and they are to practise on the Jews. The literal words of the letter are:

> "I can tell you it is impossible to do anything if the Jews don't go along with us. It needs an enormous activity of those participating in the affair. *Our people are not prepared for Socialism* and especially your readers are not; I am looking for falsifications."

You see, that is the programme, "I am looking for forgeries!" (Laugther. — Dr. Popper: "He found them!")

The same thing is said in different words in another letter:

> "Action will only be possible if a great agitation against Rothschild and his helpmates can be started. You pretend one thing and mean another. (In German: *You beat the bag and mean the ass.*)

Who was the bag? That is supposed to be the Jews. And who is the ass? (Boisterous laughter.— Speaker bows to Dr. Lueger) You have it written here. (Loud laughter.)

I recapitulate. You call yourself Christian Socialists and you are anti-Christian and anti-social. (Calls: "From where did you get those letters?") These letters came into my possession in a legal way, they were brought to my house. ("Who did?") A partisan of these gentlemen. (Dr. Lueger: "Oh no, we know already how you came by them!") Then why did you ask? (Loud laughter.)"

The effects caused by these disclosures in parliament and in public are mirrored in the daily papers and I publish some of them here.

The "Neue Freie Presse" wrote:

"The Boards of Physicians was the subject of debate, but Herr Schneider again spoke of the Jews. He had lately

made the announcement in a meeting of voters that he would slander the Jewish doctors, and Herr Schneider usually keeps such promises. But to-day Schneider's appearance was no success, neither for him nor for the antisemitic company; in Dr. Bloch they found an antagonist who was a match for them, whose annihilating blows came down on those people and smashed them; for they are only able to triumph when they are permitted to speak in monologues undisturbed by any contradiction. But when these gentlemen meet with a speaker so apt at repartee who raps their knuckles they have soon used up their borrowed wisdom. Herr Schneider referred to a pretended Expert Opinion by a Dr. Ecker of Münster. Dr. Bloch invited Herr Schneider — supposing that he was not afraid to go there — to go to the Landesgericht and to convince himself from documents kept there — that Ecker was no other but the ill-famed forger Brimanus who fooled and gulled the antisemites. You hate the Jews, Dr. Bloch called out to Herr Schneider, but you like to associate with Jewish scamps! The interruptions by means of which Dr. Lueger, Schlesinger, and Hauck tried to disturb the speaker, did not affect him; he demonstrated the bad influence caused by antisemitic incendiarism on the young generation and the population in general. He blamed them for the assaults with knives made by antisemitic school-boys — the products of Christian-socialist education — on their Jewish school-fellows; he reminded them of an antisemitic game of questions and answers for children; he reminded them of the fact that in the electoral district of Herr Pickenbach, a member of parliament, anything but honourably known, an antisemitic baker had tried to bring about a general poisening of Jews and he demonstrated that the results of the antisemitic agitation is not only harmful to the Jews but to the entire population. Bloch's speech made a visible impression on the House and particularly on the *Roman Catholic priests* who are members of the House. They followed the detailed arguments of the speaker with attention, in particular about the bad influence of antisemitism on the

population and especially on the young generation, and perhaps some of them became aware that the unruliness which has of late been shown towards the Church and the bishops by the antisemites, calling themselves "Christian Socialists" is nothing else but the natural result of the incompatibility of the teachings of the Church with those of antisemitism. Herr Schneider had blamed the Jews for withdrawing the bodies of those deceased in public hospitals from dissection by claiming them for burial. Dr. Bloch explained that it was only the pious work of an organisation admirably fit for its purpose and invited the Christian Socialists to start a similar society. "Found such societies!" he apostrophized the antisemites; "there are rich people among you, His Highness the Prince of Liechtenstein!" Dr. Bloch might have saved himself this appeal. Money for the dead? The dead have no votes! — The extracts from the confidential correspondence of Herr Schneider, which Dr. Bloch read out, were very instructive. Herr Schneider wrote six years ago: "Our people are not yet ready for Socialism. I need forgeries!" That has actually remained the guiding-star of Schneider and those elements of whom Dr. Bloch justly says that they ought never to have been suffered to remain among decent people."

The "Neues Wiener Tagblatt" wrote:

"But this time it did not pay. He provoked an answer from Dr. Bloch about the goings on of Schneider and his associates which certainly belongs to the most interesting documents that have come to be known by the public. Dr. Bloch read out various passages from Schneider's letters, all showing that this individual who is playing the part of a Christian Social reformer has been in close connection with the most extreme among the "Red". Only hereby do we get a complete idea of Schneider's character. The portrait of this antisemitic chief now needs no further completion."

"Besides, Dr. Bloch's speech is remarkable for its rare readiness at repartee and a brilliant illumination of the antisemitic witches' Sabbath. The big and small antisemitic spirits of the House tried in vain to weaken the effect of this speech coming down upon them like a cudgel by continual interruptions. Dr. Bloch knew how to return sharp answers to them and was not put out for a moment. Dr. Lueger made an effort at a short controversy but he did not manage more than mere phrases and the repetition of the accustomed catchwords. Yesterday was not a happy day for the trifolium Schneider-Lueger-Liechtenstein! The gentlemen were not among themselves and as soon as their applauders, the "wandering scandal brewers", are not there to help them the ground gives way beneath them."

The "Wiener Tagblatt" wrote:

"The two antisemitic representatives of the people were payed off very effectively by Dr. Bloch. Bloch is as little ashamed to speak out as Schneider or Lueger, and he has as little restraint as they have themselves. When Schneider's incendiary letters were being read by Bloch it made quite a sensation, for proof was given by them that Schneider had planned anarchist conspiracies. This lecture was naturally very inconvenient to the antisemites, and they repeatedly interrupted Dr. Bloch by loud shouts. Ballots are forged in the entourage of these gentlemen, but they suddenly discovered a point of view of honour and declared that it was improper to bring private letters into parliament. How thinskinned these gentlemen are!"

The "Presse" wrote:

"Dr. Bloch is the only member of the House who from time to time effectively opposes antisemitic agitation. His force consists in his plain disclosure of concrete facts and the meanness of mind prevalent among the comrades of Schneider and Lueger—without much or any foolish talk

about humanity and the nineteenth century. Though this method of fighting is not exactly what you may call a noble or strictly parliamentary way of debating we must confess that it is the only way of producing any effect or of successfully meeting the faction of Messrs. Schneider and Prince Liechtenstein."

The "Deutsche Zeitung" wrote:

"It did not agree with him very well, for after the antisemite it was the Jew's turn, viz. Dr. Bloch's, and after he had pulled Schneider's accusation against the Jewish doctors to bits he brought out a number of letters written in Schneider's own hand, and that they were read out probably did not give him great pleasure. For these letters disclose the connection this honourable knight of "the Throne and Altar" had kept up with the anarchist fraction, and they prove alike that with this most honourable Herr Schneider lies and forgeries are not the result of sudden inspirations but a matter of principle. "I am looking for forgeries" Schneider writes in one of these letters. Seven years ago this man was on the look-out for forgeries — he is more advanced at present, he makes them himself now-a-days if he cannot find them! But no matter, in spite of this unwilling confession of a noble soul Dr. Lueger will continue to defend him steadfastly, the mass of the people will continue to praise their "great Schneider" and Prince Liechtenstein will still put his aristocratic hand into Schneider's. When it suits them they are all very thick-skinned and on the other hand they can be extremely sensitive."

The clerical "Vaterland" confessed that:

"It needs must be said that Dr. Bloch said a good deal of truth, truth that Christians ought to take to heart!"

A propos of the above speech a Christian physician from Prossnitz reported to the "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift" an event that took place in his family.

"I am the youngest son of the mason K. in P. My father had a brother called Thomas K. whom he often employed at his buldings. In 1854 the church tower of Prossnitz was being repaired and Thomas K. had himself pulled up in a lift together with a bucket of mortar to do some repairs up there.

The lift had scarcely gone up 10 or 15 yards when he noticed the Rabbi Hirsch Klein who had to pass there to reach the synagogue. Thomas K. caught hold of the trowel and poured two or three supplies down onto the rabbi calling out some bad words after him too.

The rabbi continued his way quickly in his dirty clothes and after having said the morning prayers in the synagogue he returned to his humble home in the Jewish Street in which he had been living for many years, changed his clothes and was soon deeply buried in the accustomed study of the Talmud.

On the third day after this event the rabbi heard a gentle tapping at his door; when he opened, an unknown woman with a sorrowful face gave him a note from the Roman Catholic curate S. in which he most earnestly requested him to fulfil the wish of a dying man who longed to speak to him.

The rabbi went out with the poor woman and they reached a house far away in a suburb. When he entered the room where the sick man lay, the latter lifted himself up and begged the rabbi to approach.

He caught hold of the rabbi's hand, kissed it and told him he was the mason who had abused him three days ago. He added that the rope of the lift had broken on the very same day, that he had fallen down and seriously hurt himself; he begged the rabbi to forgive his bad action, so that he could die in peace.

The rabbi was touched, put both hands onto the head of the sick man and quoted the blessing "God bless thee and keep thee, may the face of Gold shine unto thee and may He be merciful!" He said this in a loud voice and in the presence of the relations.

As soon as the rabbi had ended, the face of the dying man took on a peaceful expression, he laid back his head and died."

K. added that this story which his father had told him often had made him immune from the infection of Jew-baiting.

Addresses of thanks from the Jewish congregations of Brüx, Prague, Karolinenthal, Czernowitz, Groß-Meseritsch, Kutenplan came to me in answer to my speech, and they were mentioned in the "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift". The Chewra Kadisha of Prague sent the diploma of an Honorary Member, the president of the Union of Austrian Israelites brought me a silver goblet with the inscription: "In recognition of the latest speech in the Austrian Parliament."

From out of the numerous letters I got — in particular from the medical world — I will quote the following:

Goricia, October 25th, 1891.

Most honoured Sir,

I take the liberty of expressing my sincerest thanks for the brilliant manner in wich you defended the Jewish medical calling.

Kindly accept, dear Doctor, my great respect and believe me

Yours faithfully

Dr. Aron Luzzatto

Physician to the Town of Goricia

Most honoured Sir,

Dear Doctor,

I feel bound to express my unlimited admiration and most cordial thanks for your speech which was not only absolutely to the point but also full of humour and brilliancy

in its critical refutations during the debate on the establishment of boards of physicans. If the effect of your speech has been half as useful to our profession as the impression made by your truly thrilling words, my colleagues would be happy. They will certainly not fail to thank you as a corporation as I in the meantime do individually.

Most sincerely yours

Dr. Haase

Secretary of the Association of Doctors of the II. Vienna Ward.

Dear Sir,

Kindly accept my sincerest thanks for the brave defence and protection in Parliament of the Jewish doctors, together with my greatest esteem and admiration.

May you succed in bringing the enemies of our correligionists to see matters in a different light — and if this be possible yet to continue the battle untiringly so that Truth may win the victory and Justice be done to our correligionists.

Most respectfully yours

Dr. Med. Univ. Leopold Neufeld

Delegate of the Austrian Congress of Physicans at Troppau.

Please, accept also my thanks for your energetic, admirable, and altogether excellent defence of the honour of the Jewish medical profession. I hope the Jewish doctors will always remain grateful to you for this.

Dr. Jacques Konig.

Berlin, February 20th, 1890.

Dear Doctor,

Your pithy and spirited speech in the debate about the Jews has made a great impression also on me and that is



From The Chewrah Kaddisha of Prague.

why I will not deprive myself of the pleasure of congratulating you upon this success. You always hit the nail on the head by your terse and concise way of speaking and your amusing repartees. I hear that the "Volkszeitung" of Berlin has published an extract of your excellent speech. The Jewish doctors will certainly never forget what they owe you.

Thanking you most heartily for the past, and with sincerest wishes for the future I am,

dear Sir,

most respectfully yours

Dr. J. Egers.

Most honoured Sir,

My heartiest congratulations for your action in Parliament of yesterday. I thank you as a physician and express my admiration for your singularly brilliant speech.

Your faithful admirer

Dr. S. Hajek,

Vienna, II. Komödiengasse 3.

Dr. Adolf *Jellinek* wrote in Nr. 45 of the "Neuzeit", November 6th, 1891, an

"Epilogue to Dr. Bloch's Speech of October 20.":

The speech made by Dr. Bloch, Member of Parliament, during the debate about the establishment of boards of physicians was outlined in Nr. 43 of the "Neuzeit"; it was characterized as to its importance and expressed to be a fact for which the Jews ought to be grateful to the speaker. This was said immediately after the speech had become known by the papers. But we do not find this general appreciation sufficient. We must enter more closely into this speech and we must bring forth from it all that has not only given it its momentary value but has done so for later times. . . ."

"... The reverend theologians and their credulous followers among the people take great trouble in defending the assertion that the Jews or the professors of the Old Testament refer the commandment of love for one's neighbour only to their brethren in race and faith whereas the Church extends it to all mankind without any difference of origin or creed. We will not enter upon a linguistic and hermeneutic discussion."

„ . . . The best commentary on a command is practice, real life. Dr. Bloch has given such a commentary in his most drastic and graphic speech. We see a Jewish shopboy who saves a Christian boy's life and another Jew who pays his endeavour to save a protestant clergyman with his own death in the waves — on the other side we see a man battling with the waves and Christians are standing on the banks of the river calling out: "Let him drown, he's only a Jew!" They make fun of him and laugh. These two scenes are the best commentaries on the commandment "Love thy neighbour as thyself". Jews know no difference in their love of mankind, but Christians do not fulfil the commandment when a Jew is in question."

„ . . . Dr. Bloch has a second time deserved gratefulness from the Jews by calling the attention of Parliament to the Chewra Kadisha, and he has hereby forced our Christian fellow-citizens, and even those among them who do not wish us well, to respect and recognize some good in Judaism. For the speaker has made hundreds of Members and by means of the papers hundred thousands of people, acquainted with the historical fact that there exists in every Jewish community a holy brotherhood whose business it is to give decent burial to the very poorest in separate graves and without payment, and he might have added that this pious feeling for the dead also extends to non-Jews who are buried in the same way with some words of sympathy and comfort when found to be utterly forsaken. Dr. Bloch held up this society as a pattern for the Christians to copy; the poor Christians who have died in hospital will then no longer be put onto the tables for

dissection, and the poor relatives of the dead will be spared the crushing pain of knowing their dead lying dismembered and not in separate graves. Dr. Bloch recommended his fellow citizens of the capital of Austria to found a Chewra Kadisha for the municipality of Vienna; it will then no longer happen that some poor family sell or carry what little is left to them to the broker's so as to be able to bury a poor member of their family. That would be necessary, a Chewra Kadisha for the Austrian capital!"

"... Dr. Bloch has acquainted the Christians world with the Chewra Kadisha and has called out to them:

"Imitate the Jews! Instead of spending the money on antisemitic agitations do as the Jews do, do a Christian work of mercy, found such a society. Do not attack the Jews for their piety to their relatives — do the same for the Christians; that would be commendable."

From the Parliamentary Sitting on November 25th 1892.

An antisemitic deputy of Vienna called Doctor Schlesinger, professor at a veterinary school, brought in an interpellation during the session in November about white slave traffic for which he was called to order by the President in a manner which had not happened often before. The president Dr. Smolka said:

"This interpellation contains so many offences against decency and morals that I cannot find words to express my indignation at it." Dr. Pattai, an antisemitic deputy, called this interpellation "barbarous" and another partisan, the deputy Fuss, afterwards withdrew his signature from the paper. The deputy Prince Liechtenstein, however, had special copies of that interpellation printed and distributed in his assemblies of voters. The deputies Schlesinger and Schneider made venomous speeches of prosecution on November 24th on the theme of "white slave traffic". I took the floor on November 25th, and I remarked on this theme:

(according to the shorthand report)

"Some Jews have been summoned in the capital of Galicia on account of this dishonest and shameful trade and have been condemned. I regret from the bottom of my heart that there are also people among my own faith who lower themselves to such a trade. If it were not forbidden by the fundamental laws of the State I should expel these people, but I have neither a right nor the power to do it. Herr Schlesinger addressed an interpellation a fortnight ago in connection with this event which doubtlessly involves a conscious and intended insult to the whole of Judaism."

"He did not content himself with the glory acquired by this interpellation and the laurels he gathered thereby but he keeps coming back to this favourite girl-theme of his. I am, therefore, obliged to answer him once for all. I should like to ask Herr Schlesinger a question: Does he not know that there are in Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Silesia, Styria, Bohemia, Moravia one or several b...s (loud laughter) in every large town? And do you know that the owners of these shameful houses are, everyone of them, thoroughbred Aryans of the same race and the same faith as the interpellant? (Laughter).

"Please enquire how many of these Aryan houses there are in *Vienna*. The trade pays and, naturally, the Jews are kept from it (roaring laughter), but that was not the object of your interpellation. An antisemitic idol has transfoumed his house into a b... (Cries: True!) Do you think that there are empty walls and empty beds in those rooms? There are certainly girls there and a continal exchange of goods takes place, a continual change of human beings, the demand for this article is great and there are dealers who bring about the barter, it is purest slave-trade as in the East. You did not inquire about that, full of moral indignation; but tell me is that an exclusively Aryan trade, because you are so indignant that a Jew has encroached upon it, because a few Jews have tried to compete with you?" (Bursts of laughter.)

Now the German-national leader in Austria Georg Ritter von Schönerer had transformed the house he had inherited from his father in Vienna, I., Krugerstrasse, into a temple of Venus, so as to force his mother and sister to clear out. I then remarked in reference to this matter:

"I once asked a German nationalist student, one of Herr Schönerer's worshippers, how it happened that Schönerer had made his house in the Krugerstrasse a b . . . ? And he said: "That is an ancient German institution." Well, a few Jews have germanized themselves, that's all. (Noise on the left side of the House.) I beg your pardon, I wish the Jews would not have had to suffer offence; but if one shoots at them it must be permitted to return the compliment."

In answer to the attacks on Jewish teachers I told them some very touching traits of Jewish teachers in Viennese schools, how they have pity on poor Christian children who are behind-hand in their studies on account of having been ill and how they teach them privately and unpaid at home, and I presented in the original a letter of recognition from the Vienna school-board to such a teacher. The words were:

Herr Isidor Faltischek, Teacher,
Vienna.

The departmental school-board of the town of Vienna in accordance with a decision of May 30th, 1883, Nr. 577 takes pleasure in expressing their recognition of the pains you have taken from a purely humanitarian feeling in teaching the boy Hugo Bechtolf who suffers from epileptic attacks — and of your giving him unpaid suitable private lessons in the subjects taught in the primary school.

This is hereby made known to you.

The Vice-President
Gerold.

Vienna, June 2nd, 1883.

"I have nothing to add to this fact but that the unfortunate child was a Christian and the teacher a Jew. You will now tell me that every antisemitic teacher would do that too! Is that so? Yes, I suppose so, if he be a conscientious teacher he will.

"I will also offer you a proof of this. There is an antisemitic teacher in the 2nd district who has published a complaint in the "Deutsches Volksblatt" about the impertinent suggestion of a Liberal. What had happened? He was to have helped in a collection for poor orphans without regard to faith, and this teacher returned the trash in high dudgeon with the observation that he only contributed to collections for Christian children!"

"Again, I beg you, Gentlemen, to reflect: You see, there is an unhappy child, it is poor, it is an orphan, has no father, no mother, it is threefold miserable because it belongs to the Jewish faith — and this child which most certainly has never practised white slave traffic, that has never been an usurer and has not "jewified" Parliament, this poor little orphan child is subjected to the most merciless persecution.

"And now tell me — you who ask me about Jewish morality —: Where is your morality? Gentlemen, what good are speeches and phrases? It is life that must show us where love dwells."

The second part of this speech was dedicated to the proof that antisemitism ends in anti-Christianism; I quoted passages from the "Antisemitische Correspondenz" which had been sent round privately, saying outright that Christianity is a religious creation of the Semitic spirit, originally only meant for Jews, that it infects the nations with the Semitic spirit and ought, therefore, to be exterminated. The antisemitic aim is a new and refined morality, that is, putting it summarily, a new religion. The opponents were furious and vied with each other in preventing me from continuing. Prince Liechtenstein in particular was untiring in interrupting me. The disclosures of their anti-Christian

tendencies were very unpleasant to them. In the following meeting three of these gentlemen had the floor, one after the other, to answer me. Mr. Schlesinger spoke for nearly two hours.

The "Neue freie Presse", of November 29th reports: "Telegraphic consent and thanks for his brave speech were sent to *Dr. Bloch* on the occasion of his speech in the meeting of November 25th from Prague, Brunn, Innsbruck, Krakau, Przemyslany, Bielitz, and Linz."

Antisemitism Among Judges.

The representatives of the *racial theory* exercised their influence on the Law, on the appointment of the judiciary and of lay judges. For a long time the application of the statutory law of denominational equality to the judiciary had been shirked; under the direction of *Prazak* the qualification of a judge was dependent on his nationality and religious persuasion. Some few Jewish persons being still in service at the courts of justice from former times, the German Nationalists and the Christian Socialists demanded — in July 1891 in the debate about the Law Estimates — the exclusion of Jews from the service. The head-offices complied with these desires in practice; the judges did not dream of standing up for the strict observation of the fundamental State laws, because neither Government nor Parliament stood up for it. Therefore when an Old Liberal of importance, the President of the Chief Court of Justice of Graz, Ritter von *Waser*, a member of the House of Lords, one of the founders of the State laws, turned against antisemitic agitation among the judges and functionaries, his reminder was opposed and misinterpreded. This decree of February 1891 essentially said:

"Whosoever has attentively followed this movement from its early beginnings will have come to the conviction that *not religious feelings but chiefly self-interest make con-*

verts to antisemitism; it orignates in the hatred of capital, and is continuelly fed and fostered by jealousy and envy of those who owing to their eminent intelligence and steady industry occupy a dominating position in the world of business. *Antisemitism thus is a political and social sore, because it is liable to disturb the peace, to jeopardize personal safety and thus to shake the foundation of legal order in the State.* It is certain that the calling of a judge should render services to the furtherance of national and social aims but it is quite as certain that a judge must procure general recognition and authority to the law and that he his *bound to give every citizen of the State irrespective of race or creed and in particular during periods of internal troubles in the State the protection of the law that is his due and that he must inspire confidence in him who is menaced. This duty which is inseparable from the calling of a judge forbids a judicial organ to openly join the antisemitic movement or to minimize offences that have been reported at court for the purpose of legal persecution because they have originated from antisemitic motives.* Just these sad characteristics of the present time ought to incite the courts of justice to deal with such transgressions by a quick, rigorous, but just and impartial application of the criminal law (§§ 65, 122, 212, 214, 278, 300, 302, 303, 411, 487 and 496) and give the population the satisfaction which not only guarantees indiscriminate execution of justice for the present but which also frees them from the anxiety that these examples of unpunished offences might be imitated in future.

— *The prevailing spirit of the present time warrants me in reminding the courts of these duties.*"

Waser's declaration was condemned and flouted by the antisemites as an unwarranted interference with the independent legal functionaries. The result of the decree was the reverse of what it intended, and this was also expressed in the discussions of Parliament.

The agenda in the Austrian Parliament on November 9th, 1894, contained the draft of a new Penal Law. On this

occasion the deputy Dr. Pattai demanded in a very long speech against Jews and Judaism that a rigorous prohibition of ritual butchering should find a place in the Penal Code because there "can be no such thing as a right to torture dumb beasts guaranteed by the fundamental laws of the State" — and also an aggravated punishment of Sunday labour; he treated each of the delicts of the Penal Code — the sections on bankruptcy and fraud, excesses of the Press, immoral publications, seduction to immorality, &c. — in illustrating his arguments by criminals to whom he always gave Jewish-souding names. I rose after him and first opposed the demand for legal punishment of ritual butchering. I began by stating that the Jews had already enacted laws for the protection of animals thousands of years ago and had introduced, as the first and chief law, a legal day of rest every week also for working animals. This can be found in the second book of Moses Chapt. 20, Verse 10. I was instantly interrupted by a clerical deputy from the ranks of the antisemites, who called out: "That is not from the Jews, the Jews didn't introduce that, that is a divine law!" I answered immediately: "I acknowledge the correction with my best thanks. It is true that the Jewish laws and prescriptions for the protection of animals are of divine origin." And then I enumerated these laws and treated the butchering question in detail in a speech that lasted half an hour; and then I put the question to my antagonists why, if they wished to diminish the torturing of dumb beasts, they did not move to forbid the cruel *pleasures of shooting*. I described the various kinds of cruel sports: "Why do you not try to stop cruelty to animals there?" After that I went on to give statistics of Jewish misdemeanours and crimes according to the official returns and it was evident that everywhere in parts inhabited by a numerous Jewish population the scale of general crimes and misdemeanours decreased. This not only holds with regard to crimes of rude violence but also in statistics of bankruptcy the Jewish country of Galicia occupies a favourable position. But the antisemites have also moved an aggravation of the Penal Law against newspapers publishing immoral advertisements.

I protested that I was far from defending this misdemeanour. But when they dealt with immoral and unfair advertisements I said I was similarly situated as Count Sandor who, in 1848, when the populace were catcalling in front of his palace, asked whom they intended to honour by it, and having convinced himself that it was intended for his wife, a Princess Metternich, said: "Wait a minute, gentlemen, I am coming down to join you in whistling." And then I put a number of the vilest announcements and advertisements for the propagation of inchastity from the antisemitic party press on the table of the House. Two shameless advertisements from the "Grazer Tagblatt" caused particular indignation. I had chosen this particular antisemitic paper because it was the one to initiate in Graz the butchering agitation against the Jews as the result of which the Town Council of Graz issued a decree forbidding ritual butchering. In moral respect the editorial part of the antisemitic press stands on no higher level than the improper advertisements. I was able to produce specimens and finally I reminded them of a sermon which had been preached in a Viennese Roman Catholic church and which — after it had appeared in print — was confiscated by the Office for Public Prosecution on account of blasphemy. I dished up a fine selection from this famous sermon of the priest Dr. Deckert, full of invective against the Hebrew Patriarchs and King David, who are all represented as arrant rogues and I compared that with what the New Testament says of these Fathers and that the Founder of Christianity Himself is praised as the "Son of David". These arguments proved that the hatred of Jews transforms itself everywhere and at all times into hatred of the Bible, and that it necessarily must do so. And then I addressed the Prime Minister at some length and protested against the discriminating treatment of Christians and Jews when state-functionaries are to be appointed. I told him outright that antisemitic agitation was strengthened by such a course of the Government and that, besides, it is against the oath the Ministers take on the constitution when entering on their official duties.

This speech lasted for an hour and three quartes and I will quote the following cuttings from the daily papers commenting on it.

"Wiener Tagblatt":

"Old or New Penal Law — it makes no difference to the deputy Dr. Bloch as long as there is no equal application of the law, as long as there is no equal Justice and Administration for all Creeds. This is an original standpoint in our Parliament, but unfortunately it is justified. Dr. Bloch was not afraid to make the proper agents responsible for their share of guilt; he also denounced with signal success the half and whole-hearted antisemites and exposed their false incendiary speeches with admirable courage. You cannot conjure away a pernicious popular movement merely by pious wishes; only the just example of the State authority, only this example showing the way for all citizens in a determined fashion can do away with prejudices and can bring about a healthy change."

"Neues Wiener Tagblatt":

"Yesterday's debate was very lively. In particular Dr. Bloch's speech was followed with the greatest interest. With great ability and in a biting manner he refuted the speeches some antisemitic speakers had made in former meetings. The speaker was in no way upset by the interruptions from Messrs. Schneider & Company who were somewhat irritated by the vigour of the onslaught. In characterizing the morals of the anti-Liberal leaders and their press he always hit the mark."

"Wiener Sonn- und Montagszeitung":

On occasion of the general debate on the New Penal Law the deputy Dr. Bloch spoke for about two hours; this speech is perhaps best characterized if we say that general interest did not flag in spite of its length. Dr. Bloch opposed the

speeches of antisemitic speakers with as much brilliant intelligence as knowledge, and it was in particular Dr. Pattai who had to bear the brunt of his attack. Messrs. Lueger and Schneider tried to irritate the speaker by interruptions; but these noble endeavours were of no avail, moreover Dr. Bloch used these interruptions to complete the excellent picture of the morals of the antisemitic leaders and their press. The antisemites in priests' garb will only recover with difficulty from the blows with which Dr. Bloch recklessly treated their anti-Christian and anti-Bible doings."

The German-National "Ostdeutsche Rundschau" had to acknowledge that the "Rabbi of Kolomea" knew how "to turn the tables and to level the charges against the antisemites where they had directed them against the Jews" and — "to offer proofs". On November 9th the paper of Graz announced that Rabbi Bloch's speech had caused "great consternation and uneasiness". "Who can feel safe from Jewish impudence in future? One single advertisement of adultery in a whole year cannot possibly justify such an exposure in Parliament!" The Germans have only got such rigorous morals where the Jews are concerned whereas a single *faux pas* every year does no harm to the reputation of a German virgin in their eyes...

The President of the Jewish Congregation of Vienna sent me a letter of thanks with the news that in view of the importance of this speech made in Parliament on the butchering agitation he had decided to embody the shorthand report in the archives of the congregation.

The War Cry against the Alliance Israélite.

Deputy Schlesinger spoke in the parliamentary sitting of December 15th, 1894. He said a great deal about the "Alliance Israélite" and read out the "Appeal for the Foundation of the Society", a fabrication of the antisemites; this forgery had been branded as such repeatedly and in public papers. And then he related the story which had also been repeatedly proved a lie — that Adolf Crémieux was supposed to have put

a price of one million francs on the head of the King of Prussia, afterwards Emperor William of Germany.

In the shape of a matter-of-fact correction I presented the records which prove the antisemitic statements to be lies. I added that all these things had been repeatedly proved as bare-faced lies in the public papers and that I had personally referred more than ten times in the "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift" to the fact that they were antisemitic fictions, but in order to prevent a repetition of these lies in future I said :

> "In ancient Rome they had that egregious institution called the "delators", who likewise were not over particular as to the truth of their accusations if they wanted to reach their miserable ends. But if one of them was caught and proved a liar he was branded in punishment and as a warning with a C (calumniator) on his forhead. I think it were time to insert a similar provision in our standing-orders —in view of the present proceedings in parliament, so that he who bears such a C on his forehead can no longer easily humbug you."

The President did not allow me to continue which I did not mind as I had said my say. The shorthand report remarks on my last words "(vivid applause)."

The Bourse Panic of November 14th, 1891.

In the history of European Bourses the break-downs usually known as "Crashes" which occur from time to time play a noteworthy part. The expression "Crash" was born during the awful break-down of the Vienna Stock-Exchange in May 1873, the time of the Great World's Fair. Barely nine years after that, the break-down of the Legitimist-Clerical "Union Générale", founded by Eugene Bontoux in Paris, made European banks tremble. In November 1890 the famous London bank firm of Baring Brothers passed through a severe crisis in consequence of its heavy engagements in Argentine Bonds. It was only able to pull through with the help of the Banks of England and France, a crisis which communicated itself to all European money markets; and about a year after that, the Vienna Stoch-Exchange experienced a wild tumbling down of prices which was traced back to political events or rather to the Polish Club of the then Austrian Parliament.

It was in November 1891. The Delegations and the Austrian Reichsrat were having their sessions at the same time. The Polish Club had formulated a number of demands referring to the decentralisation of the Austrian State Railways with the aim of securing to the Galician Local Government paramount influence on the lines of the State Railways crossing Galicia.

But in military quarters these demands which were thought likely to impair the preparedness of the army met with the most vigorous opposition. It was desirable, in the probale case of a war with Russia, to have all railway lines in hand and in Vienna, which was the seat of the Central Government at the time.

Nevertheless the Polish Club insisted on its demands being complied with, and as the Government remained passive the Club also acted the part of passive resistance to various important governmental bills. Count Taaffe reported to the Emperor, and he invited the Chairman of the Polish Club to call on him when he expressed his wish that, in face of the serious outlook of foreign affairs, the Club was to make no difficulties for the government. Hereupon the Polish Club was summoned to a private meeting on Friday night the 13th of November in which the Chairman of the Club, Ritter von Jaworski, gave a detailed report of his conversation with the Emperor. The report described the situation of foreign affairs as extremely serious, and came to the conclusion that it would be against the vital interests of the Polish people to make difficulties to the government at such a moment. A long and animated debate on foreign affairs followed the Chairman's report. Now, whether it was the Emperor who had described the situation a shade darker than was warranted by the actual state of foreign affairs, or whether it was Jaworski who overdid it a little so as to make the Club membres more accommodating, the fact is that the members of the Club who like myself attended that meeting had the impression that the danger of war was not far off. Strictest secrecy about the proceedings at the long and animated meeting was decided upon and impressed on all.

On my way home the parliamentary reporter of the "Wiener Tagblatt" pounced upon me; he had evidently been waiting near the Club for a long time to speak with me and try and worm out something of what had been going on. I refused to be drawn into a conversation and had no sooner caught sight of a passing tram than I jumped in to save myself from him and hurried home.

I felt very uncomfortable to have had to be so harsh with a journalist whom I knew and liked as a very amiable and intelligent author — but matters grew worse. When I arrived at my lodgings, I. Rothenturmstraße 39, the aforementioned journalist was already there, standing in front of the house, evidently waiting for me with the intention of

following me upstairs. I had to prevent that in some fashion at any cost, and so I turned to the nearest policeman, gave him my name and asked for protection against the "stranger" who was threatening me. Whilst the policeman was noting down my name and his, the house door closed behind me and I took a long breath — as one does when saved from danger.

On the morning of the 14th suddenly sinister rumours of a near danger of war were abroad throughout the town; from Parliament and from the Bourse desperate reports came, everybody believed the world's war, or as was said by anticipation at the time, "The Last Judgment" had come. The people rushed from the streets into the cafés where animated groups were soon formed and a whirl of questions and answers were to be heard. "Is it true that war has been declared? Impossible, who says so?" It was whispered in the Polish Club, it was shouted on the Schottenring in front of the Bourse, and from all exchange-offices of the town.

A panic broke out at the stock-exchange reminding one of the worst days in the history of finance. At the Bourse, even before the proper business began, strangely reduced quotations of Austrian securities were reported from foreign towns, chiefly from Paris, but also from Berlin and Francfort. Then suddenly reports about an audience at the emperor's turned up which had been mentioned at the Polish Club describing the political situation as being very critical. Simultaneously great sales of shares were effected and immediately the prices of all shares fell. Towards noon the stock-exchange was a scene of disaster, everybody was violently agitated, for dreadful news had come in.

In the evening edition of the "Wiener Tagblatt" a stop-press report of a most sensational make-up was published to the effect that the emperor had spoken very seriously about the political situation and had mentioned the possibility of a war complication with Russia in an audience he had given to the Chairman of the Polish Club, Ritter von Jaworski. The emperor was reported to have said that the famine in Russia intensified the danger of war, that, it is true, military prepar-

ations in the Tsar's realm were not very far advanced, but that he referred to the latest Russian loan which he regarded as a highly suspicious symptom.

The report of this paper run by the well known and influential writer, Moritz Szeps, who was said to have good connections with the government at that time caused enormous surprise, and because the audience mentioned had taken place two days before it was whispered that in the circles of the Polish Club this announcement had been purposely put off so as to first enable its members to carry out large Bear operations on the various European Bourses.

The Polish Club considered it necessary to publish the following communication:

> The „Wiener Tagblatt" (evening edition) of the 14th of this month publishes a report about an audience described by the Chairman in the Polish Club who had had the honour of being received by His Majesty the day before yesterday. This report in no way squares with the truth; in particular the statements said to have been made by His Majesty are absolutely untrue.
>
> Vienna, 14th November 1891.
>
> The Parliamentary Committee of the Polish Club.
> Jaworski, Czerkawski. Bilinski, Madeyski.

The fact of the communication in the "Wiener Tagblatt" about Jaworski's conversation with the emperor was the more sensational as the emperor in the *speech* at the opening of the Delegation on November 11th 1891, that is, a day before he received *Jaworski*, read out the following passage:

"I may say with satisfaction that We have *absolutely friendly relations with all the powers.* In perfect accordance with our allies I see in the maintainance of European peace the greatest security for the happiness and the prosperity of the nations. My Government does not neglect this aim and all cabinets give Us the assurance of the same peaceful endeavours."

It is true that the emperor had told the deputy *Demel* at the Cercle which it was then his custom to hold, that the assurances of peace expressed by the foreign powers were to be acknowledged with precaution.

The excitement at the Vienna Bourse grew from hour to hour, and the result was an absolute panic. Regular evening-business was then the custom at the stock-exchange. There was business done at noon and in the evening. The Imperial Commissioner at the Vienna Bourse, Sektionsrat Dr. *Srbik*, appeared before the beginning of the evening-business in the exchange-hall and intimated his intention of addressing the assembly. Business was stopped at once. The bell was rung. Breathless excitement reigned. The Commissioner unfolded a document and read the following communication adding that it would be published that very evening in the official „Wiener Abendpost". This notice ran as follows:

"The "Wiener Tagblatt" (evening edition) of to-day published an „addendum" in which there is a report about the audience which His Majesty the Emperor deigned to give to the deputy Ritter von *Jaworski*. The contents of the communication of the said paper are pure inventions; none of the communications ascribed to His Majesty have been made."

The reading of this communication caused a storm of applause, and business at the stock-exchange then continued in a normal way. Prices went up quickly again. It was generally believed that a trick had been practised.

The affair was first dealt with in the Budget Committee of the Austrian Delegations and led to a lively discussion in which the Minister of Foreign Affairs Count *Kalnoky* joined. The Board of the Bourse assembled in a body to voice their indignation against the originators of this "burglary", biting speeches were made, and a special committee of investigation which was to find out the author was appointed.

The "Wiener Tagblatt" took up its defence energetically and declared that the communications had been made by an absolutely authoritative person, adding that it was ready to name the source of this communication if such a demand should be made by an authorized personality. As for the rest the

editors referred to the fact that Polish papers i. e. the Lemberg "Kurjer Lwowski" and the Cracow "Nowa Reforma" had published quite similar communications in the morning papers of the day on which the evening edition of the "Wiener Tagblatt" with the sensational supplement had appeared; and that these communications had been even more serious and apt to cause greater alarm than the information published in the "Wiener Tagblatt". The paper was confiscated on account of the reproduction of the reports of the above mentioned Polish papers, and all daily papers brought a declaration by Mr. von Jaworski of the 15th with the following words: "In reference to the remark published in to-day's morning paper of the "Wiener Tagblatt" that the editors were prepared, on a demand from an authorized personality, to name the source from which the paper had obtained that false communication, the Chairman, Herr von Jaworski, declared, it being his duty to guard the honour of the Club — to take note of this remark and to follow up this affair 'usque ad finem'. The Polish Club unanimously agreed with the declaration of its Chairman."

This communiqué had been caused by various rumours, also current in the House of Parliament that the panic had been brought about by Bourse speculations of the Polish Club, and a faint echo of these rumours could still be heard in all the discussions of Parliament on the following days.

On the 17th of November seven interpellations were simultaneously put at the same time; all the Clubs considered it a question of the honour of the House of Parliament to follow up the origin of those alarming rumours as the House of Parliament and its members were supposed to have originated them. The interpellants demanded that the culprits should be found out and punished. The Polish Club hastened to make the first of these suggestions. The deputies Heilsberg, Kaizl, Morsey, Ferjancic, Steinwender, Lueger, Hauck rose in succession in order to strongly express, in the names of their party-comrades, their highest indignation at the spreaders of this alarming news. One vied with each other

in words of condemnation against the originators of the panic whom nobody named and everybody believed to know.

As soon as November the 18th Count Taaffe answered the interpellation and declared that the Government shared the indignation of the Parties at the authors of the panic and the spreading of false intelligence. The Bourse, he said, had already appointed a special committee through its Board to inquire into the case. The Public Prosecutor in Vienna was already collecting information through the state-police. The government was willing to support all efforts to fully clear up and punish the afore-mentioned course of action as far as it lay in its sphere of authority.

In the discussion consequent on the answer of the Prime Minister, Dr. Lueger turned against the newspaper which had spread the alarming news from the House of Parliament, and demanded that the investigation should be extended to the question whether there were also stock-jobbers among the members of parliament. "An example must be set so that in future the sacred person of the Monarch should no more be dragged into party-disputes, a course revolting to every patriot."

Ritter von Bilinski gave the assurance that the Polish Club had already done everything possible to set the false reports right, and the Chairman had assured the Club that the authors of these false rumours would be dogged "usque ad finem". It was of importance for the Club above all to state the truth without any consideration for the culprits.

But when the charges against the Polish Club would not stop in political society-circles, the Chairman again sent round a declaration to the papers in the name of the Club, saying that he had stated in an absolutely indisputable way that in the course of the 12th and 13th of November, before the meeting of the Club, neither the Chairman nor the members of its Parliamentary committee — at the conference of which in the evening of November 13th only the Minister von Zaleski had been present — had made the slightest reference to the words which had been addressed by the

emperor to the Chairman of the Club. Again, the Club expressed the feelings of deepest indignation, that after such statements its members should still be under the unjust suspicion of having caused the panic at the Vienna Bourse which had been manoeuvred from Paris on November 13th. The Club decided to once more put the question to the Government in this affair.

Who had been the deputy, from whom the editor of the "Wiener Tagblatt" had got these informations about the proceedings in the secret meeting of the Polish Club? This was the question which exercised all circles and formed the subject of the investigation of the organs of the state police, the Public Prosecutor and the Board of the Bourse! How obvious was it to throw suspicion on me as I was on good terms with journalists as a member of the "Concordia-Club" — a society much attacked by the antisemites in those days. To offer up a defenceless scapegoat to the pack in order to silence them would seem a welcome way out of the difficulty; but the incident which had occurred in the night immediately after the Club Meeting and which had been duly reported by the policeman to his superior had made any suspicion of myself impossible.

It had remained unobserved in the midst of the general excitement that in the last declaration of the Polish Club one name had been pronounced, that of the Minister Zaleski, and that it had been said that he had been present during the conference.

On November 24th, 1891 the deputy Mr. Jaworski again made use of the offer of the "Wiener Tagblatt" to name the source from where that piece of intelligence had come, if it were asked by the authorities. The Minister of Justice Count Schönborn answered that the affair was in a stage in which the judicial functionaries alone had to occupy themselves with it — witnesses had already been heard.

The Committee of the Board of the Vienna Bourse stated that on that critical 14th of November no false rumours had arisen at the Bourse itself and that the excitement had exclusively been brought there from outside and that the

panic also had been caused by outside influence. It could not be ascertained from what persons connected with the Bourse these false rumours had been carried to the Bourse because the investigating committee was not entitled to find out the names of those who had given orders to sell.

In consequence the deputy Mr. Hauck asked (on November 26th) the Government to consider if it were not advisable to take over the Clearing Office of the Bourse into the management of the State and to take it away from the Giro- und Kassenverein. On December 15th 1891 and on January 26th 1892 Mr. Hauck put questions as to the result of the Legal Investigation.

On February 3rd, 1892, on the day on which the conference about the Bourse Tax began in Parliament, Dr. Lueger brought in the urgency motion to lay the records of the Board of the Bourse and the Criminal Court relating to the investigation about the panic to a Committee of Enquiry. This motion which was reported upon by the deputy Dr. Weeber on the 15th of February was accepted.

Count Schonborn answered the interpellation of Mr. Hauck on February 6th 1892 by saying that the preliminary examination as well as the preliminary evidence against the editors of the "Wiener Tagblatt" had been suspended by order of the examining judge on January 20th on account of the withdrawal of the Public Prosecutor from further prosecution according to § 109 and § 90 respectively of the Order of Criminal Justice. The examination had led to the assumption that the piece of news causing the panic at the Bourse had only been the conclusion to which the editor of the said paper had come in consequence of intelligence received from persons well informed, as he believed, and it must be confessed that the publication had been rash, perhaps also tactless.

This declaration of the Minister of Justice could not possibly be the truth, the editor of the "Wiener Tagblatt" having strictly declared on November 15th 1891 his readiness

to "exactly designate the source from which the paper had obtained that communication" if a demand were made by authorized persons. The report, therefore, must have appeared on the ground of a special information, and this could doubtlessly be read in the records of the investigation. And therefore the deputies insisted on these records being laid before the House.

On April 26th, the Minister of Justice Count Schönborn and the Minister of Finance Dr. Steinbach declared that they were not in a position to produce the desired records. The Criminal Court had decided that the records were not to be handed over, and the Board of the Bourse considered the same demand an encroachment on their autonomy. The government, therefore, was not able to comply with the wishes of the deputies.

After this declaration the affair slumbered for several years till the Christian Social opposition against Count Badeni suddenly remembered that the committee appointed for the enquiry had not yet given its report. Dr. Lueger therefore questioned the Chairman of the Committee Dr. von Fuchs, on November 27th 1895, as to the state of this affair. The latter referred to the refusal of the demand to produce the records of the Criminal Court and the Board of the Bourse; it therefore seemed unnecessary to convene the committee entrusted with the examination of these same records.

On that occasion the deputy Mr. Jaworski denounced the charges brought up against the Polish Club as slander and expressed his regrets that the committee had suspended its activity.

Considering the powerful position of the Polish Club in Parliament it would not have been difficult for it to enforce the production of the records. It shirked doing this because the investigation had led to the surprising result that the reporter had had the information for his article from no less a person than the Minister for Galicia, Herr von Zaleski.

When Mr. Jaworski entered the Windischgraetz Cabinet of Coalition, after the resignation of the Taaffe Ministry.

Zaleski gradually succeeded in rising to the head of the Polish Club and to enter into intimate personal relations of friendship, as Chairman, with the leaders of the antisemitic factions, above all with Prince Alois Liechtenstein, and then they at last let matters rest there.

Once more, shortly before the dissolution of Parliament, the enfant terrible of the antisemitic faction in Parliament, *Schlesinger*, put the question on January 19th, 1897, about the result of the examination of the Bourse panic on November 14th, 1891. He never got an answer to that.

Prince Alois Liechtenstein.

In the eighties of the last century Prince Alois Liechtenstein was not yet the head of the Antisemitic Club but one of the leaders of the Conservative Clerical Party; as deputy of the peasants of Hartberg who above all demanded an abbreviation of compulsory school attendance he looked upon me as the successor of the Rabbi Schreiber of Cracow, a "Jewish Clerical" of a sort, and treated me, to a certain extent, as a party-comrade. We sat on the right side of the House for the joint assistance of the Taaffe Ministry. Once he remarked to me that he was surprised never to meet in the reception rooms of Baron Nathaniel Rothschild "one of your conationals. Are there no men among the Viennese Jews worthy of visiting with Baron Nathaniel Rothschild and being invited to his parties?" This was evidently an allusion to Prince Schwarzenberg's malicious answer which was then much talked about. When it had been suggested to him to appear at one of the festivities of Baron Nathaniel Rothschild and that he need not fear to meet Jews there, for he would find none — which addition had been considered necessary — the Prince answered: "Nathaniel Rothschild does not associate with Jews, no more do I."

Nathaniel Rothschild was the victim of the singular milieu by which he surrounded himself and under the influence of which he stood. He had retired from business and lived exclusively for his social pleasures; he was unmarried and his entourage was purely Aryan; among his servants there was not a single Jew. His intimate friend was a Director Schuster. This man as well as his secretary Hoffmann voted for the antisemites at the elections in the eighties of the

last century and they are also said to have taken part personally in the antisemitic "Celebration of Victory". I got a report about this from the Court Clerk (afterwards Court Councillor) Dr. Kohn. I published it in the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" and naturally added my own comments which greatly ruffled Baron Nathaniel Rothschild. He wrote asking me who was my voucher for the truth of these assertions, and with Dr. Kohn's consent, who was one of the founders of the "Österreichische Israelitische Union" and a man true to his conviction, I gave his name. On the 17th of April 1889 I received a letter from the Baron Nathaniel Rothschild asking me to cause Dr. Kohn to call on him. He added that Director Schuster and Secretary Hoffmann denied the reports and that he did not doubt the correctness of their depositions. Dr. Kohn had appeared on Friday the 12th at Baron Nathaniel's and there a lively conversation between Dr. Kohn and Director Schuster had taken place. Director Schuster, thanks to his position at Rothschild's, who had great influence in Vienna society, tried to malign Dr. Kohn to Mr. Schwaiger, President of the Law Court, and Dr. Kohn explained the whole affair to him saying straightforwardly: "You see I feel hurt if employees of a Jew act for the antisemitic camp."

Director Schuster came to me in Parliament and also tried to persuade me to believe that the reports I had heard were not true and he asked me also to call on the Baron. So I also went to see Baron Nathaniel Rothschild and in the course of the conversation I repeated the question Prince Alois Liechtenstein had addressed to me during our private talk in the House of Parliament. The answer I got was characteristic of Baron Nathaniel's state of mind: "From this day on I shall no longer invite Prince Alois Liechtenstein." I did not hesitate to call his attention to the fact that it was generally remarked upon that there was not a single Jew among his semployees; nay, it was even rumored that when applications for vacancies were made Director Schuster required the production of a "certificate of baptism".

All he said in explanation convinced me that I was not sitting opposite a man of high intelligence. Nor was it pos-

sible to make him take an interest in any Jewish matters, and it was, therefore, natural that some of his excentricities were apt to bring new adherents to the Lueger faction. Above all the stupid story of the castle Hinterleiten near Reichenau. He had had a castle built after the plans of two French architects in this charming valley surrounded by high mountains, the Rax, Schneeberg, Feuchter and Gams; decorators and upholsterers had come from Paris to do the intérieur, and trees and shrubs came from Japan and the Brazils and were planted in the lovely garden surrounding the castle. In front of Baron Nathaniel's bedroom on the ground-floor there was a glorious tree full of bright red flowers, and the transport of this tree alone had cost the then respectable sum of 10.000 florins. The castle of Hinterleiten had just been finished when one day the owner of the neighbouring castle Wartholz, the Archduke Karl Ludwig, the grandfather of the late Emperor Karl, appeared there; he had been told such a lot about the Buen Retiro of Baron Nathaniel Rothschild that he could no longer suppress his curiosity. The Archduke rang the bell at the castle-gate, the caretaker came, and he of course could not very well refuse the Archduke to enter and look at it in spite of the owner's absence. But Nathaniel Rothschild felt offended by the Archduke's visit in his absence and the caretaker was dismissed. From this hour Baron Nathaniel was boycotted by the inhabitants of the castle of Wartholz and their large and influential circles. A year afterwards the Baron decided to transform his castle into an establishement for consumptives...

Protests from the Municipality and all the inhabitants of Reichenau poured in, deputations called on the Governor urging him not to accept the donation, it hailed invectives of all kinds in the antisemitic assemblies and papers — so the Baron decided to give the castle to the Army Exchequer as a recreation home for convalescent officers. But before this present could be accepted the question of keeping it up had to be settled, i. e. securities had to be given. The Rothschild Hospital which had been given as a "donation" to the Jewish congregation of Vienna must be maintained by the

rates of the community and was really, as the President of the Congregational Board, Herr Salo Cohn, once said in a meeting of the Board, a "white elephant". But to the Army Exchequer the donor gave two millions, the interest of which were to be employed as additional stipend for the officers living there for the time being, and besides one million as a fund for the keeping up of the building and the park, and on top of all this he had to pay ninety thousand florins to the State as a tax on the gift. He swallowed all these bitter pills and never went to Reichenau as long as he lived. But the officers to whom the castle had been dedicated would not come and the number of those who ever made use of those rooms in the establishment is very small.

In the meantime Prince Liechtenstein had changed his skin — the clerical leader had turned into an antisemitic apostle of persecution. He left the peasant constituency of Hartberg in the lurch and accepted the mandate of the Hernals-district in Vienna and I had soon to tread on his corns rather indelicately.

I will now quote an episode that occurred in the sitting of June 22nd, 1891, from the shorthand report:

President: "The Deputy Dr. Bloch has the floor."

Dr. Bloch: "From the long series of important political enunciations caused by the debate on the budget and which will influence our political life for a long time to come Prince Liechtenstein's singular speech stands out though he probably intended less to clear the political situation than to offer something particularly striking and piquant. This speech excels in a series of new-fangled doctrines of national economy and piquant, freshly disclosed facts and with regard to one of these I consider it my duty to correct his statement of alleged facts, the more so as to my great regret none of the honoured speakers have felt induced to protest against this distortion of truth.

His Highness the Prince Liechtenstein gives the reasons of the necessity of his antisemitic program and his antisemitic faction by means of striking statistical returns. He says (reading):

"There are no longer any Christian bankers in Vienna (Deputy Schneider: The more's the pity!), there is no Christian influence worth mentioning in the dressmaking trade, among small business people or among big manufacturer and very soon, if things continue in this fashion, the most important and most lucrative branches of business will be purged of the last Christian firms. This is simply culled from returns, and humanitarian declamations are futile in the face of figures!"

On the basis of these so-called "statistical returns" the princely speaker builds up his antisemitic edifice and he thinks this sole prop of so great an importance that he went the length of the following dictum (reading):

"Therefore if you consider antisemitism a disgrace of our times you might just as well assert that statistics are a blot on our century!"

You see, Gentlemen, such a result can only be reached by a man who is always annoyed by seeing Jewish firms like Rothberger and Ludwig Zwieback & Brother, and in whose memory these names rankle painfully, but who carelessly passes by Christian firms like Thonet, Haas, Wahliss, &c. As to Jewish banking firms, there is only Thorsch that counts; the banking houses of Dutschka, Hutterstrasser, Scharnitzer are evidently unknown to the princely statistcian. At the head of the Bourse, as President and Vice-President, there are Christians, certainly honourable men; thus Christians and Jews take an equal part in the sins of the Stock Exchange. But if he alleges that there is "no Christian influence worth mentioning at the Bourse and in the banks" the princely speaker ought at the least to have asked for an official list of the Viennese Banking and Credit Institutions to see how matters stand before he went and gave out this envenomed catchword to the masses. Certainly the Austro-Hungarian Bank has an "influence worth mentioning" on the Bourse and Banking; Governor and Vice-Governor, ten

General Councillors and six Directors are Christians, some of them men belonging to the aristocracy. Those who have a right to sign for the firm in business are Christians, there are only three Jews admitted to the Board of Directors. The princely speaker perhaps believes that they have an enormous influence in the management of the bank; I can set his mind at rest; no employee is engaged in the Austro-Hungarian Bank who cannot present his certificate of baptism. Here, Gentlemen, you can see the great influence of these Jews in the Austro-Hungarian Bank.

In the "Wiener Bankverein" there is Count Oswald Thun as President. Adolf Ritter von Schenk, Rudolf Graf Amadei, Dr. G. Siemens, Dr. Kilian Steiner, Freiherr von Liebig, Ritter von Raccovizza in the Administration, Dr. Josef Jolly as Director — next to these there are also two Jews. Three Christian lawyers are employed as censors. And Prince Liechtenstein lays great stress on the function of the censors because they decide the credit.

In the Bodenkreditanstalt there are His Excellency the Baron Bezecny as President — I believe he is no Jew — then the Barons Eiselsberg, Hopfen, Haimberger, Friedrich Mayr, His Excellency the Baron Pusswald, Freiherr von Weber, Count Bombelles, Paul Pacher von Theinburg as Members of the Board. Two Christian lawyers and one Jew function as censors.

In the Zentralbodencreditanstalt there are the President Prince Thurn and Taxis, Vice-President Reichsgraf Montecuccoli. On the Board there are one prince, two counts, two knights, and one Jew.

On the Board of the Creditanstalt there are thirteen Christians, chiefly belonging to the aristocracy, and three Jews.

In the Allgemeine Depositenbank there is Count Kinsky as President, four Christians and one Jew on the Board.

In the Escomptegesellschaft there are three Christians; eight Christians and one Jew on the Board of Directors.

In the Hypothekenbank the President and Directors are all Christians.

In the Wiener Escomptebank the President, Board of Directors and Managers are all Christians.

The proportion is similar in the Unionbank; the President of this bank is Count Dubsky. In view of such facts Prince Liechtenstein asserts "there is no more Christian influence worth mentioning in the banks."

And now, Gentlemen, please look at the management of the big industries, railways, insurance-companies — you will find the same state of things everywhere. There are highly aristocratic gentlemen there with names like Rohan, and Lobkowitz — Jews in an insignificant minority.

I certainly do not reproach these gentlemen; it is most assuredly better and more patriotic to work at the head of large associations and undertakings for the general good than to be active in other ways, for instance in instigating the people in a special, businesslike manner with a piety which thrusts itself forward and always confesses the sins of others.

Exact science to which statistics belong has brought fame and renown to our age; Prince Liechtenstein has apostrophized us: "If you declare antisemitism to be a disgrace of our age you might just as well say that statistics are a blot on our century." I answer: Quite so, antisemitic statistics, the statistics which distort Truth in order to flatter the instincts of the masses and to rouse their greed, these sham statistics — he said so himself and I cannot help designating it with his own words — they are not an honour to our age nor to anybody else.

*

In June 1891 a member of the Polish Club was still permitted to settle accounts in such words with Prince Liechtenstein without having to fear the slightest reproach from the Leaders of the Club. Matters changed enormously afterwards.

In January 1893 Dr. Emil Byk, as the deputy for Brody, felt bound to venture some words against a Jew-baiting speech made by Prince Liechtenstein. Prince Alois Liechtenstein had said that the Christian people were threatened by the pretended privileges of the Jews who put their hands on everything. Dr. Byk justly replied that if there was any question of privileges at all only the privileges of the aristocracy could be meant. The catchword: War against privileges, against the overpowering might of the Jews, evidently arises from the fear that the people could one day end by standing up against the power of the princes; and then he said he felt it his duty to refute the malicious remarks of the princely speaker in regard to the Jews. Dr. Byk had to suffer serious reproaches from the Chairman of the Polish Club on account of this speech and because Prince Liechtenstein had complained. The Club also took up the affair and came to the conclusion that Dr. Byk was to be asked to apologize for his aggressive words against Prince Liechtenstein in a public sitting of Parliament.

Dr. Byk was uncertain what to do during two days; he found it difficult to obey this hard injunction. One member of the Polish Club, the Deputy Ritter von Gniewosz, advised him not to give in. Gniewosz was a man to whom the Jews owe a grateful memory. As an official in the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs entrusted with Jewish matters he had become acquainted with the misery among the Jews in Galicia and had invited the antisemites who so often chatter about the power and wealth of the Jews to "go through a small town in Galicia at night; you will see poor figures flitting about, you will see them huddled together in spite of rain and cold in the entrances of houses, and do you know why? The people are so poor, they live together so closely packed in their lodgings that they go to bed alternatingly, they sleep a few hours by turns. You call that wealth! If you could see how these people support their lives! They often have nothing to eat but one onion and a piece of black bread!"

Belonging to a nationality which cannot be accused of

a lack of Catholicism, which on the contrary has often been reproached for its attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, belonging to a nation which has suffered a great deal and still suffers by the religious fanaticism of others, a descendant of a Catholic family, brought up in respect for the clerical vocation and on friendly terms with clergymen and bishops he turned against the antisemites who pretended to fulfil ethical duties. He disputed them the right to speak of ethical duties, for they were not guided by ethical principles; "quite different principles are at the back of it! For even the flag beneath which you fight is not clean, one can see that in everything you do, nor can it be clean — because everybody judges others by himself!"

Now this deputy as well as I seriously admonished Dr. Byk not to bow to this unworthy command and rather to see what consequences would come of it. Would the Club exclude him and would he be forced to resign his seat? If so this would cause an enormous agitation in the whole country and he could count with certainty on an unanimous re-election. Dr. Byk answered that our optimism as to the electors in Galicia was not warranted; that the seats were distributed by the Polish Club; not the electors but the Polish Club would decide about the mandates. We were not to be the victims of a deception as to the chances of re-election under the given conditions. So Dr. Byk did as the Club had decided, recanted publicly and apologized. The liberal daily press passed this incident over in silence, but the antisemitic papers were not as reticent although silence had been promised to Dr. Byk ("Österreichische Wochenschrift" 1893, Nr. 8, p. 139).

In the official part of the "Vienna Gazette" there was, on February 20th, 1895, the advertisement of a vacancy of the position of a general practitioner at the Saltmines in Hallstatt in which the presentation of a certificate of baptism was especially required from all applicants. The advertisement was issued in conformity with a decree of the Ministry of the Finances Number 4948 ex 1895. This advertisement was a public breach of law, and downright violation of the funda-

mental State-laws decreeing in article III that the public functions are equally accessible to all State-citizens.

It was at that time the first case that had been made known and it was necessary to speak up with all possible energy against this unveiled violation of the fundamental rights.

I mentioned this subject in the meeting of the Polish Club on March 17th of that year, and asked for the permission to speak about this case of Hallstatt by way of an interpellation in Parliament. A long debate about this ensued, and the Chairman Zaleski referred to the fact that the incident had not taken place in Galicia; it were, therefore, better to leave it to other parties, in cases which did not regard Galicia, to defend the fundamental laws of the State if they should consider it necessary to do so. Hereupon I was obliged to withdraw the interpellation I had already announced.

However, the incident caused justified excitement. The words of the Chairman of the Polish Club, that one was to leave it to other parties to defend the fundamental laws of the State became the object of manifold comments. The "Neue Freie Presse" of March 19th explained those words as if they had been addressed to the German Liberal Party to remind them of their duty. The "Wiener Tagblatt" made fun of all parties who hand over the task to defend the constitution mutually to each other:

> "If the fundamental laws of the State are violated only those have to complain about it in whose native country, perhaps only in whose electoral district such a case has occured.
>
> "Dr. Bloch has begged permission to put the question in Parliament about the violation of the fundamental laws of the State. But the deputy of Kolomea met with a fine reception: he was told that he was always bothering about Jewish affairs, that in this way he was making the fight against antisemitism in Galicia still more difficult, although little until now had been heard of the din of this battle with the antisemites. But the Polish Club found

a splendidly crooked way to silence Dr. Bloch. Not that they had required Dr. Bloch to show up his certificate of baptism: but they demanded a certificate of birth, not as to the home of the interpellant, but as to the home of the violation of the law, i. e. where it had taken place. But that did not happen in Galicia — what has this matter to do with the Polish Club? Says Herr von Zaleski: "Let us leave it to the other parties in the House — if they should find it necessary — to defend the fundamental laws of the State in cases which do not regard Galicia". The bitter irony contained in the fact that the Chairman of the Polish Club hands over the defence of the fundamental State laws to the other parties of the House — if they deem it necessary — this irony has been only too well merited by the German Liberal Party."

Upon this the democrats Kronawetter and Pernerstorfer presented an interpellation referring to this, and the minister promised redress. A new advertisement was published. The "Neue Freie Presse" wrote:

"Praise is due to the Deputy Dr. Bloch for having taken the initiative in this question. Equality for all denominations in the practice of administration is, it is true, not absolutely assured by this and nobody is deceived as to the fact that the effect of the fundamental State laws on practical life is growing feebler day by day in consequence of the reactionary tendencies of Parliament as well as by the fault of Government — but one thing at least has been achieved: The formal validity of the fundamental State laws has been once more confirmed, and what exists on paper may some day, when the present wretched views have changed, again become living right."

It was plainly to be seen from the discussions of the Polish Club that the Chairman Zaleski paid strict attention that nothing should be done by the Club that could be disagreeable to Prince Liechtenstein.

To Prince Liechtenstein, Lueger and Schneider, the man who would alone stand up against them without regard to anybody and was always ready to fight had become inconvenient. Antisemitism had grown in power in the capital and its influence had grown in Parliament. So long as I had my seat and my voice in Parliament they could count on my unmasking every lie and every fabrication. The importance of a parliamentary defender of maligned Judaism can only be measured by the hatred with which my adversaries persecuted me. I was a thorn in the flesh of antisemitism, and its leaders could not enjoy their victory as long as I was there to disclose the vileness and baseness which formed the pretext for slandering the Jews.

That it was I who had presented the manufacturers of the ritual-murder-stories, the Viennese incendiary priest Dr. Ioseph Deckert & Co. to the assizes in Vienna to be there handed over to their well-merited fate (about which I shall write in the second volume of these Reminiscences) had been the last straw. And again, what good are alliances and relations, what good is Parliamentarism if you cannot with their help realize the maxim "manus manum lavat"? Such a lot is written about solidarity of Judaism, but the solidarity of the aristocracy is a thousands times more close and intimate.

The Chairman of the Polish Club felt it to be his duty to do Prince Liechtenstein a favour, a wee little favour; the Prince had also done him favours once; so they made up their minds to get this fatal Dr. Bloch out of the line of battle.

In the sitting of the House of Commons of June 14th, 1895, Schneider and his associates had brought in an interpellation about Kolnidre on the ground that it released the Jews from sworn oaths thus allowing perjury. It did not seem advisable to these gentlemen to bring in a regular motion about this subject — an interpellation always gives immunity to the matter and secures it free circulation; it is also more difficult to discuss or to refute it. Now when I branded this

course of proceeding with the necessary strong words, said my say about Kolnidre and added that the antisemites had a bad conscience as to perjury — a scene of such savage brutality broke loose as had never been heard in the House. Wild with rage, with uplifted fists they surrounded me and every minute I believed that Gessmann, Schneider, Lueger and so on would strike me; they did their utmost to abuse and insult me so that even the President's bell proved insufficient against this outburst of rage.

But this madness was not genuine nor natural, it was acted and was to form an impressive reminder to the Chairman of the Polish Club, Herr von Zaleski, to fulfil the agreement and to oblige me to resign my seat at last. Since that episode with the priest Dr. Deckert, whom I had brought before the Vienna jury on account of having invented a dangerous ritual murder fable, where he and his accomplices and colleages had been legally stigmatized — since then, Prince Liechtenstein was my sworn enemy. The lawsuit had caused great sensation; Liechtenstein brooded revenge and so he had made an agreement with Zaleski to annul my election. Protests against my election had not come in, but in order to manufacture pretexts they asked for all documents relating to the election to be sent in; and they found that a great number of claims to be entered in the electoral register had not been settled. Why these demands had been neglected is more than I can tell — it could only have been decided by inquiries — besides they were mostly Jewish electors who had claimed their elective right in vain. Now they nominated a man to report about the election who did not understand Polish and left the records lying there unread — and this for some years. The antisemitic brawlers, beginning with Prince Liechtenstein down to the stigmatized forger Ernst Schneider, demanded at every second sitting the presentation of the records of my election and caused the public to believe that some unlawful proceeding had taken place at this election. As to me, I declared in the Polish Club that I did not desire protection or indulgence, but that I demanded from the Polish Club as well as from the leaders of the Majority

Parties protection against violation and injustice; as the reporter declared that he did not understand the Polish language in which these records were written, a special committee was appointed to examine the papers and they even went so far as to assure me that the point of law and impartial justice must be maintained against antisemitic terrorism. But even before the members of the sub-committee had been able to get at the documents, before they had been able to have a look at the papers, to say nothing of informing themselves in any fashion about the pretended facts — the Chairman of the Polish Club came to me to ask me to resign of my own free will — regardless of the contents of the records. regardless of the result of an examination of them. Herr von Zaleski, the Chairman of the Polish Club, gave as reason of his demand a promise he had made to Prince Liechtenstein to cause me to resign my mandate of my own free will. As Herr von Zaleski believed to be able to assure me of a certain annulment of the election in case I should refuse to answer his proposal and as it lay in his power to bring about such a resolution of the majority of the House regardless of the contents and the nature of the records, there was nothing left for me to do but to yield to the force employed against me and to appeal to the electors. Had Count Taaffe still been Prime Minister or had not a man of the character of Herr Zaleski who was accessible to every influence, but men like Jaworski or Grocholski been Chairman of the Polish Club this shameful business-affair between the Polish leader and Prince Liechtenstein would have been impossible.

Terror in the Electoral District.

For Zaleski and his confederates it was above all of importance to prevent my re-election. To facilitate this task they were intent on finding a Jewish rival candidate of rank and consequence. They addressed themselves to a person whose name is well known in the scientific world and who was justly estimated by his Galician correligionists. He refused. That man frankly declared that the manner in which Dr. Bloch had been forced to resign at the order of the Prince Liechtenstein was rendering it simply impossible for any decent Jew to come forward as a candidate, apart from its being highly desirable for Dr. Bloch to be re-elected on account of his great merits in the defence of Judaism.

The Polish press hounds of all parties fell on me howling savagely; the most senseless, most vulgar things seemed good enough for circulation. The electors were gorged with pamphlets and flooded with scarcely masked threats — and all these frantic efforts in order to do away with a single inconvenient Jew, to make him politically impossible! They declared themselves willing to bear any other Jew; only the voice of Dr. Bloch must no more be heard in the halls of the representatives of the people. The agitation was managed by Prince Liechtenstein personally from Vienna. Hate has a better memory than gratitude. All the wiles of backway politics were used; all artifices of intrigue were set going. In any case a rival candidate of some importance who could be taken seriously must be found. But where? That was the great difficulty. What decent Jew would be prepared to stand up against the man who was insidiously persecuted by Prince Liechtenstein?

And yet such a man was forthcoming; it was a Dr. Trachtenberg, formerly Mayor of the Town of Kolomea who had put himself at the disposal of the Company Zaleski, Liechtenstein, Lueger, Schneider and their friends. The Berlin "Jüdische Presse" reported about the case as follows:

"The intrigue in which Prince Liechtenstein and Herr von Zaleski play the chief parts is an impudent plot, the more impudent at it was an antisemitic leader who managed to impress the Jews with his opinion and the President of the Polish Club who was willing to be the tool for such an absolutely plain and by no means veiled breach of right.

And then they want to ask us Jews that we should quietly pocket such an insult, dutifully accept this kick, nay, even most respectfully fulfil the wish of the high and mighty intriguer, drop the Deputy Bloch and delegate an other Jew to the "House" who would be more satisfactory to Messrs. Liechtenstein, Pattai and Schneider. A general demonstration of the Jews of Galicia is expected and if it has until now not been forthcoming — apart from the Jewish constituents of Kolomea-Sniatyn-Buczacz having addressed their deputy not to give way to the pressure of his enemies — if it has not been forthcoming, I say, this is only due to the shameful lack of an influential and independent (Jewish) press in Galicia. But we are utterly unprepared for the fact that Jews could be found who would accept the mandate Dr. Bloch has had for twelve years — from the hand of Prince Liechtenstein. We can understand that a man should have the irresistible ambition to become a member of Parliament, but that in our times an honest Jewish man should forget himself thus far as to work hand in hand with the antisemitic leader, to help to oust Dr. Bloch and to add to the insult profferred to all Jewry not only of Galicia but of all Austria — that this should really happen seems almost incredible. Some youthful aspirers to this Herostratic fame actually arose, but after thinking it over they seem to have wisely changed their minds and only one man is prepared to fight against

Dr. Boch — a certain Dr. Trachtenberg, a local grandee of Kolomea who, as they say, had once held some office of honour in the congregation but of whom nobody has ever heard anything outside Kolomea. He is the candidate! That is easy enough, but it is scarcely possible that Dr. Trachtenberg should have gauged the full importance and range of this step of his. In the electoral district Kolomea-Sniatyn-Buczacz the Jews are decidedly in the majority, no Jew can succeed without the Jewish votes; therefore, as long as the Jews stick together the mandate will remain with the Jews. But if only the slightest disagreement should set in the district will be lost to the Jews for ever. The line to be taken is perfectly plain: first of all Bloch must be supplanted; then, if the Jews have no cause for any particular interest in the Jewish candidate Trachtenberg, they will quickly push in a non-Jewish candidate, and the district will be for ever lost to the Jews.

Herr Dr. Trachtenberg will then find himself stranded, but he will be able to pride himself on the merit of having surrendered the seat to a non-Jew, a mandate which has been in Jewish hands since the very beginning of the constitutional era. It is the highest political ambition of the Jews of Galicia to be represented in Parliament and in the Polish Club by an adequate number of deputies of that at last their interests may be properly seen to. And now by the untimely ambition of a local politician this fruition of years of fighting, a fruition having cost immeasurable pains and uncountable sacrifices should come to naught? Is not that treason that deserves to be stigmatized? And then the enormous scandal that would be shown to the world, if the Jews, led by Prince Liechtenstein, were to fight against Dr. Bloch, probably in gratitude for his fearless behaviour against Rohling, whom he silenced for ever or because he has made Vergani and Türck impossible, or because he has unmasked Deckert and his worthy helpmate Paulus Meyer, or because he has defended the honour of Judaism which had been attacked in Parliament and Jewish religion which was dragged into the mire — because

he has defended these ever so often, whereas the other Jewish deputies knew how to be bravely silent. Truly Dr. Bloch deserves thanks for his indefatigable vigilance and for his fearless courage. After he has dedicated the best years of his life to hard and dangerous battle against antisemitism, after he has given up his vocation as a rabbi, to live only for the defence of his people and their most saered possessions, after time has bleached his hair — it is very suitable for us to leave him in the lurch, throw him on the scrap heap, turn him out of the house! We will thus acquire thanks from all antisemites who thus cheably get rit of their most dangerous enemy and their most alert and fearless opponent. Let us bow our heads to the black-red Prince of Margarethen (district of Vienna), let us join in an address to him. His Highness may deign most graciously to spit in our faces and put his august foot on our necks."

At the head of Government there was then the Premier Count Badeni, who undertook to govern Austria according to Galician methods. Count Taaffe was of opinion, and said so ever so often that, as long as antisemitic persecutors would be delegated to Parliament by an infatuated people. it would be advisable that a man should have a seat and voice capable of opposing the persecutors with the necessary energy and intimate knowledge — and that not only from reasons of justice, but even in the interest of State Government. Count Badeni was not accessible to such considerations; his policy had confidence in power only. His policy miscarried lamentably, and a storm of indignation which broke loose among the population finally wiped him off the political surface. Though his reign was short it was very full of failures; his only success was the prevention of my re-election in Kolomea to save the Chairman of the Polish Club from exposure and from having to declare himself beaten. The Prefects therefore were ordered to employ all possible means against me, Jewish electors went travelling during the time of the elections so as to get out of the way of vexations; Jewish manufacturers, friends of mine, were summoned to the Prefect and were charged 500 florins each as a

contribution to the costs of the election of Dr. Trachtenberg. They had to obey the order because they risked that their factories would be closed on account of pretended "sanitary defects" ; they could have lodged a complaint, it is true, at the Governor's i. e. appeal against the devil to his grandmother. But in the meantime the factories would have been closed until after some months some kind of answer would be vouchsafed to them. The tax collectors summoned the electors and warned them from voting against the candidate of the Government — and you can't toy with a Galician tax-collector! Policemen stood at the entrance of the polling hall and did not let Jewish electors pass at all. So Dr. Trachtenberg's election was assured. And besides, the antisemitic chiefs of Vienna tried to come to his help. During my presence in the electoral district I had occasion to read letters by Dr. Lueger — I was staying with Baron Capri —, telegrams signed "L" to a retired officer called Deller, in which, in the name of the Viennese Christians Socialists, one was seriously invited to fight against Dr. Bloch's candidature with all energy, and large sums of money could be expected for organisation purposes. So Dr. Maximilian Trachtenberg got the seat. Dr. Lueger was of course acquainted with the high-handed proceedings at this election, the devices and tricks that had been played to bring about this result and he was hypocrite enough to denounce them in an interpellation — in the sitting of the Austrian House of Commons on December 7th 1895 — to the Prime Minister Count Badeni, on account of the violence employed against Dr. Bloch. During the electoral contest Messrs. Lueger and his party friends were powerful protectors of Trachtenberg and in the end Dr. Lueger was suddenly indignant about the wrong that had been done me. This was one of the Jesuitic artifices which were Dr. Lueger's speciality.

The official antisemitic paper "Narod" in Lemberg published in its issue of December 1st 1895 Nr. 23 an interpellation of the Christian-Socialists in Parliament about Kol-Nidre and the Jewish oath, then the libel "The Truth about Judaism", further a venomous article "The Jews of

the Army" and in the end — three columns of an electoral proclamation for Dr. Maximilian Trachtenberg. This proclamation contained the most incredible insults and calumniations of the whole of Judaism and ended with a hearty appeal to the Christian electors to vote for the President of the Jewish Congregation Dr. Trachtenberg. And then it says in winding up:

"What? — say the uninitiated — antisemites recommend us to vote for a Jew? Yes, that is what we do! Not only do we recommend it, we antisemites beg you most urgently to vote for Dr. Maximilian Trachtenberg and to help him with all your energy. Do not forget who his rival candidate is! It is the notorious Dr. Bloch. To get him out of the way no price is high enough."

Those were the words before the election. And after the election one was suddenly indignant about the moral "qualities" of the chosen "Jew".

The "Deutsches Volksblatt" of December 8th 1895 — this was after the election — called attention to Trachtenberg's activity as Mayor of the Town of Kolomea and referred to a rescript issued by the Galician Country Committee in 1885 Z. 50, 461, to the Town Council of Kolomea. This rescript represented Dr. Trachtenberg's really scandalous mismanagement. It was quoted from this rescript that the town-cashier had embezzled some sums, that various functionaries had kept the money of the Municipality for years "at home", that the tendency was prevailing in the management of the community to waste the funds. All this took place under the rule of Trachtenberg. One further learns from this rescript that the Mayor Trachtenberg himself pawned securities in banks; this is called an unlawful action by the Country Committee; then that the Mayor had charged exorbitant fees and commissions. The rescript contained dates about a whole series of malversations and unlawful actions in the management of the Municipality, qualified as "anarchic" by the Country Committee. But all this had already been known before the election; there were therefore no new disclosures.

The Viennese antisemitic chiefs very well knew that their candidate Dr. Trachtenberg had been condemned by the Lemberg Board of Lawyers in 1891, on account of "misdemeanour towards the duties and honour of the profession" to a fine of 300 florins and in 1892 on account of "misdemeanour towards the duties of the profession" to 100 florins; they, however, warmly recommended his election. Now the election was over, they pretended to be surprised that "such a man could have been elected into Parliament".

Liberal members of the Polish Club were indignant about the behaviour of the Chairman but they remained in the minority. Zaleski once answered a reproach quite cynically: "I know that Dr. Bloch was very useful to the Jews, perhaps even necessary to them, but I do not see the necessity for a Messiah of the Jews to be born from among the Polish Club."

Sektionschef Eduard Ritter von Gniewosz-Olexow wrote some years afterwards and some few weeks before his death as follows:

> "I mean the former deputy Dr. Josef Bloch. He had to suffer at every step on account of his courage and fearlessness and he was at last completely crippled. His exclusion from the Club and Parliament was the work of the Viennese antisemitic leaders and I could never understand why the influencial Jews never tried to secure for Dr. Bloch an independent mandate somewhere else. A man of his kind with his gift of repartee was necessary, considering the parliamentary platform has been misused for ignoble excesses as has unfortunately become the bad habit in Austria."

The beginning and the course of the Hilsner-case showed how right Gniewosz was; this trial had been essentially made by parliamentary threats and intimidations of the highest functionaries of justice, a specimen of which I have given in the chapter on Ernst Schneider.

In an article of the "Judische Presse" Nr. 50, 1895, it says in the end:

"Dr. Bloch has done away with the 'scientific' aspect of the Jewish question", the scientific justification of the calumniations of the Jews and Judaism in Parliament. This is his undying merit. Now he has gone from Parliament, and the gates are closed behind him; but the weird blood ghost managed so slip in; it is there again, because he who scared it away is gone!"

Notes.

(1) Talmud Kiddushin fol. 25 a

(2) Plutarch, Life of Cato X, 21. Compare Döllinger, Heidentum, p. 673.

(3) Cicero, de officiis III, 23.

(4) Franz Hitze complains of Germany being Jew-ridden, but he is fain to admit that Palestine alone had no ruling classes. "The Hebrews represented the principle of equality at the earliest and most completely" (Die soziale Frage. Paderborn 1877. p. 12).

(5) Glaser, Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaftsverhältnisse bei den Griechen. Berlin 1865.

(6) Aristoteles. Polit. 8, 3.

(7) Talmud Baba Mezia fol. 77.

(8) R. Meïr.

(9) Baba Bathra fol. 110; Nedarim 40b; Aboth de R. Nathan 11.

(10) Prov. 10, 12; 11, 14.

(11) Aboth de R. Nathan, ibid.

(12) ibid.

(13) ibid.

(14) ibid.

(15) Berachot 8 a.

(16—19) Ibid.

(20) Gittin fol. 42, 43; Tosefta Aboda Zara IV; Sifra on Deharim 259.

(21) Aboda Zara fol. 7 b.

(22) J. D. Michaelis, Mosaisches Recht, IV, § 205, points out that the commandment of Sabbath rest for pagan aliens and slaves and for domestic beasts best illustrates the spirit of the law.

(23) This aspect of the law has not been fully realized even by the ingenious Proudhome.

(24) The same rigour of the law is applied to the worker. The Palestinian regulation of Labour does not permit the workman to utilize time to its utmost at the expense of his health. If the workman of to-day understands the eight hour-day to mean that he must be paid for 2 hours overwork it is worth recording that the Palestinian law forbids every kind of work beyond the normal time as injurious to health.

(25) Jellinek, Der jüd. Stamm in nichtjüdischen Sprichwörtern. II, 36.

(26) J. D. Michaelis, l. c. II, § 142. "Moses seems to have no beggars among his people." — "So much is certain that the term beggar does not occur in the Old Testament."

(27) As a consequence of the Assyrian rule and influence the Palestinian Jews gave up without demur the Hebrew characters for the Assyrian square letters; the Samaritan Palestinians of pagan origin kept the handwriting of the prophets with zealous fanaticism.

(28) Succa fol. 51 b; Tosefta ibid. cap. 4.

(29) Kiddushin 20 a; Sifra Behar cap. 7.

(30) Maccoth 7 a.

(31) ibid.

(32) Sota 4. 7.

(33) Baba Bathra 111 a; Aboth de R. Nathan 11.

(34) Baba Bar Chana.

(35) Baba.

(36) Aboth V, 10.

(37) Midrash, On Koheleth 4, 7.

Dr. Artur Dinter for Aron Briman and Dr. Jakob Ecker.

Note on the Speech in the Sitting of the Austrian House of Commons on October 20th, 1891. p. 289ff.

This speech about the fraudulent proceedings at the trial in Munster had been much read and talked about at the time, and even the antisemitic press could not impugn the mass of facts presented. Not only Professor Bickell but Dr. Jakob Ecker were still living — none of them protested against the facts represented before the assembled deputies. Only now, after a space of many decades, Dr. Artur Dinter makes an attempt to protect Aron Briman and Dr. Jakob Ecker from those heavy accusations — in an essay I have already quoted — against the rabbis. In regard to Dr. Ecker he writes on page 39:

"I immediately wrote to the Bonifatius Printing Office at Paderborn where Eckert's investigations on Briman's "Judenspiegel" ("Jewish Mirror") were published, and received the following informations: Professor Dr. Ecker unfortunately died on November 20th 1912; he was in the end professor at the College for Priests in Trier. The heavy accusations Dr. Wiesen raises against him lack confirmation of any kind — we may be absolutely sure of that. A man like Dr. Ecker was incapable of such behaviour. If Dr. Wiesen asserts that Dr. Eckert had given orders for the Expert Opinion in the Munster trial to be made by Briman, that he therefore had scandalously misused the judical confidence as a sworn expert — this is an assertion that must first be proved. All that Doktor Wiesen says to prove it, proves nothing in reality. And then he must bring the proofs for his assertion; it is not for you to prove the contrary. I am also of this opinion and so I herewith challenge you publicly, Country Rabbi Dr. Wiesen, to bring the proofs for the monstrous accusation you raise against a defunct, an irreproachable Christian scholar and warrior of Truth, in case you do not wish to be guilty of calumniation!"

"The same holds with regard to your assertion in regard to Bickell's letter! This letter is likewise taken from Kopp's "Records" (p. 26). But professor Bickell does not mention Professor Ecker's name at all in the whole letter!"

a lack of Catholicism, which on the contrary has often been reproached for its attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, belonging to a nation which has suffered a great deal and still suffers by the religious fanaticism of others, a descendant of a Catholic family, brought up in respect for the clerical vocation and on friendly terms with clergymen and bishops he turned against the antisemites who pretended to fulfil ethical duties. He disputed them the right to speak of ethical duties, for they were not guided by ethical principles; "quite different principles are at the back of it! For even the flag beneath which you fight is not clean, one can see that in everything you do, nor can it be clean — because everybody judges others by himself!"

Now this deputy as well as I seriously admonished Dr. Byk not to bow to this unworthy command and rather to see what consequences would come of it. Would the Club exclude him and would he be forced to resign his seat? If so this would cause an enormous agitation in the whole country and he could count with certainty on an unanimous re-election. Dr. Byk answered that our optimism as to the electors in Galicia was not warranted; that the seats were distributed by the Polish Club; not the electors but the Polish Club would decide about the mandates. We were not to be the victims of a deception as to the chances of re-election under the given conditions. So Dr. Byk did as the Club had decided, recanted publicly and apologized. The liberal daily press passed this incident over in silence, but the antisemitic papers were not as reticent although silence had been promised to Dr. Byk ("Österreichische Wochenschrift" 1893, Nr. 8. p. 139).

In the official part of the "Vienna Gazette" there was, on February 20th, 1895, the advertisement of a vacancy of the position of a general practitioner at the Saltmines in Hallstatt in which the presentation of a certificate of baptism was especially required from all applicants. The advertisement was issued in conformity with a decree of the Ministry of the Finances Number 4948 ex 1895. This advertisement was a public breach of law, and downright violation of the funda-

mental State-laws decreeing in article III that the public functions are equally accessible to all State-citizens.

It was at that time the first case that had been made known and it was necessary to speak up with all possible energy against this unveiled violation of the fundamental rights.

I mentioned this subject in the meeting of the Polish Club on March 17th of that year, and asked for the permission to speak about this case of Hallstatt by way of an interpellation in Parliament. A long debate about this ensued, and the Chairman Zaleski referred to the fact that the incident had not taken place in Galicia; it were, therefore, better to leave it to other parties, in cases which did not regard Galicia, to defend the fundamental laws of the State if they should consider it necessary to do so. Hereupon I was obliged to withdraw the interpellation I had already announced.

However, the incident caused justified excitement. The words of the Chairman of the Polish Club, that one was to leave it to other parties to defend the fundamental laws of the State became the object of manifold comments. The "Neue Freie Presse" of March 19th explained those words as if they had been addressed to the German Liberal Party to remind them of their duty. The "Wiener Tagblatt" made fun of all parties who hand over the task to defend the constitution mutually to each other:

> "If the fundamental laws of the State are violated only those have to complain about it in whose native country, perhaps only in whose electoral district such a case has occured.
>
> "Dr. Bloch has begged permission to put the question in Parliament about the violation of the fundamental laws of the State. But the deputy of Kolomea met with a fine reception: he was told that he was always bothering about Jewish affairs, that in this way he was making the fight against antisemitism in Galicia still more difficult, although little until now had been heard of the din of this battle with the antisemites. But the Polish Club found

a splendidly crooked way to silence Dr. Bloch. Not that they had required Dr. Bloch to show up his certificate of baptism: but they demanded a certificate of birth, not as to the home of the interpellant, but as to the home of the violation of the law, i. e. where it had taken place. But that did not happen in Galicia — what has this matter to do with the Polish Club? Says Herr von Zaleski: "Let us leave it to the other parties in the House — if they should find it necessary — to defend the fundamental laws of the State in cases which do not regard Galicia". The bitter irony contained in the fact that the Chairman of the Polish Club hands over the defence of the fundamental State laws to the other parties of the House — if they deem it necessary — this irony has been only too well merited by the German Liberal Party."

Upon this the democrats Kronawetter and Pernerstorfer presented an interpellation referring to this, and the minister promised redress. A new advertisement was published. The "Neue Freie Presse" wrote:

"Praise is due to the Deputy Dr. Bloch for having taken the initiative in this question. Equality for all denominations in the practice of administration is, it is true, not absolutely assured by this and nobody is deceived as to the fact that the effect of the fundamental State laws on practical life is growing feebler day by day in consequence of the reactionary tendencies of Parliament as well as by the fault of Government — but one thing at least has been achieved: The formal validity of the fundamental State laws has been once more confirmed, and what exists on paper may some day, when the present wretched views have changed, again become living right."

It was plainly to be seen from the discussions of the Polish Club that the Chairman Zaleski paid strict attention that nothing should be done by the Club that could be disagreeable to Prince Liechtenstein.

To Prince Liechtenstein, Lueger and Schneider, the man who would alone stand up against them without regard to anybody and was always ready to fight had become inconvenient. Antisemitism had grown in power in the capital and its influence had grown in Parliament. So long as I had my seat and my voice in Parliament they could count on my unmasking every lie and every fabrication. The importance of a parliamentary defender of maligned Judaism can only be measured by the hatred with which my adversaries persecuted me. I was a thorn in the flesh of antisemitism, and its leaders could not enjoy their victory as long as I was there to disclose the vileness and baseness which formed the pretext for slandering the Jews.

That it was I who had presented the manufacturers of the ritual-murder-stories, the Viennese incendiary priest Dr. Ioseph Deckert & Co. to the assizes in Vienna to be there handed over to their well-merited fate (about which I shall write in the second volume of these Reminiscences) had been the last straw. And again, what good are alliances and relations, what good is Parliamentarism if you cannot with their help realize the maxim "manus manum lavat"? Such a lot is written about solidarity of Judaism, but the solidarity of the aristocracy is a thousands times more close and intimate.

The Chairman of the Polish Club felt it to be his duty to do Prince Liechtenstein a favour, a wee little favour; the Prince had also done him favours once; so they made up their minds to get this fatal Dr. Bloch out of the line of battle.

In the sitting of the House of Commons of June 14th, 1895, Schneider and his associates had brought in an interpellation about Kolnidre on the ground that it released the Jews from sworn oaths thus allowing perjury. It did not seem advisable to these gentlemen to bring in a regular motion about this subject — an interpellation always gives immunity to the matter and secures it free circulatiou; it is also more difficult to discuss or to refute it. Now when I branded this

course of proceeding with the necessary strong words, said my say about Kolnidre and added that the antisemites had a bad conscience as to perjury — a scene of such savage brutality broke loose as had never been heard in the House. Wild with rage, with uplifted fists they surrounded me and every minute I believed that Gessmann, Schneider, Lueger and so on would strike me; they did their utmost to abuse and insult me so that even the President's bell proved insufficient against this outburst of rage.

But this madness was not genuine nor natural, it was acted and was to form an impressive reminder to the Chairman of the Polish Club, Herr von Zaleski, to fulfil the agreement and to oblige me to resign my seat at last. Since that episode with the priest Dr. Deckert, whom I had brought before the Vienna jury on account of having invented a dangerous ritual murder fable, where he and his accomplices and colleages had been legally stigmatized — since then, Prince Liechtenstein was my sworn enemy. The lawsuit had caused great sensation; Liechtenstein brooded revenge and so he had made an agreement with Zaleski to annul my election. Protests against my election had not come in, but in order to manufacture pretexts they asked for all documents relating to the election to be sent in; and they found that a great number of claims to be entered in the electoral register had not been settled. Why these demands had been neglected is more than I can tell — it could only have been decided by inquiries — besides they were mostly Jewish electors who had claimed their elective right in vain. Now they nominated a man to report about the election who did not understand Polish and left the records lying there unread — and this for some years. The antisemitic brawlers, beginning with Prince Liechtenstein down to the stigmatized forger Ernst Schneider, demanded at every second sitting the presentation of the records of my election and caused the public to believe that some unlawful proceeding had taken place at this election. As to me, I declared in the Polish Club that I did not desire protection or indulgence, but that I demanded from the Polish Club as well as from the leaders of the Majority

Parties protection against violation and injustice; as the reporter declared that he did not understand the Polish language in which these records were written, a special committee was appointed to examine the papers and they even went so far as to assure me that the point of law and impartial justice must be maintained against antisemitic terrorism. But even before the members of the sub-committee had been able to get at the documents, before they had been able to have a look at the papers, to say nothing of informing themselves in any fashion about the pretended facts — the Chairman of the Polish Club came to me to ask me to resign of my own free will — regardless of the contents of the records, regardless of the result of an examination of them. Herr von Zaleski, the Chairman of the Polish Club, gave as reason of his demand a promise he had made to Prince Liechtenstein to cause me to resign my mandate of my own free will. As Herr von Zaleski believed to be able to assure me of a certain annulment of the election in case I should refuse to answer his proposal and as it lay in his power to bring about such a resolution of the majority of the House regardless of the contents and the nature of the records, there was nothing left for me to do but to yield to the force employed against me and to appeal to the electors. Had Count Taaffe still been Prime Minister or had not a man of the character of Herr Zaleski who was accessible to every influence, but men like Jaworski or Grocholski been Chairman of the Polish Club this shameful business-affair between the Polish leader and Prince Liechtenstein would have been impossible.

Terror in the Electoral District.

For Zaleski and his confederates it was above all of importance to prevent my re-election. To facilitate this task they were intent on finding a Jewish rival candidate of rank and consequence. They addressed themselves to a person whose name is well known in the scientific world and who was justly estimated by his Galician correligionists. He refused. That man frankly declared that the manner in which Dr. Bloch had been forced to resign at the order of the Prince Liechtenstein was rendering it simply impossible for any decent Jew to come forward as a candidate, apart from its being highly desirable for Dr. Bloch to be re-elected on account of his great merits in the defence of Judaism.

The Polish press hounds of all parties fell on me howling savagely; the most senseless, most vulgar things seemed good enough for circulation. The electors were gorged with pamphlets and flooded with scarcely masked threats — and all these frantic efforts in order to do away with a single inconvenient Jew, to make him politically impossible! They declared themselves willing to bear any other Jew; only the voice of Dr. Bloch must no more be heard in the halls of the representatives of the people. The agitation was managed by Prince Liechtenstein personally from Vienna. Hate has a better memory than gratitude. All the wiles of backway politics were used; all artifices of intrigue were set going. In any case a rival candidate of some importance who could be taken seriously must be found. But where? That was the great difficulty. What decent Jew would be prepared to stand up against the man who was insidiously persecuted by Prince Liechtenstein?

And yet such a man was forthcoming; it was a Dr. Trachtenberg, formerly Mayor of the Town of Kolomea who had put himself at the disposal of the Company Zaleski, Liechtenstein, Lueger, Schneider and their friends. The Berlin "Judische Presse" reported about the case as follows:

"The intrigue in which Prince Liechtenstein and Herr von Zaleski play the chief parts is an impudent plot, the more impudent at it was an antisemitic leader who managed to impress the Jews with his opinion and the President of the Polish Club who was willing to be the tool for such an absolutely plain and by no means veiled breach of right.

And then they want to ask us Jews that we should quietly pocket such an insult, dutifully accept this kick, nay, even most respectfully fulfil the wish of the high and mighty intriguer, drop the Deputy Bloch and delegate an other Jew to the "House" who would be more satisfactory to Messrs. Liechtenstein, Pattai and Schneider. A general demonstration of the Jews of Galicia is expected and if it has until now not been forthcoming — apart from the Jewish constituents of Kolomea-Sniatyn-Buczacz having addressed their deputy not to give way to the pressure of his enemies — if it has not been forthcoming, I say, this is only due to the shameful lack of an influential and independent (Jewish) press in Galicia. But we are utterly unprepared for the fact that Jews could be found who would accept the mandate Dr. Bloch has had for twelve years — from the hand of Prince Liechtenstein. We can understand that a man should have the irresistible ambition to become a member of Parliament, but that in our times an honest Jewish man should forget himself thus far as to work hand in hand with the antisemitic leader, to help to oust Dr. Bloch and to add to the insult profferred to all Jewry not only of Galicia but of all Austria — that this should really happen seems almost incredible. Some youthful aspirers to this Herostratic fame actually arose, but after thinking it over they seem to have wisely changed their minds and only one man is prepared to fight against

Dr. Boch — a certain Dr. Trachtenberg, a local grandee of Kolomea who, as they say, had once held some office of honour in the congregation but of whom nobody has ever heard anything outside Kolomea. He is the candidate! That is easy enough, but it is scarcely possible that Dr. Trachtenberg should have gauged the full importance and range of this step of his. In the electoral district Kolomea-Sniatyn-Buczacz the Jews are decidedly in the majority, no Jew can succeed without the Jewish votes; therefore, as long as the Jews stick together the mandate will remain with the Jews. But if only the slightest disagreement should set in the district will be lost to the Jews for ever. The line to be taken is perfectly plain: first of all Bloch must be supplanted; then, if the Jews have no cause for any particular interest in the Jewish candidate Trachtenberg, they will quickly push in a non-Jewish candidate, and the district will be for ever lost to the Jews.

Herr Dr. Trachtenberg will then find himself stranded, but he will be able to pride himself on the merit of having surrendered the seat to a non-Jew, a mandate which has been in Jewish hands since the very beginning of the constitutional era. It is the highest political ambition of the Jews of Galicia to be represented in Parliament and in the Polish Club by an adequate number of deputies of that at last their interests may be properly seen to. And now by the untimely ambition of a local politician this fruition of years of fighting, a fruition having cost immeasurable pains and uncountable sacrifices should come to naught? Is not that treason that deserves to be stigmatized? And then the enormous scandal that would be shown to the world, if the Jews, led by Prince Liechtenstein, were to fight against Dr. Bloch, probably in gratitude for his fearless behaviour against Rohling, whom he silenced for ever or because he has made Vergani and Türck impossible, or because he has unmasked Deckert and his worthy helpmate Paulus Meyer, or because he has defended the honour of Judaism which had been attacked in Parliament and Jewish religion which was dragged into the mire — because

he has defended these ever so often, whereas the other Jewish deputies knew how to be bravely silent. Truly Dr. Bloch deserves thanks for his indefatigable vigilance and for his fearless courage. After he has dedicated the best years of his life to hard and dangerous battle against anti-semitism, after he has given up his vocation as a rabbi, to live only for the defence of his people and their most sacred possessions, after time has bleached his hair — it is very suitable for us to leave him in the lurch, throw him on the scrap heap, turn him out of the house! We will thus acquire thanks from all antisemites who thus cheably get rit of their most dangerous enemy and their most alert and fearless opponent. Let us bow our heads to the black-red Prince of Margarethen (district of Vienna), let us join in an address to him. His Highness may deign most graciously to spit in our faces and put his august foot on our necks."

At the head of Government there was then the Premier Count Badeni, who undertook to govern Austria according to Galician methods. Count Taaffe was of opinion, and said so ever so often that, as long as antisemitic persecutors would be delegated to Parliament by an infatuated people, it would be advisable that a man should have a seat and voice capable of opposing the persecutors with the necessary energy and intimate knowledge — and that not only from reasons of justice, but even in the interest of State Government. Count Badeni was not accessible to such considerations: his policy had confidence in power only. His policy miscarried lamentably, and a storm of indignation which broke loose among the population finally wiped him off the political surface. Though his reign was short it was very full of failures; his only success was the prevention of my re-election in Kolomea to save the Chairman of the Polish Club from exposure and from having to declare himself beaten. The Prefects therefore were ordered to employ all possible means against me, Jewish electors went travelling during the time of the elections so as to get out of the way of vexations; Jewish manufacturers, friends of mine, were summoned to the Prefect and were charged 500 florins each as a

contribution to the costs of the election of Dr. Trachtenberg. They had to obey the order because they risked that their factories would be closed on account of pretended "sanitary defects" ; they could have lodged a complaint, it is true, at the Governor's i. e. appeal against the devil to his grandmother. But in the meantime the factories would have been closed until after some months some kind of answer would be vouchsafed to them. The tax collectors summoned the electors and warned them from voting against the candidate of the Government — and you can't toy with a Galician tax-collector! Policemen stood at the entrance of the polling hall and did not let Jewish electors pass at all. So Dr. Trachtenberg's election was assured. And besides, the antisemitic chiefs of Vienna tried to come to his help. During my presence in the electoral district I had occasion to read letters by Dr. Lueger — I was staying with Baron Capri —, telegrams signed "L" to a retired officer called Deller, in which, in the name of the Viennese Christians Socialists, one was seriously invited to fight against Dr. Bloch's candidature with all energy, and large sums of money could be expected for organisation purposes. So Dr. Maximilian Trachtenberg got the seat. Dr. Lueger was of course acquainted with the high-handed proceedings at this election, the devices and tricks that had been played to bring about this result and he was hypocrite enough to denounce them in an interpellation — in the sitting of the Austrian House of Commons on December 7th 1895 — to the Prime Minister Count Badeni, on account of the violence employed against Dr. Bloch. During the electoral contest Messrs. Lueger and his party friends were powerful protectors of Trachtenberg and in the end Dr. Lueger was suddenly indignant about the wrong that had been done me. This was one of the Jesuitic artifices which were Dr. Lueger's speciality.

The official antisemitic paper "Narod" in Lemberg published in its issue of December 1st 1895 Nr. 23 an interpellation of the Christian-Socialists in Parliament about Kol-Nidre and the Jewish oath, then the libel "The Truth about Judaism", further a venomous article "The Jews of

the Army" and in the end — three columns of an electoral proclamation for Dr. Maximilian Trachtenberg. This proclamation contained the most incredible insults and calumniations of the whole of Judaism and ended with a hearty appeal to the Christian electors to vote for the President of the Jewish Congregation Dr. Trachtenberg. And then it says in winding up:

"What? — say the uninitiated — antisemites recommend us to vote for a Jew? Yes, that is what we do! Not only do we recommend it, we antisemites beg you most urgently to vote for Dr. Maximilian Trachtenberg and to help him with all your energy. Do not forget who his rival candidate is! It is the notorious Dr. Bloch. To get him out of the way no price is high enough."

Those were the words before the election. And after the election one was suddenly indignant about the moral "qualities" of the chosen "Jew".

The "Deutsches Volksblatt" of December 8th 1895 — this was after the election — called attention to Trachtenberg's activity as Mayor of the Town of Kolomea and referred to a rescript issued by the Galician Country Committee in 1885 Z. 50, 461, to the Town Council of Kolomea. This rescript represented Dr. Trachtenberg's really scandalous mismanagement. It was quoted from this rescript that the town-cashier had embezzled some sums, that various functionaries had kept the money of the Municipality for years "at home", that the tendency was prevailing in the management of the community to waste the funds. All this took place under the rule of Trachtenberg. One further learns from this rescript that the Mayor Trachtenberg himself pawned securities in banks; this is called an unlawful action by the Country Committee; then that the Mayor had charged exorbitant fees and commissions. The rescript contained dates about a whole series of malversations and unlawful actions in the management of the Municipality, qualified as "anarchic" by the Country Committee. But all this had already been known before the election; there were therefore no new disclosures.

The Viennese antisemitic chiefs very well knew that their candidate Dr. Trachtenberg had been condemned by the Lemberg Board of Lawyers in 1891, on account of "misdemeanour towards the duties and honour of the profession" to a fine of 300 florins and in 1892 on account of "misdemeanour towards the duties of the profession" to 100 florins; they, however, warmly recommended his election. Now the election was over, they pretended to be surprised that "such a man could have been elected into Parliament".

Liberal members of the Polish Club were indignant about the behaviour of the Chairman but they remained in the minority. Zaleski once answered a reproach quite cynically: "I know that Dr. Bloch was very useful to the Jews, perhaps even necessary to them, but I do not see the necessity for a Messiah of the Jews to be born from among the Polish Club."

Sektionschef Eduard Ritter von Gniewosz-Olexow wrote some years afterwards and some few weeks before his death as follows:

> "I mean the former deputy Dr. Josef Bloch. He had to suffer at every step on account of his courage and fearlessness and he was at last completely crippled. His exclusion from the Club and Parliament was the work of the Viennese antisemitic leaders and I could never understand why the influencial Jews never tried to secure for Dr. Bloch an independent mandate somewhere else. A man of his kind with his gift of repartee was necessary, considering the parliamentary platform has been misused for ignoble excesses as has unfortunately become the bad habit in Austria."

The beginning and the course of the Hilsner-case showed how right Gniewosz was; this trial had been essentially made by parliamentary threats and intimidations of the highest functionaries of justice, a specimen of which I have given in the chapter on Ernst Schneider.

In an article of the "Jüdische Presse" Nr. 50, 1895, it says in the end:

"Dr. Bloch has done away with the 'scientific' aspect of the Jewish question", the scientific justification of the calumniations of the Jews and Judaism in Parliament. This is his undying merit. Now he has gone from Parliament, and the gates are closed behind him; but the weird blood ghost managed so slip in; it is there again, because he who scared it away is gone!"

Notes.

(1) Talmud Kiddushin fol. 25 a

(2) Plutarch, Life of Cato X, 21. Compare Döllinger, Heidenlum, p. 673.

(3) Cicero, de officiis III, 23.

(4) Franz Hitze complains of Germany being Jew-ridden, but he is fain to admit that Palestine alone had no ruling classes. "The Hebrews represented the principle of equality at the earliest and most completely" (Die soziale Frage. Paderborn 1877. p. 12).

(5) Glaser, Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaftsverhältnisse bei den Griechen. Berlin 1865.

(6) Aristoteles, Polit. 8, 3.

(7) Talmud Baba Mezia fol. 77.

(8) R. Meïr.

(9) Baba Bathra fol. 110; Nedarim 40b; Aboth de R. Nathan 11.

(10) Prov. 10, 12; 11, 14.

(11) Aboth de R. Nathan, ibid.

(12) ibid.

(13) ibid.

(14) ibid.

(15) Berachot 8 a.

(16—19) Ibid.

(20) Gittin fol. 42, 43; Tosefta Aboda Zara IV; Sifra on Beharim 259.

(21) Aboda Zara fol. 7 b.

(22) J. D. Michaelis, Mosaisches Recht, IV, § 195, points out that the commandment of Sabbath rest for pagan aliens and slaves and for domestic beasts best illustrates the spirit of the law.

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(30) Maccoth 7 a.

(31) ibid.

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(34) Raba Bar Chana.

(35) Raba.

(36) Aboth V, 10.

(37) Midrash, On Koheleth 4, 7.

Dr. Artur Dinter for Aron Briman and Dr. Jakob Ecker.

Note on the Speech in the Sitting of the Austrian House of Commons on October 20th, 1891. p. 289ff.

This speech about the fraudulent proceedings at the trial in Munster had been much read and talked about at the time, and even the antisemitic press could not impugn the mass of facts presented. Not only Professor Bickell but Dr. Jakob Ecker were still living — none of them protested against the facts represented before the assembled deputies. Only now, after a space of many decades, Dr. Artur Dinter makes an attempt to protect Aron Briman and Dr. Jakob Ecker from those heavy accusations — in an essay I have already quoted — against the rabbis. In regard to Dr. Ecker he writes on page 39:

"I immediately wrote to the Bonifatius Printing Office at Paderborn where Eckert's investigations on Briman's "Judenspiegel" ("Jewish Mirror") were published, and received the following informations: Professor Dr. Ecker unfortunately died on November 20th 1912; he was in the end professor at the College for Priests in Trier. The heavy accusations Dr. Wiesen raises against him lack confirmation of any kind — we may be absolutely sure of that. A man like Dr. Ecker was incapable of such behaviour. If Dr. Wiesen asserts that Dr. Eckert had given orders for the Expert Opinion in the Munster trial to be made by Briman, that he therefore had scandalously misused the judical confidence as a sworn expert — this is an assertion that must first be proved. All that Doktor Wiesen says to prove it, proves nothing in reality. And then he must bring the proofs for his assertion; it is not for you to prove the contrary. I am also of this opinion and so I herewith challenge you publicly, Country Rabbi Dr. Wiesen, to bring the proofs for the monstrous accusation you raise against a defunct, an irreproachable Christian scholar and warrior of Truth, in case you do not wish to be guilty of calumniation!"

"The same holds with regard to your assertion in regard to Bickell's letter! This letter is likewise taken from Kopp's "Records" (p. 26). But professor Bickell does not mention Professor Ecker's name at all in the whole letter!"

Against this I will state the following: On August 1892 there appeared in the Berlin „Jüdische Presse" Nr. 33 the following sentences from two letters of Bickell's addressed to a student at Berlin (dated 14th and 25th of March 1885):

"Only the enormous cheek is admirable with which Ecker published the „Judenspiegel" under his name, because his „Beleuchtung" ("Illumination") is no more his property either. This man has not the slightest idea of Talmudic or Rabbinic matters — I know that perfectly well. When Justus was once staying at Munster, he wanted to learn how to read the Talmud with him, but he gave it up after a few minutes — it was not feasible and he despaired of ever being able to enter into the secrets of the Talmudic language and dialectics."....

"Ecker does not understand a word of Talmudic lore and simply had that book made for him."

These extracts from Bickell's letters appeared in 1892 and neither Bickell nor Ecker protested.

In the "Records and Expert Opinions" it is also to be found that Professor Bickell of Innsbruck — in a conference with the Viennese lawyer Dr. Elbogen and in the presence of a Herr Ernst Schmidt — showed that he had crossed out the name of Ecker as an author, and put that of Brimanus in its stead, in his own (copy) of the „Judenspiegel im Lichte der Wahrheit", and then he added:

"Fancy if the Jews knew that Ecker and Rohling don't understand a word of the Talmud!"

Bickell had met Aron Briman daily when he was professor at the university of Innsbruck and Briman had come for a stay there — so he knew all about the proceedings at Münster and the sketch in his letter to the President of the Court of Law at Vienna does not allow of a doubt as to who the man was whom he sketched. In my "Records and Expert Opinions in the Case Rohling-Bloch," Vol. I. I accused Dr. Ecker to his face; in the „Oesterreichische Wochenschrift" I also repeatedly described the proceedings at large and I condemned Ecker's behaviour in regard to Bickell's letter in the most decided manner. But Professor Bickell who had in the meantime moved from Innsbruck to Vienna where he had a chair at the University kept silence.

My speech of the 20th of October 1891 in which I had been obliged to relate the proceedings at the trial in Münster between Ecker and Briman to the representatives of the people of Austria, this speech was, as I mentioned above, published in all the public papers, and again Professor Bickell let all that pass in silence without only a feeble hint that the

passage in his letter had been misunderstood; surely it would have been his duty to say a word one way or another. At last I also had the honour of a visit from Professor Bickell at my home. It was at the time when the affair of a comrade in the fate of Aron Briman was going on, viz. Paulus Meyer, who had been sent with a warm letter of recommendation by Rohling to Vienna to his party friend Father Dr. Deckert to help the latter in his ritual-murder agitation. Professor Bickell took the part of Paulus Meyer who was also a Talmud student and appeared — as was at the time reported in the daily papers of all Viennese parties — at Meyer's request at my house, asking me to receive Paulus Meyer personally so as to hear his communications, because he wished nothing more than to be let alone and be "delivered from the claws of those people." I had my good reasons to flatly refuse all contact with such an individual. Professor Bickell stayed for a long time with me, he wanted to persuade me to spare Paulus Meyer and not to publish anything about his antecedents. Aron Briman's „Judenspiegel" also turned up in the course of the conversation, and Dr. Ecker was likewise mentioned. But he did not hint, even with a single word, that I was making a mistake as to the person of the "ambitious Privat Docent in Münster, unfortunately a priest." Professor Dr. Bickell was a man of great conscientiousness and strictest love of truth which often brough about conflicts and hostilities ....

As to the remarkably fine mark for good behaviour given to Aron Briman by Dinter — I believe the best illustration for that to be the fact that Briman personally went to see the Head Rabbi of Rome after his Viennese experiences and begged to be re-accepted as a Jew which was refused.

Dinter writes:

> "It is also quite certain that Briman was an absolutly honourable man of a firm character — before and after his misdemeanour — and that he always endeavours to be an honest man, absolutely worthy of any confidence put in him" (Letter of Father Dessle, Briman's Confessor, to Dr. Klemens Viktor as above p. 10) "And what does his misdemeanour prove against his love of Truth?"

Rohling himself also proclaimed in the Vienna "Tribune" Nr. 85 of March 28th, 1883, urbi et orbi:

> "Professor Rohling answers with his person for Dr. Justus' honesty."

Two letters of Briman's are therefore of the greatest interest, which were published in the „Neue Freie Presse". On February 24th Briman writes to the Viennese lawyer Dr. Elbogen:

"Professor Rohling wrote to me some time ago that he had to take an oath in Prague in Court that all the quotations in his essay were founded on truth; he adds at the same time, that he risked taking that oath, although he was by no means convinced of the correctness of all quotations — as he writes: "For the sake of the good cause"!"

In a letter to Dr. Elbogen of January 24rd 1895 Briman also says:

"Most honoured Sir, To tell you the truth I feel bound to give you the following information regarding Professor Rohling: Professor Rohling took lessons with me in 1884 during several months in Talmudicis for which he paid me by my keep. The lessons at first consisted in my teaching him how to read the rabbinic writings and then I began to translate with him and started with the easiest parts of the Tractate "Aboda Zara". But I had to give up the lessons because Professor Rohling found the reading of the rabbinic writings so difficult that I despaired of ever making him translate. Curiously enough he published two essays, whilst I was teaching him, in which many hundreds of quotations were given from books the original writing of which he was not even able to read, for instance "Zohar", "Schepha Tal", and the like. This was so much a fact that Professor Rohling was obliged to send me a card he had got (the word card is crossed out and "paper" put instead) for translation, because he could not translate it himself."

Aron Briman never tried to send a denial to the „Neue Freie Presse".

Now of course this blackguard Briman is anything but a classical witness for me, but Dr. Dinter answers for Briman's credibility.

VOL. I TRANSLATED BY A. R.,
VOL. II BY JESSIE L. SMITH.

VOLUME II.

LAWSUIT AGAINST DR. JOSEPH DECKERT AND PAULUS MEYER.

»I have followed with intense interest the Deckert-Meyer case which, in historical interest, ranks with the Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy«.

Dr. Gotthard Deutsch

Professor of History at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

("Österreichische Wochenschrift" 21st July 1893.)

TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE HISTORIAN AND APOLOGIST DR. GOTTHARD DEUTSCH OF CINCINNATI I DEDICATE THIS WORK.

Preface.

Among the many problematic existences which a slimy flood threw up to the surface during the anti-Semitic storm of the last decades of the previous century, stand out, especially forbidding and repulsive, those dark figures of men, who, though of Jewish extraction, sold themselves to the service of Jewry's arch enemy. Three of this strange company crossed my path; to meet me they were led to Vienna, where a like fate overtook all three in succession — Briman, Rodkinson, and Paulus Meyer.

For many years, in various cities abroad, they had lived viciously, practising unhindered all manner of mischief in the service of the slanderers of Jewry, so that their employers deemed it now most advisable to call to Vienna such proved efficiency, and there use it to the best advantage. Of these three men, Aron Briman was a swindler of the first rank, Rodkinson was the most cunning and crafty, Paulus Meyer the most audacious and, therefore, the most dangerous to the public. Without restraint he offered himself as a tool in the formation of a dastardly and horrible plot, which, cleverly planned, would have the most terrible results.

Of all the conflicts over Jewish matters in which I have taken part, that against the parish priest Deckert and his accomplice Paulus Meyer was the bitterest and the most difficult, for here the lie tried to entrench itself behind fictitious events lying far distant both as regards time and place. The vital necessity was to drag these slanderers from their entrenchments, to bring them before the public in their true colours, and to arraign them before a court of justice. In the trial of Dr. Deckert and Paulus Meyer this was successful in the highest degree.

The present volume deals exclusively with this trial. Its exhaustive treatment is justified by the historical significance which this trial possesses. The younger generation, which did not experience the antisemitic spring-tide of the nineties of the last century, will scarcely be able to appreciate the far-reaching effects of this trial. One must imagine that foreign Jews from some out-of-the-way corner of then Russian Poland bring from their little native town, with no trouble to themselves, a libel action against a Vienna priest and the editor of a powerful Vienna newspaper, "Das Vaterland". The accused are defended by such men as Dr. Pattai and Dr. Porzer, and priest and editor are, together with the third accomplice, Paulus Meyer, exposed as liars and calumniators by men of the people, Vienna jurors, and punished accordingly. Seldom however, has the poisonous hatred against the Jews displayed itself in all its naked and crude hideousness, as in this trial. Even at this time the whole press was one in the idea that this trial was useful not only in the interest of Truth, but also to prevent mischief. The "Neue Freie Presse", dealing with the strange progress of the trial, says: —

> It is a very fortunate thing that this terrible accusation and the men by whom it was spread abroad, could be speedily brought under the search- light of a court of law, as otherwise incalculable mischief might have been perpetrated. It is, moreover, devoutly to be wished that always, as in this case, men of probity could be found who would not shun the trouble of following up calumny and deceit through all their crooked paths to their last hiding places, and bring them where they can no longer creep away from the light, namely to a court of justice.

In a similar strain wrote all the other leading periodicals of the city and of the provinces.

On the occasion of my last visit to America, Professor Gotthard Deutsch of Cincinnati urgently pressed me to devote a volume in my memoirs to the conflict with the priest Deckert and Paulus Meyer, and to publish an account taken from the shorthand protocol of the trial in a separate volume, because of its historical importance. He informed me that he was desirous of publishing this work in English. I could not refuse his request: and so offer my readers

a detailed report of the memorable trial. The report opens with a journalistic controversy over a pamphlet written by Deckert, dealing with the purported murder by the Jews of a boy, Simon of Trent: and ends with the sentence of the three accused persons by the Vienna jury.

Professor Dr. Gotthard Deutsch was called away by death before the publication of this work. This book was inspired by him, and to his memory it is dedicated.

The first rays of the spring sun of the year 1893 lighted and played across my writing table on which lay a book written by Dr. Joseph Deckert, parish-priest of Weinhaus, and dealing with the gruesome case of the boy Simon of Trent, — a trial of the year 1475, to which the unfortunate Trent Jews fell victims. I showed this malicious pamphlet to a visitor with the words: — "Look! The old story has not been unearthed and presented to the public as new without good reasons. They are planning a powerful stroke by means of this bloody fairy-tale, and want, as a great antisemitic sensation, a ritual murder trial in Austria!" (1)

The general direction of events happening within the Austrian Empire at this time left no room for doubt that the purpose of the pamphlet was not a purely historical study, or an attempt at scientific work by an amateur, but that practical ends were in view.

The April of 1893 had seen bye-elections to the Council of Vienna which had considerably strengthened the antisemitic Party, without, however, giving it the hoped-for majority. They had received forty six seats, exactly one third. It was necessary for them to double their efforts, in order that at last, in the heart of Austria, they might have mastery.

With what weapons the canvassers worked in the interests of the agitators, a meeting in Krems showed in all its harsh light.

At this gathering in Krems in which Prince Liechtenstein, Dr. Lueger, Dr. Gessmann, Dr. Pattai, Ernst Vergani and other Christian Socialist leaders took part, Ernst Schneider

(1) See: Jüd. Presse, Berlin 1893, Nr. 38. Compare on the Trent murder case T. E. Scherer's, "The legal position of the Jews in German — Austrian territory". P. 596-614.

had delivered a powerful speech, in which he had said that on the head of every Jew a price must be set.

In districts where noxious animals abound, the Government offers a premium for their extermination. "Schutzgeld" is offered for wolves. bears, martens, and lynxes. In America, for a long period, a high premium was offered for the heads of wolves. But Ernst Schneider had a new "Schutzgeld" to offer, a "Schutzgeld" on the head of — human beings.

When a case was brought against August Schreiber, the responsible editor of an antisemitic journal, for infringing the press-law (Dec. 11th, 1899) the Public Prosecutor said in his speech, that an antisemitic leader, Schneider, in a meeting, had declared, that his only wish was for the preservation of his health by the grace of God, that he might live long enough to prove the ritual murder a fact, so that, at last, the Jews should be shut out from human society.

The result of his activities showed itself everywhere. A Simmering horse-dealer, Leopold Kraus, intended to drive to the market in Frauenkirchen on March 31st, 1891, — a few days before the Jewish Passover. He went to the stables early in the morning to order the stable men to harness the horses. Before the trap was drawn out of the coach-house, Mr. Kraus took the reins and brushe, with intent to place them under the box-seat. As he lifted up the leather covering the same, he cried out in horror . . . It was indeed a terrifying spectacle that met his gaze! In the narrow space, a boy aged between six and seven lay crouching dumb and motionless. Mr. Kraus, with great presence of mind, called out to Mr. Reiss, his partner, who was at that moment examining the horses, without, however, leaving the trap: — "For God's sake! call the landlord at once, so that he may see what is going on here!..." The landlord came out, and in his presence, and in the presence of the stable-man, Mr. Kraus drew the leather aside, and showed to all present the strange, mysterious passenger. Mr. Kraus could not restrain himself from exclaiming: — "Thank God that I discovered, before it was too late, the

terrible danger which threatened me! Had I driven a few paces even from the house, and the boy but begun to cry out, they would probably have said: — "Ah! The Jew kidnaps children. Who knows what he intends to do with them this Passover-time." The name of the person who had hidden him there could not be drawn from the boy.

In the Brigittenau, the twentieth district of Vienna, a cook, Katharina Schwab, thirty years old, born in Bavaria, and living at Nr. 40, Schulgasse, Vienna XIX, was arrested at the instance of Julie Neumann (Denisgasse 15, Vienna, II.), proprietress of a general shop, for offering, as purchase to the husband of Mrs. Neumann, a four months old child. At the Brigittenau police-court the cook stated that she had only offered the child to Neumann in order to try him.

To strengthen the Christian Socialist Party, anti-semitism now extended its activities from its head-quarters in Vienna to the neighbouring provinces.

Schneider, his expenses being paid out of the anti-semitic party funds, travelled from place to place through all the provinces of the Empire, in order to inflame the imagination of the lower classes with the tale of the ritual murder by the Jews: to produce a mental attitude favourable to the reception of this fairy-tale, and to prepare the ground for other such rumours.

In the trial of some brick-makers who had assaulted a Frenchman named Rousseau because they thought him to be a Jew who, as they all believed, intended to draw blood from their children, Dr. v. Kleeborn, in his speech for the prosecution said: — "The blame in this case rests entirely on the superstition that the Jews murder Christian children; and the superstition is viciously encouraged. It would not meet the case if alone the accused of to day received heavy punishment, while those who viciously circulate these rumours, and feed this superstition, though condemned by the exasperation of every right-thinking man, escaped the avenging arm of the law."

The accused were one in their statements that they believed Rousseau to be a Jew, possessed with the desire

to murder their children in order to obtain the blood of Christians. They declared themselves misled by antisemitic propaganda, and it was a feature of special interest that, as counsel for the defence, they chose Dr. Brust, the Vice-President of the Jewish Congregation of Mödling.

In Silesia also, the antisemitic agitation of the year 1893 led to excesses against the Jews, enacted at Troppau in April of that year.

In Mährisch-Trübau, the rumour spread that a Jewish shop-keeper, Moritz Moller, using narcotics, drew blood at night from his maid-servants to use for ritual purposes. The police began to investigate the matter, and at first Sophie Nemluvit and Emilie Schwab were interrogated, as the supposed victims of the accused. They stated before the magistrate that they often felt in their sleep pricking pains in their arms and legs. They deduced from this that their employer drew blood from them at night for ritual purposes, the more so as their fellow-servant, Philomena Waclawek, shortly before leaving her post, had told them that she was obliged to leave since Moller had drawn blood from her while she slept.

On account of these statements Moller was summoned before the court. During the proceedings instituted against him for common assault (§ 98 of the Criminal Law), the girls adhered to their former statements, adding that Philomena Waclawek had shown them, shortly before leaving her post, three places on her arms, from which Moller was supposed to have drawn blood. She stated further that Moller came at night, crept into the bed-room, held something before the nose of his victim by means of which full unconciousness succeeded, and then drew blood. She had always, until then, a high colour, but had become quite pale. Had she remained in his service she would certainly have died.

The three girls were thereupon examined by the physician, and it was found that **there existed absolutely no trace of any wound.**

Philomena Waclawek was obliged to confess that she had lied, and she further acknowledged that she wished

only to play a joke on the girls. She had, herself, heard of such ritual rites, but did not credit these stories. Proceedings against Moritz Moller were then stopped. The court took into consideration that the three girls were very young, and under the influence of false suggestions: and the slander charge was therefore not followed up. Moritz Moller thereupon brought *an action for libel* against the three girls at Mährisch-Trübau. At the trial on April 16th, 1893, Philomena Waclawek, eighteen years old, maid-servant in Brunn, retracted, strangely enough, the evidence she had given at the Central Criminal Court, and stoutly maintained the charge she had made. She declared she was visited by Moller in her sleep almost every second night. She was not allowed to close the door of her bed-room, and once it even happened that Moller's wife stood by her in her night-dress as her husband drew blood by pin-pricks. There had never before been red patches on her body, only, since she had been in Moller's service.

The case was adjourned after these statements, and the case put in the hands of the Public Prosecutor, who accused Philomena Waclawek of **slander.** The trial took place in Brunn at the Central Criminal Court.

Dr. Scheda acted as Public Prosecutor, Dr. Brandl defended the accused, and Dr. Hieronymus Fialla, a Brunn barrister, acted in the interests of Moritz Moller. The accused, in her cross-examination, contradicted herself again and again: and said she had, through fear, made her statements before the police and the court. Sophie Nemluwit and Emilie Schwab, the two other servants, confirmed that the accused had repeatedly told them of the "blood-tapping". Both declared, however, — and even Waclawek said the same —, that they had never seen the suspected shop-keeper by their bed. Waclawek added to this that she had felt the pain, but had seen nothing, because she slept on.

The trial lasted for some hours, and ended with a sentence of imprisonment with three months' hard labour for Philomena Waclawek for slander, accompanied by a day of fasting every fourteen days, according to § 209 and § 54

of the statute-book. The two others, Sophie Nemluwil and Emilie Schwab, at the county-court of Mährisch-Trübau, were condemned for libel against Moritz Moller, who, frivolously and without any justification, had been so wrongfully accused.

In view of such events, I, together with my colleague of the Budweis Chamber of Commerce, Leopold Pollak, called the attention of the Prime Minister, Taaffe, on the occasion of the first sitting of Parliament, to the probable serious results of the efforts of Ernst Schneider and his confederates: and these results soon showed themselves, sometimes here, sometimes there. Alarming reports came especially from Bohemia.

In Kolin, the corpse of a drowned girl was taken from the water, and the inquest established, without doubt, the fact that no wounds of any kind were discovered on the body. The examination of witnesses proved that the case was one of suicide: but, like poison spilt by invisible hands, the fable spread that the drowned girl had been murdered, had been the victim of a Jewish ritual ceremony. In vain did reason assert that the decision of the official authorities and the verdict of the coroner had placed beyond doubt the fact that the case was one of suicide.

The poison had worked. The people did not hear, did not want to hear. Rumour became conviction, conviction passion: the beast in man awoke, sprang upon the falsly accused, and only the timely-raised iron arm of the law could hold it back from robbery, murder, and plundering. In the Lower Austrian Diet, Schneider acknowledged that on April 11th, the date of the excesses against the Jews, he had been in Kolin.

In Beraun, also in Bohemia, were likewise terrible excesses. Leading up to them were the reports of a supposed ritual murder, of which a glass-merchant, Emil Löwy, was accused. The glass-merchant, who held also the office of ritual butcher to the Jewish Congregation, found, to his horror, on entering his warehouse one morning, the lifeless body of a woman, lying on the ground. As he came nearer, he recognised the

features of a maid-servant, Marie Schmied, a Beraun woman whom he had dismissed from his service some time previously. He communicated at once with the District Surgeon, Mr. Kulirsch, and told him of his discovery. He appeared quickly at the ware-house, and **after a hurried and superficial examination of the body pronounced life to be extinct.** The reports spread at once with lightning quickness in the city, and in an incredibly short space of time a crowd of some hundreds had gathered in the central square before the house of the Jewish Congregation, calling out curses and wild threats against the Jews. Agitators were at once found who harangued the mob with stories of ritual murders and exerted every effort to incite to force the already furious crowd. The cry was heard on all sides: "Massacre them!" "Drive the Jews out of Beraun!" Ernst Schneider, the above mentioned commercial traveller for ritual murders, soon appeared in Beraun, and a conference began between the District Surgeon, Dr. Kurlisch, Schneider, and the merchant Hojka, another antisemitic agitator. When, however, a judicial commission consisting of the surgeon, his assistant, and the Court Surgeon of Horschowitz, undertook examination of the body, it was discovered that life was still present. The District Surgeon applied restoratives, and the girl, who was in a trance, regained consciousness, and was taken to the hospital *because the mother refused to receive her in her house.*

As long as it was believed that the girl was dead, this woman had behaved as if overcome by grief. She had run, screaming and moaning, up and down the street rushed into Löwy's shop accompanied by a howling mob, and there made attempts to throttle his wife. Only on the interference of the police was the furious woman induced to release her victim. She screamed incessantly for her dear daughter whom the Jews had murdered. When, however, the girl was brought to consciousness again, **the mother declared that she should not enter her house.**

It was officially proved that Marie Schmied had been attacked by an epileptic fit.

Evento happening in Holleschau in Mähren, were

specially characteristic. On November 13th, 1892, Karoline Schnula appeared before the registry-office keeper, Franziska Rohil, showed cuts on her hands, and declared that Jews had carried her into a court-yard at a quarter to one in the morning, to murder her for ritual purposes. She was in service with David Tandler in Holleschau, and declared that she recognised David Tandler's voice among those of the men in the court-yard. It was soon proved that the girl had herself inflicted the wounds, and for slander she was sentenced to thirteen months' imprisonment.

On January 27th, 1893, a to him unknown woman, came to the Mayor of Vichetul, Joseph Bakala, to tell him that she had been to a Jewish house, begging: that they had there tried to murder her, and that she had escaped from three men. The Mayor was wise enough to guess at once that the supposed event must have taken place in the house of David Tandler, and brought the matter before the court at Holleschau. On February 24th, the beggar was identified as Katharina Schönbaum. On the same day David Tandler, his son Frederick Tandler, and the workman Siegmund König, were arrested, and all three accused of attempted murder. The slander led, of course, to excesses in the streets, and threats against the Jews in Holleschau. After three days Tandler and the others had to be released as innocent. David Tandler said at the trial that an official of the court had silenced him when he would speak at his cross-examination, with the words: — "Be quiet! You are a murderer!"

When Mr. Tandler came to me to tell me how twice someone had attempted to do him such injury, and that, as yet, the identity of the person had not been discovered who had tried to bring him before the eyes of the world as a murderer, I advised him to himself bring the matter to court. Only then did the Public Prosecutor think it necessary to move in the matter. The Public Prosecutor, however, said in his closing speech: — "The instigator of all this has not yet been brought to light, but it must be an **influential person**, as both Schmula and Schönbaum prefer rather to be punished than to give his name."

So creak the hidden wheels! And the powers of darkness, working below, announced their presence in a very terrible way. In spite of so many failures, the work was unwearily carried on. The reactonaries could not, and would not, afford to lose the powerful weapon which the ritual-murder fable offered to the agitators: and so they looked around for literary help — for the aid of some scientific personage who would establish by "historical facts" the ritual-murder, and publish it far and wide.

Canon Professor Rohling, who had raised such a cloud of dust through decades, had vanished from the political horizon: morally disgraced, loaded with the curse of perjury, deprived of his professorship at the Prague University by the Government, he was now of no use as a fighter, even for the antisemitic party.

Another had to take his place: and the other was a Vienna clergyman, parish-priest of the Weinhaus Church, Father Joseph Deckert, D. D.

The name of Dr. Deckert was well known in wide circles in the January of 1891 through a law-suit which had been brought against him as President of the Weinhaus Church Building Society. In order to erect a fitting church, Deckert obtained the consent of the Government for the establishment of a lottery, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to the building of the church. To ensure a wide sale for the tickets, Father Joseph Deckert hit upon an original idea.

As the first prize no money was to be given, but, instead, **a villa in the neighbourhood of Vienna to the value of 5000 Gulden.** Mighty placards at every street corner in Vienna and everywhere in Austria, displayed, enticing pictures of this villa, and invited all to partake in the lottery. He worked feverishly, sending his tickets by series to countless persons of distinction through social position or wealth. **Many rich Jews also were honoured with such offers, and contributed, by buying these tickets, to the building of the Weinhaus Church.** Indeed the fund swelled to considerable proportions: and it was possible from the surplus, not only to erect a fine church,

but to build as well, in good style, and with every comfort, a parsonage.

In 1890 the drawing took place, and a certain Miss Henriette Zink in Neulengbach was the lucky winner of the first prize, ostensibly a villa worth 5000 Gulden, in the neighbourhood of Vienna. When, however, it came to the point of handing over the prize, it transpired that **this villa was no villa, but only a collapsible and transportable little house with which the winner was greatly embarrased, as there** was no ground on which to put it. Father Deckert had taken the liberty of deceiving and misleading the public. Fräulein Zink, however, held to her pound of flesh, and summoned the priest, and the judical authorities in all three courts did not neglect to place the proceedings of Father Deckert in their true light as crass deception of the public.

And now, this ecclesiastical gentleman, not content with displaying himself as a clever business man, turned author, and published a book on the ritual murder of the boy Simon of Trent, compiled from the protocols in the Vienna State Archives, — a scandalous and provocative work of the meanest order, which was hurriedly sent for distribution in the German Provinces of Austria, and was given away gratis at the doors of the churches in Vienna. In such a manner began the movement.

The murder trial over the boy Simon of Trent is an outstanding example and a lesson in how one conceived things and did them in the middle ages.

The Jewish Community was very wealthy, and their wealth aroused the envy and desire of the clergy. In order to rob the Jews, a murder was fabricated; the richest among them were thrown into prison, subjected through long weeks to the horrors of the torture-chamber, and their fortunes then confiscated. The Gentile historian, Scherer, says of the proceedings in Trent against the Jews: — "One cannot even speak of it as a judicial murder trial. It was no judicial proceeding at all! Simply a concocted plot to destroy the Jewish Community!"

For the enlightenment of the public, therefore, I published

an account in a pamphlet dealing with the case of the boy Simon of Trent, according to the official documents of the trial, calling it "Enlightening Documents", and followed this up with the defensive article which I here reproduce, and which appeared in the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" No. 14. of April 7th, 1893.

A Scurrilous Pamphlet.

"It was the year 1893. The Jewish Passover fell that year in the Christian Passion Week, and on the Saturday following Good-Friday, April 1st. In Vienna, a city on the Danube where many things were possible which one would have believed to be impossible, lived a parish-priest, named Dr. Joseph Deckert. And as, in that same year, all attempts at warming up the bloody old fairy-tale had failed, this aforesaid priest gave himself the trouble of relating anew the old story of the boy Simon of Trent, which one had heard to nausea. So was born that scurrilous pamphlet "A ritual murder, established as fact by official documents of a trial", by Father Joseph Deckert, D. D.! And it is the prose of this scurrilous pamphlet which we are trying to reproduce.

Before we begin to study the dirty pamphlet itself, we must ask to be allowed to turn our attention to the cover, the place of publication, and the address of the publishing firm. Our priest finds himself in fitting company. A certain Ahlwardt, a Max Bewer, a Plack-Podgorski, — these were his colleagues in publication: and the worthy Dresden firm announces shamelessly that the printing and publishing of the dirtiest and most impertinent printed lies is their business. Is it necessary to read further? or is it now necessary to say any more of the priest? Even the former court-chaplain, Dr. Stöcker, had declined to be associated with such company. A notorious publishing firm, a show-case set out with libels against the honour of the German Empire, the German Military, the German Government, German Justice, German Administration and, of course, also against the Jews! Here you have, on the cover, a confession of the mind and character of the author.

"Poison for Sale"! This publishing firm makes no secret of it, and says the plain truth!

Now as regards the work of Dr. Deckert! It has been written with purposeless or purposeful abnegation of all semblance of judgment. Whoever reads this story receives at once the impression that in the year 1475 the Jews of Trent fell victims to a most infamous attempt against their lives. Such attempts, until quite recent times, were common enough. It was only necessary to raise a false accusation against the Jews in order to be able to rob them, or, as is now the case, to excite the mob. Many times the houses of the Trent Jews had been searched, but never had anything been found which could serve as evidence for an accusation: and the so-called "proofs" which were at last obtained, were confessions wrung out in the torture-chamber. We will introduce Dr. Deckert to one of the witnesses of the year 1481, namely the Grand-Inquisitor Torquemada. In the Edict of the Grand-Inquisitor those converted Jews were designated as "suspicious", who **washed their meat in order to remove the blood**, or, at the time of the Feast of the Unleavened Bread (Passover-feast), had lettuce at table. Thus it was thought suspicious when the converted Jews shrank from blood; moreover, among all the Jewish customs which the Edict mentions, one finds not a single word pointing to the fact that the Jews drank blood, or that the Passover Feast could, in any way, be connected with a ritual of blood. Is anyone so foolish as to believe that the Grand-Inquisitor would wish to defend the Jews? But even the "Holy Tribunal" of four hundred centuries ago was better informed on Jewish laws and customs than Father Joseph Deckert, who took such an old worn-out story and threshed it anew under his flail. Mr. Joseph Deckert puts the crown on his efforts when he gives his preference to the judicial proceedings of long ago: for he thereby acknowledges that he finds it quite in order and **very necessary** that torture should be employed to force confessions. In fact he looks on it as a flaw in our method of trial that we ourselves have no such means at our disposal of extorting confessions regarding ritual murder. He dwells with visible relish on the details of the tort-

ure. We might assure the gentleman that the victims of that torture experienced but little pleasure from it. There certainly are written records of these trials where the victim was put to the question, and one can still hear the screams of horror wrung from the martyred by pain and fear and despair. And at last the mangled heap of flesh stammers out, with its last breath, anything one demands of it. In one hour of this awful trial they made of a healthy, strong man, a cripple. With his side glance on Xanten it seems that Herr Joseph Deckert, Priest of God, regrets that we no longer possess such means of obtaining information. Buschhoff would then, perhaps, have yielded a confession. "Oh, yes, indeed! torture forces confession, — the raving confessions of the damned! But torture was employed not only against the Jews. Christians have experienced it: and a farmer's boy in Tyrol has confessed that he rode into the valley on a cloud from the Alm, an hour's distance, and by his magic caused a hail-storm. By the clemency of the mild Innsbruck High Court, the strong and handsome young farmer was only hanged, thus being spared further torture. This story is also established as a fact by official documents, Father Joseph Deckert; and there were witnesses who gave evidence that, with **their own eyes,** they saw the farmer in the clouds, during the storm! The story you have written, Father Joseph Deckert, the story of the ritual murder in Trent, it is really most instructive! It is impossible to read it (unless one be absolutely mentally blind), without at once being convinced that the whole trial from beginning to end, was nothing but an act displaying the most cruel abuse of power: that the thirst for blood and gold aped Justice: that, further, the child Simon Gerber was murdered, and the corpse thrown into the ditch **to make out a case against the Jews:** and that the many victims of this trial were innocent of any crime. One needs only to read this story, as Herr Joseph Deckert sent it recently into the world embellished with his marginal notes, and one gets an offfcial knowledge of all the trials which resulted from the bloody fable. Officially proved is the senselessness of the accusation: officially proved is the worthlessness of the confession wrung from the martyred.

Many features in this case remind one of the Xanten trial: One female witness relates a story which an old woman told to her many years ago. The "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift" had repeatedly dealt with the story of the boy Simon of Trent. but we must confess that the best criticism of the proceedings at the trial is supplied by this account according to official documents: and that seldom has any pamphlet borne so clearly on its forehead the self-impressed mark of Cain as this pamphlet of Dr. Joseph Deckert. It is no cause for wonder that even Professor Wagenseil, the enemy of the Jews, makes fun of it. because he is so disgusted with the shameless insincerity of the accusation: that Pope Sixtus IV. interfered, and that Pietro. the Doge of Venice, in an edict, declared the accusation against the Jews "to be a lie".

When the corpse of the child was brought before the Prince-Bishop he cried out at once: — "This crime can have been perpetrated only by an enemy of the Christian faith. I call upon thee, Lord Jesus Christ, whose glorious ressurection we are commemorating today, to witness my vow that this deed of shame shall not go unpunished."

These words meant that the matter was decided; that one intended, as a writer of the middle-ages expressed it. to bring about a burning of the Jews. The murderers of the child were in the pay of the villains who wished to throw the blame upon the Jews. Even in spite of all this, the trial lasted one year, and only with the aid of torture was the goal reached.

And if Professor Rohling perjures himself a thousand times: and if he renders, as he did, the story in Latin, the bloody fable is now taken for what it is worth; and German Deckert and Latin Rohling can there alter nothing. Centuries have passed over the happenings in Trent, but not over you. Father Joseph Deckert, and it is far more interesting than the story of Trent, that there existed in Vienna a priest in office, capable. in the Easter of the year 1893, of publishing such a pamphlet. Dr. Deckert, you must, now and then, in Vienna, have had the opportunity of meeting with a Jew. Was it then absolutely impossible for you to learn from him

something of the manners, customs, and opinions of these Jews? Think a moment, Dr. Joseph Deckert! The middle ages had its penal code which obtained into the eighteenth century; had, as you deigned to express it, its form of legal proceedings, and strangely enough, never, and at no period, was torture so much employed, and with such a refinement of cruelty, as in Europe, in the middle ages. Be so good as to give the logical explanation of this, Priest Deckert! The middle ages had the cruellest death penalties, and Jewish persecutions whose victims are countless. The middle ages had its Inquisition, and the list of the victims of Torquemada alone reaches to one hundred and ten thousand! Think of the Borgias, priest! of the Sicilian Vesper! of St. Bartholomew's Night! of the infamies practised by Pizarro in Peru! Think of the civil wars in various lands! Think of Queen Urraka of Castile! of Ivan the Terrible! And from this sea of blood, cruelty stares out a you like a greedy shark! Give the logical explanation of these appearances, Father Joseph Deckert! And if then you have the courage to face the truth, then you have also the right to speak of the Jews! And what, then, can you bring up against them? What do the chronicles of the middle ages tell you of them? One had raised false accusations against them in order to rob them: had persecuted them even without a pretext, and dragged them before the judge, by whom a verdict was given with no reference to justice and no reference to law. You arrive at a strange conclusion, Dr. Joseph Deckert! You write: — "If one considers the fact that Jewish tradition recognises the innocent blood of the Messiah as the means of salvation for the world . . ." Where did you find such a Jewish tradition? You are speaking there of a Christian dogma, a Christian teaching, not of a Jewish tradition; and, looking at it from the Christian standpoint, it seems to us profanation to quote this dogma for your purposes, as you have done. The presupposition dealing with the Jewish tradition is wrong, and you draw from it the illogical conclusion that the rabbis of Babylon conceived the idea that the blood of Christians (who, for the matter of that, were hardly known in Babylon)

could be the means of salvation to Jewish souls. You, yourself, call this madness: and are, yourself, the author of this madness!

You are acquainted, Dr. Deckert, with the bloody chronicles of the times: and the Jews appear as the only people whose hearts remained free of cruelty, and whose hands remained clean of blood. Yet you have copied from the official documents the history of a trial, which is a monument of shame: — a terrible accusation against those who instigated it, carried it through by the most violent of methods, and closed it, at last, with the most unjust of sentences. Even the supposed Hebrew words employed in this trial are pure gibberish! You, Doctor Joseph Deckert, conclude your pamphlet, which reeks with the bloody odour of torture-justice, with a quotation from a newspaper of a supposed Reform Jew, according to which men and women must make their preparations for the Passover Feast separately. This is news to the whole of Jewry: for women are everywhere present, at the baking of unleavened bread, and at the Seder. Even Christians are called in to help at the baking of the unleavened bread, and may be invited to the Seder Evening. But Reform Jews often do not even observe the Passover Customs. Yet you write: "It is possible that, even in these days, many Jews eat the blood of Christians in the unleavened bread without even knowing it." It is a long time since we have read such a ridiculous statement! It is too stupid to need comment! And you add: "The blood-teaching of the rabbis has existed as a secret law, as the Trent trial testifies. We may suppose that it exists to this day. There have been Jewish ritual-murders; the one of the Christian child Simon Gerber has been proved in court!!! We may suppose that there have been such murders in later years, only they are more difficult to prove. We Christians must double our vigilance, and make a firm stand together against over-bearing Jewish fanaticism".

Father Joseph Deckert, Doctor of Divinity! A year ago, on March 10th, 1892, Leopold Buchinger, an old servant of young theological students, was found murdered in the Dom-

hof near St. Stephen's Square in Vienna. No trace of the murderers has been found to this day. It was no murder with robbery as its object, for money and valuables were not touched. The deed was done in broad day-light, and the murderer must have been thoroughly acquainted with the arrangement and ways of the house. What would have happened if this event had taken place in an institution at which young rabbis were being educated? What pamphlets would you not have published? How many rabbis would not have been imprisoned? How often would it not have been demanded of the Jews in Parliament, Diet, and City Council, to produce the murderer of the unfortunate servant?

If you wish to find vestiges of a "Rabbinic blood-law" I will help you to find them. Read the writings of the moral theologians of the Jesuits, for instance!

Antonius de Escobar born 1589, "Liber Theologiae Moralis", Forty-second edition, page 11, Nr. 27. "But I ask if one may eat of the murdered man? Yes! Because the eating of flesh is prohibited neither by the law of nature, nor in the case where life is in danger."

Or, Johannes de Alloza, Flores Summarum, page 126. **"And it is no sin to suck the blood from the veins of a young person, and to drink it in order to give strength to a sick person."**

Let two such texts be found in any Jewish theological writing, and you and your confederates would set the world aflame, and bathe it in the blood of Jews as in the good old times of the pious Fathers! Alas, that these authors were no rabbis!

No, Father Joseph Deckert, Doctor of Divinity. There is no blood in the unleavened bread .... but in your pamphlet there is blood and poison!"

Thus the article in the "Wochenschrift".

The Public Prosecutor now found himself obliged to take steps, and to confiscate Deckert's inflamatory pamphlet. But soon one heard that, at the door of the Vienna churches, it was being distributed gratis. It took Dr. Deckert until May 5th to prepare his answer. He needed a suitable collaborator: and

Professor Rohling sent him, for this purpose, a safe man, a certain **Paulus Meyer**, who had just been expelled from the Kingdom of Saxony. **Deckert received him in his flat, and engaged him with a monthly stipend, to fabricate proofs of the** blood-ritual, and, if necessary, to confirm them on oath. Deckert received from **Paulus Meyer**, whom he kept under supervision, for the sum of one hundred florins, paid to him as first instalment, a letter, stating that he himself as "Tsaddik pupil" had witnessed ritual murders in Russia. For further payments, Paulus Meyer was engaged to reveal undiscovered secret texts regarding the blood-ritual in Jewish literature.

Having such an important witness — one who had himself taken part in ritual murders and was perpared to confirm any facts he wished to prove: in expectation, moreover, of the Hebrew texts the said witness had promised to deliver, Deckert published on 5th May in the "Vaterland" the following article: —

"Rabbi Bloch and the Ritualmurder."

(Vaterland, No. 123, of May 5th, 1893.)

That the account of a ritual murder proved by official documents, as is that of the Christian martyr Simon of Trent (lately published in pamphlet form by Gloss, Dresden, Price 50 Pfennigs) can give but little pleasure to the Jews, everyone will readily believe: but that such a senseless criticism as that in the "Austrian", or more correctly "Jewish" weekly of Doctor Bloch could appear, exceeded all expectation; although, from such a man as Rabbi Bloch (who I see from a pamphlet lying before me, is not held in specially good repute by many of his brothers in the faith), one may expect much. A "scurrilous pamphlet" he styles the above-mentioned publication, which, based on still extant records of the trial which have passed the severest censorship of the Roman Curia, accurately relates the sad history of the murder of little Simon Gerber of Trent. Simply the fact that it has been published by Gloss in Dresden brands, in the opinion of the critic, the author, and stamps his work as a "lying pamphlet" of the dirtiest and meanest order.

This is the manner in which Jewish men of letters treat historical facts! The crowning point of insolence, however, is reached when he maintains that this pamphlet is a proof that the notorious Jewish murderers of the innocent Christian child were the victims of a "shameful attempt

upon their lives", as no evidence for the accusation could be brought forward. To make such a statement after the reading of this book really requires courage! And the Grand Inquisitor Torquemada is supposed to have given proof of it! No! Really, Rabbi Bloch, this is too much! You call that criticism? Not a single one of the historical and judicially proved facts have been refuted, but instead brazenly shouted down, and the whole dictionary of invectives employed for the purpose.

The author of the book is accused of having compiled his work "with a purposeless or purposeful abnegation of all semblance of judgment." Indeed? Abnegation of judgment? That may be Jewish jargon, but it isn't German. But the very small amount of judgment which Rabbi Bloch posesses for the correct reading of the aforesaid book, the whole manner of treatment applied shows. His objections to torture, which, in true oriental style, are exaggerated, he must have taken from sentimental romances and not from historical sources; but even with such exaggerations one cannot argue away facts; since, when these men were put to the question, no specific answer was put in their mouths, and yet in spite of that, during the ghastly trial, nineteen of the Jewish criminals confessed separately their part in the murder of the Christian child, and repeatedly, on oath, held to their confession. With high sounding lying phrases such as "acts of cruel arbitrary power" "thirst for blood and gold" etc. facts cannot be disproved, nor confessions upon oath be made worthless. Thoughtful men are not blinded by such things as that.

That there have existed at all times, even at the time of the Trent trial, and in high places, philo-Semites not averse to Jewish bribes, who tried to hinder the yielding up to justice of Jewish breakers of earthly laws, and afterwards accused honest judges of injustice after the manner of Bloch, this book has made clear. Rabbi Bloch does not here tell us anything new. That is the great interest of this Simon of Trent case — the fact that it is a reflection of similar cases in later times, and that all proofs are established judicially and historically. This may annoy a defender of Jewish interests: but with such Jewish gibbering one cannot refute history. In the eyes of a Jew, even a Reform Jew, this extraordinary trial is, of course, a "blot", and the antisemitism of today is also, in his eyes, a "blot on the 19th. century."

To deal with every detail in the four-columned article in Bloch's „Wochenschrift" the author deems a waste of time. This monster of untruth and impudence condemns itself. The Jewish critic does not seem averse to laying the blame for every cruelty and every deed of blood comitted in history, at the door of Christianity even down to the murder of a porter in a seminary in the previous year. It is the Jews alone, he says, who have remained free of cruelty: "whose hands are clean of blood". Oh! Oh! Mr. Rabbi Bloch! Are you so badly acquainted with the history of your own people? Of the thirst for blood of the ancient people of Israel of which the Old Testament of the Bible supplies such abundant proofs, do you know nothing? Did the words: "His blood be upon our head

and on the heads of our children" mean nothing to you? Have you not heard of the blood—thirsty cruelty with which the Jews persecuted the early Christians? During the numerous insurrections of the Jews, is the record of the inhuman cruelties practised new to you? Shall one give you a private lecture? And then we hear that the "Jews alone of all people have kept themselves free from cruelty even at heart!" The Jews alone kept themselves free from the shedding of blood? A more blatant falsification of history has never been uttered, and should be exposed in all its shamelessness! The author of this book who has been taken to task by the conceited Rabbi scribbler as if he were a foolish youth has been asked, among other things, whether he has never in his life associated with Jews, and whether, through this connection, he has never been able to learn from his dear Jewish fellow-citizens something of their manners and customs and opinions. He can answer those questions thus: — "Yes, Reverend Rabbi Bloch! In my student days I became acquainted with very many Jews, but must openly confess that I have never had the good fortune to find any noble characters among them. On the contrary, my experiences have made of me an anti-Semite, but not an antisemite from a racial standpoint. Without asking for praise for myself, I will say I have often even helped to support poor Jews; but I must confess that I have made, with those children of Israel who came into my life, only bad experiences; even with some baptized Jews I had no better success, and I am not alone in this. But one baptized Jew has crossed my path, a man described on very reliable authority as one of the most excellent of Hebrew and Talmud Scholars, who, to refute your arguments, has given in writing and on oath, the assurance, not only that this blood ritual can be proved by reference to the Talmud and the Kabbala, but also that he himself has been eye-witness of more than one ritual slaughter of Christian children. One special case which occured in a Russian city just before the Jewish Passover of the year 1875, and at which, as Tsaddik scholar, he was present, he relates with full details; gives time and place, the names of the persons present, and even the name of the man who delivered up to the knife the fair-haired, six-year-old boy. Had not the study of the official documents of the case of Saint Simon of Trent completely convinced me that Jewish ritual murders have taken place, and that possibly among the Chassidim such deeds of blood are still taking place, this letter alone would give me full conviction that such ritual murders are today still perpetrated, and that the blood-ritual is handed down as a secret tradition among the Chassidim which is found also in the Caballa. Is it possible that Reb Bloch, who calls himself such a learned Talmud scholar has never heard of this teaching? If so, one must seriously doubt his knowledge of the Talmud and of the Cabbala. I need not say that I can fully appreciate the fact that if a defender of the Jews find it impossible, by reasoning, to hinder the exposure of this horrible fanaticism of the Jews, the courage of despair will lead him to shout it down.

Further, the afore-said baptized Jew has **given me permission to publish** this letter addressed to me. Rabbi Bloch has also, from the recently published pamphlet "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing", been made aware that the learned Talmud scholar, Paulus Meyer, had shown himself willing to give evidence against Strack, to scientifically establish as a fact, by reference to the Talmud and the Cabbala, the ritual murder. So, Doctor Bloch, we will wait for the appearance of this book, and then to the squaring of accounts! But no shouting down, only refutation. **Or shall I do you the favour of publishing this letter earlier?** Doctor Deckert.

The Vienna "Vaterland" was a daily paper, the organ of the Austrian nobility and the bishops. It was started on 1st of September 1860 by Egbert Count Belcredi, Count Leo Thun, Prince Hugo Salm, William Baron of Walterskirchen. One would not have expected to find, in the columns of this paper, such journalistic excesses. In the "Österreichischen Wochenschrift" I next brought before the public the following facts about that interesting personality Paulus Meyer, chief witness:

Who is Paulus Meyer?

The orthodox-conservative "Reichsbote" published on August 16th., the following "hue and cry", which appeared in the "Neue Preußische Zeitung" (Kreuz-Zeitung) on August 13th, 1892:

"Some time ago, and now again, an Evangelical Russian named Paulus Meyer, alias Pawly, alias Kremenitzki, has tried to work upon the generous feelings of Christian circles. His pitiful tales, and the reference to his alleged approaching blindness, have been most successful. All such support given to him is **wasted in an unworthy cause. The** aforesaid is a man who **dislikes any kind of work,** and strolls through the world **begging and living on other people.** From Jerusalem to London and Paris, he has sampled all mission-stations and many parsonages. He has been repeatedly offered shelter and nursing in Christian hospitals, and offers of work have been made to him to help him to lead a regular life. He has everywhere made himself impossible: as in London at Rev. C. Wilkinson's, so in Paris at P. Voss's, in Cologne at P. Stolle's, in Berlin at P. Bieling's, in Wilna at Doctor Althausen's, in Bielefeld, from where he was expelled by the police, through the influence of P. von Bodelschwingh, in Czernowitz, where he was fourteen days under arrest for blasphemy, though released in the end owing to lack of evidence; and at last in Hamburg, where, for numerous swindles, he was wanted by the police, but was clever enough to disappear

at the right-time. In Stettin, where lately he has demanded, as a Christian who had been expelled for the sake of his religion, the assistance of Protestant clergymen, **simultaneously appealing to some members of the Jewish congregation under the plea that he was a rabbi expelled from Russia.** As it is to be expected that he will make his artistic journeys to other parts, we take this opportunity of warning our readers. We hear that the latest number of the missionary journal "Nathanael" is giving a similar warning. Foreign papers please copy."

And, indeed, in the fourth number of the year 1892, the missionary journal "Nathanael" gave the following warning: —

"Warning is given against Paulus Meyer, who, after having betrayed **the confidence of benevolent Christians** in Berlin, London, Hamburg and Stettin, is at present in Berlin, and **among the Jews as Jew, and among the antisemites as antisemite,** tries to arouse interest. Identification marks: an artificial eye.

Hamburg newspapers announced the following, on September 1892:

"Extract from the protocol of the Edzardi-Almshouse of April 4th, 1892": "Professor Herbst gives notice that **Paulus Meyer has proved himself to be a bad character, a liar, and a slanderer, who has many times offered himself for baptism, and has probably passed false coin.** It seems that at last, to escape the police, he **has fled to America.**"

The "Wachter" (a Bielefeld newspaper) speaks of Paulus Meyer in the 27th September number 1892, in the following terms: —

"He was, for some long time, in the year 1889, in the Bodelschwingh Institute, and in the eye-clinic because of some eye-trouble. From the latter he was, however, turned out for **indecent behaviour, and, at the instigation of Mr. von Bodelschwingh, escorted over the frontier by the police.** The good gentleman revenged himself for this on Mr. von Bodelschwingh by making, before many witnesses at the station from which he was unwillingly transported on October 8th, 1889, the worst accusations and hurling the most deadly insults against Mr. von Bodelschwingh and the Institute; thereby causing a great sensation, and drawing the attention of the many present to himself. We congratulate the antisemites on their latest acquisition to the movement."

In an article in the "New Westphalian" newspaper, which had been taken over by the Stocker organ "Das Volk" on October 30th, 1892, is stated: —

The baptised Jew, Meyer, is the type of Semitism as we know it in all its meanness. To this man absolutely nothing was sacred, and any means were good enough for him to use, if thereby he could continue to live his idle life.

It was only necessary against this insult of Stöcker to place the fact that Paulus Meyer had long since completely assimilated "the Aryan genius." and embodied in his character all the distinguishing vices of the Aryan. Indeed, just because of these qualities, he had been sought out, and taken up by the antisemitic leaders of Vienna.

The announcement of Deckert that he had in his posession the letters of a converted Jew who, as a Talmud scholar, had been an eye-witness of several ritual-murders, describing one in detail, and offering to confirm his statement on oath at any court of justice, adding: — "I am empowered to publish this letter," worked, of course like the explosion of a dynamite bomb. Excitement took hold of everyone, and the liberal daily papers pressed urgently for the publication of the promised letter. I contented myself with sending the following reply to the "Vaterland", which, under the heading "A Controversy" published it in their 121 No. May 7th, 1893, together with an answer by Deckert, who again solemnly referred to the letter of Paulus Meyer as eye-witness of several ritual-murders.

My article in which I tried, taking advantage of the press laws, to detail for the enlightenment of the readers of the "Vaterland" facts about the so-called "trial" at Trent, ran as follows: —

"To the Editor of the Vaterland, Vienna.

In the 123 No. of your paper of May 5th, dealing with the Trent trial of the year 1475, you have printed an article by Doctor Deckert against me, headed: — "Rabbi Bloch and the Ritual-murder", which forces me, because of several distortions of facts, to demand of you, according to the press-law § 19, the publication of the following correction, in legal form, and appropriate time: —

"It is untrue that in the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" not a single one of the historical and judicially proved facts

has been refuted: but, instead, brazenly shouted down, and the whole dictionary of invectives employed for the purpose.

But it is true that I have referred to official documents, namely, to the edict of Pietro, Doge of Venice, dated April 22nd, 1475, who, in agreement with the Council, communicates the result of his investigations to the Podesta of Padua in the following words: —

"Credimus certe. rumorem ipsum, de puero, necato, commentitum esse et artem: ad quem finem, viderint et interpretentur alii. (We are firmly convinced that the rumour about the murder of this boy, Simon, is a lie and a trick. Its purpose others will understand and explain)."

And to the book in which a man of letters, Professor Johann Christoph Wagenseil, collects and publishes all the official documents, and announces the result of his investigations in the following words: —

"It is not necessary to waste a moment's thought on the matter. It is as clear as daylight. Sufficient it is to say that certain people wanted to rob the Jews of their property and money. This was a time when monks and priests used every lying art and craft and supposed miracle, to deceive and cheat the people, to rob them of their money, and to attract a following. There was always something new with which to attract the people; and for this purpose, of course, every district had to have its special relic, — its miraculous picture of some wonder-working saint, or other such sensation, which should keep them from straying to another fold to which they might give their money, and encourage them instead to entice others. And as now, at Trent, a bird for the snare and a new sensation was needed, they practised their pious roguery on the body of the child drawn out of the Etsch. And because it was found just before the Jewish Passover, they said publicly that the Jews had murdered the child, whose blood they needed to leaven the Easter bread; and

they tampered with the body with this end in view, making on it certain marks. Everything went as successfully as they could possibly desire."

And lastly to Pope Sixtus IV. under whose pontificate this tragic chapter in the history of the Jews was written: and who sent out an apostolical brief in which he absolutely declined to canonise the boy Simon, and moreover forbade his being honoured as a saint, he being no martyr; while at the same time he commanded the believers of Italy to abstain from all attacks against the Jews, who were innocent of Simon's death.

It is not true that I lay the blame for every cruelty and every bloody deed committed in history at the door of Christianity.

But it is true that I quoted the Bull of Pope Gregory X. of October 10th, 1272, which ran: —

"The fathers of these children or other Gentile opponents of the Jews, hide the children in order to bring up something against the Jews: that they may demand money from them as payment for release from annoyance. And they further make absolutely false accusations, saying that the Jews have secretly and clandestinely stolen the children and murdered them, and that they sacrifice the children, offering up the heart and the blood; although the true facts are that in their law, it is expressly forbidden, either to offer up blood, or to eat or drink it. Neither may they eat the flesh of animals with uncloven hoofs — facts which have been repeatedly substantiated at our court by Jewish converts to the Christian faith."

Again, the Bull of Paul III. of May 12th, 1540, which declares: —

"It has greatly displeased us to hear that, during the last few years, certain gentlemen, enthusiasts, and, as they tell me, deadly enemies of these Jews, through hate

and envy, or (as seems to us most probably the case), blinded by covetousness, are ready, in order to get, with some semblance of decency, posession of the goods and chattels of these same Hebrews, to bring false accusations against them that they murder little children, drink their blood, and commit other various and manifold monstrous crimes directed against our blessed religion: in such wise arousing the feelings of simple Christians against them to such an extent they have often succeeded not only in robbing them of their posessions, but also of their lives, in a most unjust manner."

And lastly, to Clement XIV, in his writings dealing with this accusation, which testify that

"The same horrible crime has been many times (God forbid that it should have been every time!) committed by Christians — once even by a father — and the blame laid upon the unhappy Jews. It shames me to announce my suspicions, but it grieves me more to be obliged to bring authentic proof that a Gentile father crippled his tender daugther, enveloped her in cloths, and deposited her in a manger in an inn, which, as is usual in Poland, was kept by a Jew. One reads that this child, who, by the will of God was still living, told with her own lips that her own father has inflicted the wounds and mutilation. And yet already suspicion had fallen on the Jews: and the people were preparing for an onslaught against them."

I have referred to the above that one may draw conclusions as to the authors of the child murder at Xanten, &c.

It is not true that I lay the blame for the unravelled murder of a porter in the Seminary in the previous year at the door of Christianity.

The truth is that I put the question: —

"What would have happened if this event had taken place in an institution in which young rabbis were being educated? What pamphlets would you not have published?

How many rabbis would not have been imprisoned? How often would it not have been demanded of the Jews in Parliament, Diet, and City Council, to produce the murderers of the unfortunate servant?

It is not true that my "accusations against the torture are exaggerated in true oriental style" and are "taken from sentimental novels, and not from history".

The truth is the gruesome statistics of witch-craft trials, which establish the fact that of the one and a half million of Gentiles that were brought to the stake as witches and magicians everyone almost without exception, after the application of the torture, confessed to every vice or reputed crime laid at his door, even for example, to dealings with the Evil one just as did the Jews in Trent.

It is not true that in my article on the Trent trial I introduced "philo-Semites in high places who were suspectible to Jewish bribes". The truth is that Johann Christoph Wagenseil was an active enemy of the Jews; so much so, that even Professor Rohling held him worthy to be considered, in other cases, as an authority against them; and one may assume that on Pope Sixtus IV. whose apostolical brief I quote from Mansi, the suspicions of Doctor Deckert will not fall. It is untrue that I, as "a defender of the Jews, found it impossible by reasoning to hinder the exposure of this horrible fanaticism of the Jews, and therefore the courage, of despair lead me to shout it down".

This is the truth, that I forced Professor Rohling in Prague to publicly thresh out with me in a court of law this accusation: which is made by the Chinese against the Christians, and by the antisemites against the Jews.

It is untrue "that the blood ritual is handed down as a secret tradition, which is also to be found in the Cabbala among the Chassidim".

But this is the truth — that before the high court in Vienna in the Rohling-Bloch law suit, chosen official experts both of Christian persuasion and Aryan extraction, of whom one was an honorary member of the Academy of Science, testified on oath, that in the whole of the Cabbalistic writings

of the Chassidim brought forward by Rohling and the enemies of the Jews in Europe, no such passages were to be found.

It is untrue that baptized Jews have confirmed the accounts of a Jewish blood ritual or Jewish murder on fanatic grounds.

The truth is that all learned Catholics of Jewish extraction, beginning with Archbishop Paul of Burgos in Spain, and Johannes Pfefferkorn in Cologne on the Rhine, both well known persecutors of the Jews of the period before the Reformation — and ending with Alois Sonnenfels at the end of the last century, together with countless Christian missionaries of Jewish extraction in recent times (that is, all who had not been in conflict with the law) — have mosty solemnly given the denial to this accusation.

With reference to Paulus Meyer, transported from Prussia, Doctor Deckert would do well to make enquiries of the Court Chaplain, Dr. Stocker, and the other Berlin anti-semites who have warned the public against him.

Doctor Bloch, Member of Parliament.

The answer of Deckert in the "Vaterland" was as follows:

"Although, owing to the heavy pastoral duties which press upon me on this eve of Sunday it is not easy for me to find leisure to deal with such a long-winded ramble as this now before me, I will yet give it my attention. Experts will, of course, see immediately the feebleness of the whole article.

Doctor Bloch wishes to deny my assertion that he has refuted no single fact about the Trent murder trial. What gives him the right to suppose that he has refuted not all, but even one of the facts? By reference to documents, among others an "edict from the Doge of Venice, given out on April 22nd, 1475 (a month after the bloody deed)? It says: "We are firmly convinced that the rumour about the murder of this boy Simon is a lie". The man, then, has only heard the story of the murdor of the boy in Trent as a "rumour", not from the official documents dealing with the case, which were completed only in 1476; and believes, of course, that the "rumour" is false. Can anyone be so foolish as to use such an "edict" to refute a historical fact?

I am not at the present moment in a position to confirm whether the supposed verdict given by Professor Wagenseil after having, as it is stated,

collected the official documents of the trial, really runs as is affirmed by Doctor Bloch. But alone the assertion that the body of the child was drawn out of the Etsch is proof enough that this strange "enemy" of the Jews has either never had the documents in his hand, or has only superficially glanced over them. The tendency of his remarks that the whole bloody business had been instigated by Christians to rob the Jews and add to the calender one wonder working saint more, is clear to all. Oh! Yes! This needs no second thought" from Wagenseil, nor from Doctor Bloch either, who follows him blindly, and believes he has refuted a historical fact.

And now the Bull of Pope Sixtus IV (apparently that of XII. Cal. Juli, 1478) is meant, which is to be found prefaced to the documents of the trial. This Bull approves of the documents of the trial, and after a careful examination by a commission consisting of legal experts, expressly declares that this trial had been conducted with the utmost fairness, and that the judges have exerted all their powers and energies to see that justice should be exercised; so that, as is quite clearly seen, the murderers of little Simon were judged and executed according to just law-this Bull should be brought forward to prove that this was a judical murder? This is to be deduced from the fact that the command of the Pope urged that no innocent Jew, in a moment of excitement, should be killed, crippled, or his property confiscated by Christians, withouht a just trial? What logic! The Pope himself styles the Jews "innocent" here? Yes! But not the already condemned and executed, but those who had taken no part in the murder. And this Bull Bloch dares to bring forward in his defence!

That the same Bull forbids the boy Simon to be honoured as as a martyr is simply untrue.

Attention is but drawn to the decree of Pope Innocent III. and the Orders of the Church, in which it is stated that the honoring of a saint, without the previous approbation of Rome, is not good form. This approbation folowed, however, as may be read in the "Bollandists" A. SS. de Simone puero Tridenti a Judais necato. Mart. tom III. f. 494 sp.

That, further, an enunciation of Pope Gregory X. of the year 1272 cannot refute a deed of blood of the year 1475, must be clear. That this Pope was assured by converted Jews of his court that the partaking of blood was forbidden the Jews by their law (Thora) may perhaps be granted; although in this case it has no bearing, as the law may be broken even by Jews. May it not? The "converted Jews" certainly had not confessed to the trusting Pope what the Talmud and the Cabbala allows in the matter.

That there have been, now and again, cases where unscrupulous Christians have tried to get the property of the Jews confiscated, because of covetousness, for purposes of revenge, or for other unclean motieide and that, to this end, they have made false accusations of infanticide against them, I believe possible. I am even convinced that unnatural parents have sometimes. for gold, delivered up their children to the knife

of the Jews; but this possibility decides nothing in this case. The documents only have weight here.

Gregory X., Paul III. and Clemens XIV. (should the quoted passages be true), have apparently not taken into consideration the case of the murder of Simon of Trent. Neither by these assertions did they intend to convey any infallible dogmatic meaning. They would hardly have been acquainted with the Talmud and the Cabbala intimately, and therefore, on this question, were not qualified to give a decisive opinion. At any rate the murder by the Jews of Simon of Trent cannot be undone by any papal assertion.

As far as the murder in the Seminary is concerned, I did not say at all that Bloch put the blame on Christianity. I simply said that he would not be averse to doing so. That was simply a feeling I had on reading his article: and it came to me from the fact that he connects it, strangely enough, with the St. Bartholomew Night and other deeds of blood.

I have not at hand, unfortunately, a copy of the „Wochenschrift". But, unless I mistake his purpose here, I hope Dr. Bloch does not think that his arguments have refuted anything in the Trent trial.

The description of the torture as the critic in Bloch's „Wochenschrift" describes it, is certainly (as not only I, but every reader of the article who knows anything of the methods of trial at that time must admit) for obvious reasons, exaggerated.

Of course, torture does not agree with your modern humanitarian principles. Under any ruling form of justice there have certainly been abuses: in every century: even judical murders, just as there are today. **But in the Trent trial this was certainly not the case,** for it is impossible that nineteen accused criminals (whose evidence was taken separately, and to whom, as the documents of the trial substantiate, no specific question was put) all confessed falsely to the deed of blood in the same manner, and later, without the application of torture, confirmed their statements on oath. If the truth were not discovered here, then all trials conducted with the methods of the time, not only trials for witchcraft, but **all others,** must be regarded as monstrous injustices, and all the judges and lawyers, who, during the centuries, have taken part in these trials, as enemies of justice — assertions which even a Rabbi Bloch would not care to make.

With reference to the **Bloch-Rohling** case, I am too little acquainted with the facts to pass a definite opinion on them. I only know, from a reliable source, that Professor Rohling was "led up the garden" by a baptized Jew whom he could not, or would not, longer support. One thing, however, is clear, and that is that the R. I. Criminal Court of Vienna is not the right forum on which to decide whether the blood-ritual is handed down as a secret tradation among the Chassidim, and found in the Cabbala, or not.

That legal experts, under oath, can confirm that all the Cabbala writings brought forward by Rohling did not contain the passages in question, is possible. But the question is, "Did Rohling bring forward all the Cabbala writings?" I esteem it altogether very difficult for Hebrew scholars of Gentile extraction to give a decisive opinion. Ever Doctor Strack, who prides himself so much on his knowledge of the Talmud, speaks in his book "Blood-Superstitions" with great reserve on the question. On page 83, he says: "To the best of my knowledge no such passage is to be found in the Talmud" And on page 85: "Human blood, as far as I see, is only mentioned Sabbath 75a'", and such statements. Very reserved! And with good reason!

Moreover, to be in a position to give a decisive opinion here, one must have a perfect knowledge of the whole of Hebrew litarature, which with Dr. Strack, and most probably with Dr. Bloch, is not the case; but which is the case (according to reliable testimonials I have in hand, not only from antisemitic but also from philo-Semitic scientists) with **Paulus Meyer**, who, as Dr. Bloch is probably aware, has promised to **write a scientific work on Jewish ritual-murder**. That the man, as is irrelevantly stated in the article, was deported from Prussia, may be correct. As a foreigner, he was compelled to withdraw before the intrigues of Dr. Strack. Ah, well! A little patience, Doctor Bloch! I hope you will **soon have the pleasure of engaging in combat with Paulus Meyer**, and proving your scholarship.

As far as the statesment is concerned that no baptized Jew has ever confirmed the story of the Jewish blood-ritual and fanatic murder, that has already been proved false by the documents of the Trent trial; for there not only did the baptized Israelite Wolfgang confirm the murder: but, also baptized Jewish women, and some of the convicted murderers, who, through baptism, tried to avoid the death penalty, did not retract their statements. And have I not myself in hand the letter of a convert who, as a Talmud scholar, was **eye-witness of several ritual-murders**: who describes these same at length, and offers to give testimony **on oath** before any court of law? I have been empowered to **publish this letter**, and will, at a fitting occasion, do so, if I hear any more of the matter. I repeat therefore:

"Dr. Bloch has, neither in his article in the „Wochenschrift" nor in this reply, refuted one single fact about the Trent trial; but it gives me great pleasure to see that he does not again attempt to justify the statement I refuted, namely, that the children of Israel alone of all people have kept their hands clean of blood, and their hearts free of cruelty. Please take note further, that my much-attacked work "A ritual murder, proved by official documents" by Priest Doctor Joseph Deckert (third edition) has been published by Gloss, in Dresden, and may also be ordered through any antisemitic news-agent. The same applies to the little book "Can a Catholic be an antisemite?"

Vienna, May 6th, 1893. Dr. Deckert.

(Extract from the "Vaterland" Nr. 128, May 10th, 1893.)

To Franz Doll Esq.,

Responsible Editor of the "Vaterland", Vienna.

Vienna, May 7th, 1893.

Your introductory remarks, placed before my corrections in the 125th number of your paper, of May 7th, 1893, as well as the reply of Dr. Deckert, force me once again to ask you, according to the Press-law § 19, to print in your esteemed paper the following correction, in a legal form and appropriate time: —

"It is not true that I act as appointed Advocate-General of the Jews.

But it is true that it was Doctor Deckert himself who was pleased to give me repeateldy the title "Defender of Jewry", simply because I felt it my duty, as a professor of the Jewish religion, to protect the honour of our name and the purity of our history from aspersion.

It is not true that doubtless many Jews resent my interference as presumptuous and over-bearing; the truth is that all of my faith, without reference to position or title, believe it a duty at all times to come forward for the upholding of justice and truth.

It is not true that the "Parson of Weinhaus" has been furiously and insolently attacked by me; the facts are that his antisemitic agitation pamphlet, styled "A Ritual-murder Proved by Official Documents" and having as its object the arousing of Gentile feeling in Austria against the Jews, forced me to take a decisive attitude of defence in a responsible paper.

It is not true that the article "Rabbi Bloch and the Blood-ritual" in No. 123 of the "Vaterland" can only be termed an "objective defence".

The truth is that, feeble as were the arguments brought forward in the article, so rich was it in personalities: as, for example, "Reb Bloch", "conceited Rabbi scribbler",

"Jewish criticaster" etc. etc., which do not, in themselves, exhibit a very high degree of scientific reasoning.

It is untrue that the events at Trent were known to the Doge of Venice, Pietro Moncenigo, and to the Council, simply by "rumour".

The truth is that, in order to study the events themselves there and then, two law experts were sent from Padua to Trent, who, as a matter of fact, were assaulted by the excited mob because they spoke their minds openly on the unusual method of trial, — facts which seem quite unknown to Doctor Deckert.

It is not true that Wagenseil "either had never seen the documents, or had only superficially glanced over them".

The truth is that the work of Wagenseil supplies a most thorough, exact, and broad criticism of the documents, which, through their form and contents, lead him at last to the conclusion that the Jews of Trent were the victims of a judicial murder made possible by the aid of torture; and that, further, Wagenseil fully appreciates the statement of the Papal Legate, who was sent by the Pope to observe the proceedings in Trent and testified to the absolute innocence of the Jews.

But that the Papal Legate, as Doctor Deckert informs us, was bribed by the Jews — of this modern discovery Wagenseil was, of course, uninformed. It is not true that Clemens XIV. had apparently not taken into consideration the case of the murder of Simon of Trent.

But it is true that Clemens XIV. literally declared: —

"One must, however, remember, that Sixtus IV, a shining star of our religion, under whose pontificate (1475) these sad happenings at Trent occurred, sent out an apostolical brief in which he forbade the worship of the said St. Simon by his fellow-citizens."

"This matter went so far that this worship was forbidden for almost a century: until the great pontiff, Sixtus V, in the year 1588, allowed the mass in his honour."

It is untrue that the popes did not intend "any infallible dogmatic teaching" by their verdict on the falseness of this

blood-accusation against the Jews; and that because, as is affirmed, they did not know the whole of the Talmud and of the Caballa could, on this question, pass no definite opinion.

The facts are that the quoted Bull of Gregory X. (previously in the Episcopal Archives of Trent, and at present in the Provincial Archives of Innsbruck. under 69), expressely declared: —

Anyone taking upon himself, after the reading of this decree, audaciously to act contrary to its provisions, shall suffer danger to his honour and position, or shall be punished with excommunication (aut excommunicationis ultione plectatur); unless by fitting penance he atone for the daring of his crime.

Further, that the Bull of Martin V. of February 1422, and that of Paul III. of May 1540 threatened with the censure of the Church and papal chastisement any who again raised the accusation of ritual infanticide against the Jews.

It is untrue that inhuman parents have themselves, for gold, delivered up their children to the knife of the Jews.

The facts are, that, according to the testimony of such famous Popes as Clemens XIV. and Gregory X. inhuman parents have murdered their children in order to falsely accuse the innocent Jews of the murder, and to have an excuse to rob and plunder them, and that these unfortunate happenings made the interference of the Papal See at last necessary.

It is untrue that at the Trent Trial torture was not misused. Deckert's writing itself states on Page 21: "Only the application of torture could wring from them a confession. Without torture they would have confessed nothing." The facts are, that just because of a lasting, cruel torture, the accused in Trent also preferred "to meet a painful death at once, rather than to live a life of further agony and martydom", as a Bull of Pope Innocent IV. of May 28th, 1247, literally avows, dealing with a similar judicial tragedy.

It is not true that in the Rohling-Bloch case the chosen official experts under oath had only the "Cabbalistic writings brought forward by Rohling", for examination and proof.

The facts are, that the R. I. High Court of Vienna produced for inspection and examination by the experts all Cabbalistic writings which not only Rohling but also other Aryan or antisemitic agitators against the Jews usually quoted or referred to; and that their decision was given on the whole of the literature thus submitted.

It is untrue that, in my correction, it was mentioned "quite irrelevantly" that Paulus Meyer had been deported from Prussia.

The facts are that it seemed necessary to make Dr. Deckert aware of the nature and antecedents of the man on whose trustworthiness he seemed, in a journal like the "Vaterland", to have based his grave accusation against the whole of Jewry.

It is not true that not only antisemitic "but also philosemitic" scholars have given testimony in favour of Paulus Meyer. The facts are that the testimonial which P. Voss in Paris, The Rev. C. Wilkinson in London, P. Stolle in Cologne, P. Bieling in Berlin, Dr. Althausen in Wilna, P. von Bodelschwingh in Bielefeld gave him in the conservative "Reichsboten" (Editor Pastor Engel), and in the "Neue Preußischen Zeitung" (Kreuz-Zeitung) 13th August 1892 — in which they warned all decent Christians against him, secured his deportation, not only from Prussian territory, but also from the Kingdom of Saxony.

It is not true that Paulus Meyer "as foreigner had to retreat before the intrigues of Dr. Strack". The truth is that, according to information given by P. von Bodelschwingh (Berliner Tagblatt) on October 1st. 1892, and the Bielefelder Zeitung "Wächter" of September 27th, 1892, it was he who appealed to the President of the Police in Berlin for the purpose of "showing up the man (Paulus Meyer) in his true colours" and thus secured his "transport over the frontier under police protection".

It is untrue that Doctor Hildesheimer had intrigued in Berlin against Paulus Meyer.

The facts are that numerous warrants taken out against him by the people whom he had swindled or tricked, (for the most part Christian clergymen), caused the interference of the police against him; and that, according to the Kreuz-Zeitung in the above-mentioned number, he was brought before the court of Czernowitz for blasphemy: also without any Jewish influence being used. Lastly, Dr. Deckert offers to publish a quotation from a letter supposed to have been written by a converted Russian Jew, a Tsaddik scholar, which, out of kind consideration which we Jews hardly deserve and certainly have not demanded, is still being kept secret. With reference to this quotation I must state that, according to § 19 of the Press Laws, I am only in a position to make the following statement: —

It is untrue that this convert can ever have been an eye-witness of such a gruesome blood-ceremony, which the Chinese attribute to Christians, and the antisemites to the Jews. The truth is that Clemens XIV. says, in his above-mentioned writings, referring to all converts who in my country and in all times up to his own have acquired rank and position in the Church, that they have solemnly testified against the existence of blood-ritual.

> "It is therefore fruitless, as regards the conversion of the Jews, to attribute to them this error. For they then believe that we invent lies against them, which is no little hindrance when we would appeal to them as trustworthy.
>
> It leaves on their minds (the minds of the Jews) besides contempt and bitterness, such a harmful impression, that they will, in the end, hear nought of our holy religion, coming at last to the most erroneous conclusion that it is founded on lies and deceit."

The readers of the "Vaterland" must decide the question whether the statements of the Church authorities or the communications of a Paulus Meyer deserve more credence.

Yours truly,

Doctor Bloch, M. P.

I received from the aged rabbi, Doctor Ad. Schmiedl, the following encouraging letter:

Vienna, May 11th.

Doctor Bloch, M. P.

Dear Sir,

I feel compelled to express to you my warmest and most whole-hearted approval of the vigorous manner, so refreshing to all Jewish hearts, in which you again take your stand against the latest affront offered to us.

In these sad times which have, alas! come upon us, you appear predestined by Providence to victoriously carry on the hot fight which is being waged anew against us, with readiness and unwearied tenacity, as well as with a truly exceptional knowledge of the subject under discussion, giving proof of more than extensive reading.

I am firmly convinced that these words of warm and just recognition will find a loud echo in a thousand sympathetic hearts.

Yours very truly
Rabbi Doctor Schmiedl.

Of the many letters which poured in, one of special interest was from a Catholic clergyman, which ran: —

"Allow me, as a reader of the "Vaterland", to express to you my honest admiration for the way in which you have, up to the present, carried on your polemics against Priest Deckert. I feel the need of expressing to you how very valuable the many new facts that I have learned from your "corrections" will always be to me.

As much as I have admired, in the articles, the literary and scientific knowledge you have exhibited so much do I deplore and regret, as a Catholic priest, that your opponent seeks to cover, with the cloak of a confident denial of all the carefully and precisely laid facts brought to his notice, and by the undignified use of confused invective, combined with a foolish and disgusting boasting, a total lack of knowledge. and a still worse moral nakedness.

I beg you not to judge all Catholic priests by the standard of this man. Foolish invective and empty boasting, we, together with all other men of culture, hold to be the mark of mental and ethical inferiority; and we deplore that a priest should resort in combat to such contemptible weapons.

The much-threatened Letter of Paulus Meyer.

On Thursday, May 11th., the bomb fell. The good "Vaterland", although warned in time of the character and antecedents of Paulus Meyer, published the repeatedly threatened letter which reads af follows: —

Doctor Joseph Deckert, Priest, Weinhaus, Vienna.

Editor of Anti-Corruption. Leipzig, 20th. April 1893.

Moltkestr. No. 44.

Reverend Sir,

My name is perhaps not unfamiliar to you, as last year it went the round of the German Press. When, on the occasion of the still mysterious child-murder at Xanten, I came before the public and asserted that even to-day ritual-murder is practised by the Jews, that is to say that the Jews use the blood of those of another persuasion for ritual purposes, and that this ceremony is still performed, especially by the orthodox Jews, the Chassidim, you should have seen what deadly enemies I made! — just because I was daring enough, on the grounds of my extensive knowledge of Hebrew literature, to tell the truth: of which I am fully convinced, since I myself was eye-witness of the slaughter of a Christian child whose blood was to serve a supposed ritual purpose with the Jews. I will describe this hair-raising spectacle with fuller details.

Because of the stand I made, I roused the enmity of both the Berlin Jews and the "chief-roarer" of the Jewish Press, Doctor Hirsch Hildesheimer, arch-enemy and persecutor of the Christan church. This Hirsch Hildesheimer plays the same rôle in Berlin, as your Rabbi Bloch in Vienna: who I see from No. 14 of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" of

April 7th, has attacked you with the filthiest abuse, because you dare (on the grounds of official documents dealing with a ghastly deed done by fanatical Jews in Trent in the year 1475 to little Simon Gerber), to prove that the Jews use the blood of other persuasions for ritual purposes.

Now I see from his Wochenschrift that this Jew Rabbi Bloch has the impudence to attack your priestly honour, just as this Berlin Jew persecuted me. I even tried once to open a public discussion with the Drum-major of this Jew-Guard, Professor Strack, through the "Staatsbürger-Zeitung" because he puts himself up as defender of these... people. The man doesn't know what truth is! Nothing is sacred to him! He has the face to deny the truth about these blood facts, and to defend them in a sophistical manner. On my trying to open a discussion with Strack in the above-mentioned paper to prove my statements, he saw he was on very unsafe grounds, and so hid behind the bush of Hirsch Hildesheimer. In concert with this man he then took another track, namely, he made the attempt to wipe me off the face of the earth — a plan which to a certain extent succeeded. They overwhelmed the President of the Berlin Police with denunciation after denunciation, until at last the row made by these Jews and their bullies could not be borne by the authorities, and so they turned me out of Berlin just for the sake of peace.

Ah, well! Rabbis Hildesheimer and Strack have got rid of my dangerous company: but to shut my mouth they will never succeed. I can do my duty in Leipzig as well as in Berlin.

So that was the result of my efforts to prove indirectly against the Jews and this Strack (who had gone over to them because of their money-bags) that there still exists such a blood ritual! That text in Psalm 58, verse 5, suits these people excellently: —

"Their poison is like the poison of a serpent; they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear." For if these gentlemen are so certain that there does not exist a blood-ritual among the Jews, why did they not accept my offer, mentioned above? Instead of that they tried in Berlin to get rid of me.

But this I have sworn by all that is holy, — that I will not go out of the world before I have, in as far as it lies in my power, cleansed the temple of the Lord, and brought to light the truth!

Your Reverence has for a long time wanted this proof of the murder of a Christian child.

Well now, the lines I have written so far have only given you a look into the machinery. Now I come to the point of my letter; to the hair-raising spectacle of which, I, as I have mentioned, was eye-witness: and which wakes in me a very sad memory, although it is long since I, for the last time, was present at such a scene. I was then hardly fourteen years old, but this cruel deed remains in my mind, and will remain there until they lower me into the dark grave.

It was in the year 1875, that I was brought to Ostrowo, Government Lublin, (Russian-Poland), to the Chassidim rabbi (Tsaddik, wonder-working rabbi) Jehoschua Ben h/Raw Schlohme m'Lentschna (son of rabbi Schlome Leb in Lentschna). I myself was to lead a meditative, strictly holy life, to scourge myself, and live the life of an ascetic in order, at the wish of my father, to become a Tsaddik. I was to be instructed in all the secret teachings: that was to say, not only those in the Bible and the Talmud which one studies here, but all the "heavenly" secret teachings. These one can only reach up to when one lives near such a holy Tsaddik and studies the Cabbala and the Zohar, by means of which one becomes a congenial scholar.(1)

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(1) Cabbala means "tradition", that is, the secret teaching which is propounded in an innercircle; the secret teaching of the life of the Godhead, the origin of the world, the principles of good and evil, and the path of the union with the world beyond and the infinite. Cabbala is, in Jewish literature, that which in Christian literature we style theosophy (metaphysics embracing no clear expressions of thought, but giving visionary pictures and fantastic explanations of biblical words dealing with ultimate causes: the spiritual roots reaching into the world around us that is compounded of evil and good) and which deals with the manifestations of God as given in the law and the prophets. But alas! How they mix the heavenly law with the demoniacal! Woe to me if I should longer hide this within my breast!

The days of the Jewish Easter approached. One day I was called to the Tsaddik by his first "Shames" (body-servant). Very reverently, and full of repentant thoughts, I betook myself to him. At my approach he spoke to me the following words: "Menachem!') Prepare yourself for abodat h'sheem jisbarach (for the service of the Blessed Name). You will be called to the holy act".

At the moment I did not know of which holy act I was to be witness; so I made my preparations, blindly; that is to say, I meditated and chastised myself for some days.

After five days had passed, I was awaked one morning. Before my bed stood the "shames" of the Tsaddik, Moische Berriches, who addressed me with the words: "Menachem! Dress quickly, and come with us into the water."(2)

I dressed myself with special zeal and soon stood there ready. Ten of us(3) then went to the Mikwa-house (the bath appointed by the ritual law), after which we were taken by the Shames into the presence of the Tsaddik. He was sitting, as is the custom of the Tsaddikim, in his chair, clad in white silk. On the other chair I noticed a certain something, covered with a dazzling white cloth. On a stand were seen copper basins, tinned, and shining inside: while in the corner were numerous bottles, labelled. As we entered, the Tsaddik began prayers; as far as I remember Psalms 47, 64, 65, 79, 107, 116, &c.

Then followed a silence. The Tsaddik rose from his chair. With eyes raised to heaven and lips moving slightly, he stood for about twenty minutes, during which time his face went red and pale alternately.

We, his disciples, stood by, just as reverently. When the Tsaddik had finished his silent prayer, he called with a soft, broken voice: — "Bring the korban (victim)!" At once the

(1) i. e. "comfort" By this title he styled me, his relation, for he said "You shall be a comfort to our people!"

(2) With the Jews it is usual before a holy act to cleanse the body by immersion in water.

(3) At every holy ceremony, as at a meeting for prayer in the synagogue, ten persons must be present.

afore-mentioned Shames, Moishe Berriches, and the second Shames, Israel called Sruel Partzewar)(1), retired to the adjoining room, from which he returned with a fair-haired six or seven year old child in his arms. The child, who was dressed only in a snow-white shirt, seemed frightened; but in a second it was laid on a little table beside which the well-scoured basin was standing. With a stroke across the throat by the slaughtering knife, which had been lying on the chair hidden by the cloth, the child was killed, and his blood caught in the basin. I heard only a whimpering sound, but did not notice which of the Shames had dealt the murderous stroke, since, during the act, our eyes were reverently lowered.

When the slaughter was ended, the voice of the Tsaddik rang out loudly "Masseltow"! This is the word used in congratulation by the Jews. It means "Good luck"!

With that our devotions ended. In the mean time the little corpse was removed, and the blood, which had been caught in the basin, emptied into the above-mentioned little bottles. The writing on the bottles contained the name of the cities and of the Heads of the Congregation there who were adherents of the Tsaddik. The bottles were to be sent to them. A large quantity of the blood was put aside in a silver beaker to be used next day in the making of the "Mazza Schmurra"(2).

This sad experience I now communicate to your Reverence as it is present in my memory, according to the truth, for which I will live or die. I call on God the Almighty as my witness, and am ready to confirm on oath all I have said before any court of law. I call upon you to do your duty as a shepherd of souls, by publishing this communication which I have, in chronological order, made to you, to prevent further harm: in order that no other Christian children may

(1) A city, two miles from Ostrowo, where he was born, and after which he was named.

(2) Mazza Shmurra is the naame given to the unleavened bread which is baked in the house of the Tsaddik under special supervision; only with the Chassidim.

fall victims to such Jewish assassins obstinate in their mad religious fanaticism.

How well that text of the prophet Micha fits these people, when, in Chapter III. verse 9—10, he says: "Hear this, I pray you, ye heads of the house of Jacob, and princes of the house of Israel, that abhor judgment, and pervert all equity. They build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity".

I repeat again my request to your Reverence, and beg you, as a Catholic clergyman, to put your shoulder to the wheel, as I, though Protestant, shall also do, unitis viribus, for the good of mankind; for we belong both to the same Master and Saviour. God in his mercy give us success!

With Christian love, I sign myself, meanwhile,

Yours in the Master's service,
Paulus Meyer.

P. S. I will add that the victim this time was from Levertof, about three miles from Ostrowo. The agent was a Jewish land-owner, Schmiel Tarler, so-called after the village to which his estate belonged.

P. M.

Thus the much-threatened letter, containing the testimony to the ritual-murder by the baptized convert.

To dwell on the infamy of this libel is superfluous. The antisemitic agitators were in haste to spread abroad this "sensation". The letter was telegraphed, word for word, to the whole provincial press, and translated into the different languages of Austria. I, for my part, taking advantage of the Press Law, forced the editor of the "Vaterland" to publish the following correction of some of the statements made by Deckert in his publication which had accompanied the letter of Paulus Meyer.

Franz Doll Esq.

Responsible Editor of the "Vaterland".

Vienna.

Dear Sir,

The letter addressed to you by Dr. Deckert and published in No. 128 of May 10th, 1893, forces me once more to demand of you, according to § 19 of the Press Law, the publishing of the following corrections in your journal, in legal from and appropriate time: —

It is untrue that I have admitted that Pietro Moncenigo, Doge of Venice, knew the events of Trent only as a "rumour" (per rumorem). The facts are that the Doge of Venice described the facts of the murder and the part taken by the Jews therein as a "rumour" which, after actual investigation, he could not possibly believe.

It is untrue that I quoted as a fact that Sixtus IV. in the Bull prefaced to the documents of the trial, forbade the worship of Saint Simon. The facts are, that I quoted Clemens XIV. as witness that his predecessor Sixtus IV. had decreed this prohibition, which remained in force for a whole century.

This decision of Pope Sixtus IV. was the result of a report made by the Papal Legate, to the bribery of whom by the Jews neither the documents of the trial nor any other historical source bears witness. This aspersion on his character has been reserved for Doctor Deckert to make.

It is untrue that I affirmed that the Bull of Pope Innocent IV. of May 28th, 1247, referred to the events which happened in Trent in the year 1475.

The facts are that I quoted this Bull as a proof of a similar judical tragedy of the 13th. century, where confessions were also forced by the abuse of the torture, and the accused Jews became victims of a judicial murder.

It is untrue that, in my last correction, I said "No convent could have been eye-witness of such a gruesome deed" but "perhaps another" (might have been).

The facts are that the correction made it clear that the "convert" i. e. the man whom Dr. Deckert sheltered in his flat, and who wrote him the "Leipzig" letter for the sum of one hundred florins per month, could not possibly have witnessed the impossible murder scene which the letter describes.

It is untrue that my correction "has no other purpose than to effect the printing of a letter dealing with a murder".

The truth is that my correction has, as its object, not only the showing to the public that Deckert's story of the part taken by the Jews in the so-called murder of Simon of Trent is irreconcilably contrary in every detail to historical facts, but I hope by it to show also the worthlessness of these letters brought forward as evidence; since they are the letters of a man who offered himself to me to write against the antisemites and to expose their villainies, if only I would rescue him out of the hand of Deckert. (The words were: "Out of the claws of these people".)

Doctor Bloch. M. P.

The public prosecutor had declined to take proceedings suggested to him against Paulus Meyer. It only remained to bring a private action.

Now to expose the liars at a court of law, a plaintiff had first to be found. The Jews, however, have no legal central organisation in Austria, only single congregations.

To come forward as representative of Jewry no one has the right, except perhaps the Public Prosecutor. Of course, the people who had been mentioned in the letters could legally bring an action: but where were they to be found? And what if they did not even exist? How could and should one prove that possibly fictitious persons had not committed a certain crime? The affair roused universal interest in the highest degree. Notices appeared also in the daily papers. In every tram-car, in every café, in every provision-shop, nothing else was the subject of conversation. The mysterious personality of Paulus Meyer was the centre of discussion.

Thoughtful learned theologians, however, were a little distrustful of him. The learned University Professor Dr. Bickell, himself a Catholic priest, and to whom he was warmly recommended, cross-examined him more severely, and he (Paulus Meyer) gave himto understand that the narrative contained in the announced letter was invented.

Professor Doctor Gustav Bickell.

The Syrologist Doctor Gustav Bickell (born in Kassel in 1838, died in Vienna Jan. 15th, 1906) was one of the most celebrated scientific representatives of the philosophical faculty in Vienna.

Coming, as he did, of an old Protestant family of civil-servants, (his father was, in the thirties of the previous century Minister of Justice in Kassel) Gustav Bickell gave himself to the study of theology and the Semitic as well as the Indo-Germanic languages. At the age of tweny-six, he became a Privatdocent (unpaid lecturer) in the university of Marburg. About the same time he went over to the Catholic faith, and was ordained in Fulda. In 1867, he was already Extraordinarius for Oriental Languages and Literatures in Munich; in 1874 he followed a call to the theological faculty in Innsbruck; and later, in 1819, he became Professor of Syrian and Hebrew in Vienna.

That he was, in this department, a scientific authority, no one could, of course, question; in fact he was often styled the greatest Syrologist of the world. Disciples came to him from near and far. The well known writer, Dr. Dillon, who changed his lecturer's chair in the Charkow University for the editoral office of the "Daily Telegraph", was one of Bickell's pupils. Bickell possessed altogether a really wonderful talent for languages. He had mastered twenty-six languages-all the European and the greater part of the languages of the Orient. Of his works, the following may be mentioned: "Foundations of Hebrew Grammar", "Reasons for the Infallibility of the Head of the Church", "Conspectus rei Syrorum litterariae", "Mass and Pascha", "Selected Poems of the Syrian Fathers

of the Church", "Kalila and Damnag", "Carmina veteris testamenti metrice", "Hebrew Poetry", "The Preacher", "The Book of Job".

His conversion from the Protestant to the Catholic Church was an act of deepest religious conviction. On the same grounds he maintained the infallibility of the Pope. Just this intense love of truth made him unpopular in Viennese antisemitic circles: and they denounced him in Rome, regarding him with discomfort, because they knew him as a man who would not deviate a hair's breadth from the truth. Famous was his letter to the R. I. High Court in Vienna on the occasion of the Rohling-Bloch case when he was invited by the Court to give an expert opinion on the points at issue. He declined, because he did not consider himself well enough informed to give an expert opinion on the Talmud: and on this occasion naively offered sensational revelations as to the dealings of a certain studious lecturer of Münster University, who alas!, was a priest, Dr. Ecker — revelations which created public sensation, and did not remain without consequences.

As Meyer had been recommended to him, and he thought he could use his knowledge of the Talmud for a better purpose, good-natured Dr. Bickell made the attempt to rescue him from the unfortunate situation in which he found himself. He appeared unexpectedly one day at the office of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" and begged first of all for lenience for the "misled" Paulus Meyer, who had affirmed that the letter was not really from him, and begged to be saved out of the claws of Deckert. He even promised interesting disclosures about the intrigues of the antisemites. University Professor Dr. Bickell was of the opinion that when the man appeared one should not immediately turn him away, but give him the chance of improvement and repentance, and rather than allow the matter to "degenerate" into a scandalous law-case, to settle it in the most peaceful manner possible. I declined to receive Paulus Meyer, or to hold any conversation with him. Neither did I give any weight at all to his retraction. "There was more in it than

the person of Paulus Meyer". It was certainly a painful task, that of stirring up a hidden rubbish heap! The unsavoury odour which it would exhale could not possible be pleasant to tenderly organised nervous systems. But, in spite of it, it seemed a more reasonable thing to render harmless, with a strong carbolic solution, this artificially-reared miasma, rather than that one should quietly look on and see how, in the middle of an already badly plague-stricken city, a new centre of infection secretly formed itself. Professor Bickell went away sadly, and had occasion later to regret his interference in favour of Paulus Meyer. In some newspapers suggestions were made by different reporters about the matter, and Dr. Deckert then declared in the "Vaterland" that Paulus Meyer had been offered by Doctor Bloch a sum of one thousand florins: and as agent in the matter, he gave the name of the Catholic University Professor, Doctor Bickell.

Professor Bickell was forced to defend himself in the "Neues Wiener Abendblatt" of May 16th. in the following manner: —

Dear Editor,

The mention of my name by the Rev. Dr. Deckert in connection with the Meyer affair forces me to give the following explanation. Mr. Paulus Meyer came to me at the end of March with a very warm letter of recommendation from my old friend, Professor Canon Rohling. At his wish I took the man to Doctor Deckert, to whom, however, I at once declared that my interest in Mr. Meyer was based purely on humanitarian and scientific grounds. When the conversation turned on the blood-ritual I said: "The quotations brought forward on the subject up to the present have been absolutely valueless: and no new quotations can be expected, because they would long since have been made known by converts. I therefore do not believe even in those ritual slaughters of children in the middle ages which have been stated as facts under torture: especially as the Church only just suffered the local worship of such (murdered)

children". It was therefore impossible that Dr. Deckert could have held me to be of his opinion quoad hoc.

On this occasion I saw the draft of a contract in accordance with which P. Meyer was to write a work on ritual murder, in return for which he was to receive a monthly stipend of 100 florins for five months.

After this I repeatedly entreated M. Meyer not to sign the contract, but to take up purely scientific work. I suggested to him that he should teach me the reading of the Talmud, and endeavoured (alas, in vain!), to obtain for him a commission to compile a catalogue of the magnificent collection of Hebrew manuscripts in the possession of a Vienna order. I even then talked the matter over in strictest confidence with a scientist of European fame, who opined that it would be an easy matter to raise a sufficient sum, if the man could only be persuaded to abstain from perilous steps.

I should, however, have allowed the matter to proceed, if Paulus Meyer had confined himself to the collecting of quotations from Jewish literature; since such quotations can be looked up and checked, and would, therefore, as hitherto, be regarded as chimerical: for in my presence, he did not bring forward one single quotation of any value. But the announcement of a letter in which an alleged eye-witness was to describe the ritual slaughter of a Christian child precipitated the catastrophe. I did not wish, through my silence, to become an accomplice in a possible massacre of the Jews, and therefore took Paulus Meyer to task. At first he did not acknowledge himself as the writer of the letter: but soon he allowed it to be understood that he was its author. He has never, in my presence defended the letter as the truth, but has always answered my reproaches which referred to the inventions therein with the retort that the Jews should not have exasperated and embittered him so much.

Shortly before the publication of the letter he demanded for six months a stipend of 120 florins monthly; and he would have received this at once, had he previously retracted his fictitious personal experiences of child-murders.

But that he wanted to do afterwards: he must be approached with "confidence and affection": and to this the aforesaid scholar could not bring himself. After the publication of the letter, the same again offered him the sum of 1000 florins under the same conditions. Mr. Meyer declared that he must first see the money in my possession, and then, after the publishing of his retraction, he would accept it. At the moment I was inclined to close with his offer; but saw, on reflection, that I must not subject myself to such humiliating conditions: and therefore wrote him, the day before yesterday, and broke all connection with him until, of his own accord, he should make amends for the grave injustice he had comitted. I will add to this that **I visited Dr. Bloch at the urgent request of Mr. Meyer to try to secure for him lenient treatment in the matter.**

In passing, I must remark that this was my first visit to Doctor Bloch. Our "connection" must therefore be a very slight one.

The above is sufficient proof of the fact that I simply endeavoured to turn a fellow creature from a path of error into which he was straying, and lead him from a sin which could bring about most terrible consequences, and heavily burden the conscience of the sinner. I had every right to demand the retraction of his statements, since the fictitiousness of the murder story declares itself at a glance, and was always taken for granted as a lie in all the conversations I had with Mr. Meyer.

Vienna, May 15th, 1893.

Faithfully yours
G. Bickell.

Upon poor Professor Bickell Doctor Deckert fell furiously with an article in the "Vaterland" on May 21st., to all intents and purposes accusing him of being an informer:

"The latest publication of Bloch in No. 20 of his „Wochenschrift" is a further excellent proof that this famous champion of the Chassidim thoroughly understands his work. He intro-

duces into the argument things which have absolutely no bearing on the fatal letter of the convert, or on the ritual murder. He takes the matter personally, and endeavours to irritate me, — an attempt in which he will have little success. He even tries to get me into the bad graces of His Eminence. for whom, to curry favour for his dirty business, he ostentatiously swings the incense pot... &c.

Very strange, further, is the announcement of Bloch that as early as the April 1st. he was acquainted with the fact that I had signed with Paulus Meyer a contract for the compilation of a "scientific" literary work on Jewish ritual murder. This contract is supposed to have been the cause of his furious attack on my little book, in which I proved, from historical facts, such a ritual murder case occurring in the year 1475, the victim being Simon of Trent. Bloch tries here to play the diplomat. By his attack he has exposed to the world a plot! O brave Mordecai! How well you have earned the world's gratitude! But the question arises, who first drew his attention to this "horrible" plot? Surely not the only witness of the contract, whom, because he was a Catholic priest, one had trustfully let into the matter? Not through the so highly respected Professor of the Vienna University, who, while asserting with such assurance that there is no passage in the Talmud which bears witness to ritual-murder, wanted at first to learn the "Talmud" from Paulus Meyer? That is really beautiful! This surprising, imprudent announcement of Bloch's, which stands in direct contradiction to a previously published letter, gives food for thought. I shall take the liberty, on another occasion, of relating what I deduce from this!"

On May 24th. the "Vaterland" was obliged to print the following announcement of Professor Bickell: —

Dear Editor.

Distasteful as it is to me to mix in the polemics of the day, your number of May 21st. forces me to come forward to defend myself from a grave, though apparently conditional, accusation.

I emphatically declare, therefore, that Doctor Bloch did not, either directly or indirectly, receive from me the report of any contract concluded with Paulus Meyer on April 1st. That the contract even dated from April 1st I myself was made aware by the "Wochenschrift" of Bloch, as I had given absolutely no attention to the date.

The obvious attempts of your correspondents, at least by innuendo, to hold me up as a betrayer of secrets entrusted to me, and as (an even paid) agent of the Jews, can only, from those who know me, provoke mirth. And although no-one had pledged me to secrecy regarding the contract, I should of myself have preserved silence on the matter, as I was only concerned in the turning of Mr. Meyer from a course which I was firmly convinced was against his own conscience, and fraught with danger to many.

The matter has only been brought before the public because of a very painful and unforeseen circumstance. This was that when shortly before the publication of the fable of Ostrowo, at the request of Paulus Meyer, I went to Doctor Bloch to beg for leniency for him (that was, to beg for the non-publishing of the accusations made against him by the Protestants), I was forced, in order to meet his wishes, to communicate certain necessary facts; emphasising, however, that these were told in confidence. In his excitement over the possible consequences of the threatened publication Dr. Bloch, unfortunately, did not hear this latter remark, and, as one can well understand., did not print Meyers communication in the most discreet manner. I must add to this, that the intended disclosures on the subject of the antisemitic movement by Paulus Meyer referred to German antisemitism, since he had been in Vienne only for a very short time, and then in the strictest incognito.

Beside the attempt to hold me up as a cunning intriguer, the aspersion on my knowledge of the Talmud is a small matter to which I should not even refer, were there not in it, also an aspersion on my character, i. e. the accusation that I tried to play the rôle of a person thoroughly acquainted with the whole of the Talmud.

I said only, however, that all "proofs" as yet brought forward from Jewish literature to assert ritual-murder have been no proofs at all; and that I can substantiate. My knowledge of the Talmud, which I have been able to acquire only as a side-branch to other studies, is, of course, limited: and could, under the teaching of P. Meyer, have been expanded considerably. That I understand something of the Talmudic-rabbinic literature, and can make some use of it, my many publications can substantiate.

With the request that the enclosed statement from the "Neues Wiener Tagblatt" of May 16th. (which I have published only after my name has been mentioned publicly) shall be printed, in order to clear up the matter,

I am,

Vienna, May 22nd. 1893. Yours very truly,

Prof. D. G. Bickell.

The next task was the verifying of the place where the events related by Paulus Meyer were supposed to have taken place: and to this end I sent to the "Vaterland" the following report: —

Franz Doll Es.,

Responsible Editor of the "Vaterland"

Vienna.

Owing to Dr. Deckert's intention to bring a legal action against me (as declared in a communication to the editor of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift"), I leave, in view of the legal proceedings, when the matter will be more thoroughly discussed, the answering of his article in No. 131 of the "Vaterland" May 15th. to this more fitting occasion. Only with reference to the article against me by Paulus Meyer from Russia, where he, in Ostrowo, Gouvernment Lublin (Russian Poland), as pupil of a Chassidim rabbi "Jeschua Ben h'raw Schlome Leb m'Lentschna (son of Rabbi Schlome Leb in Lentschna) purports to have been eye-witness

of the ritual murder of a Christian child, and in which, besides the above-mentioned rabbi, two other men, named respectivelly "Moishe Beriches" and "Israel" (alias Sruel) Partzewar took an active part, I must beg of you, in accordance with § 19 of the Press Law, to print the following correction in your esteemed paper, in legal form and appropriate time: —

Having received a recommendation to an official in Petrograde, I applied to him for particulars which might help to substantiate, if such existed, some facts stated by Paulus Meyer, giving adequate reasons for my request. The following reply was reveived by telegram: —

Dr. Bloch,

Editor of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift",

Vienna.

"No city, hamlet, place or village of the name of Ostrowo or Ostrovo or Ostrowa exists in the whole of the Russian Empire: therefore neither in Gouvernment Lublin (Russian Poland). Further inquiries are therefore impossible as well as superfluous".

The R. I. Postal Authorities in Austria will confirm that a town of that name exists only in the Prussian Territory of the former Kingdom of Poland, in the Administrative District of Posen: not, though, in Russia; and Paulus Meyer has laid the plot of his murder story there for two reasons.

Before Dr. Deckert sent, for publication in the "Vaterland", a story like this with such grave contents, from the supposed pen of the universally highly esteemed Paulus Meyer, he should at least have made sure that a town or place called Ostrowo in Gouvernment Lublin (Russian Poland), really exists.

Yours faithfully

Dr. Bloch M. B.

The "Vaterland" added to this: —

To the above we remark the following: — In Ritter's well known geographical statistical dictionary (Leipzig, Otto Wigand, 1874) we find under

Ostrow, among several other places, the following also included: 9. County town in Russian Poland, Gouvernment Pskow. 10. County town of Russian Poland, Gouvernment Lomsha. 11. Town in Russian Gouvernment Siedlce. And in the same lexicon: —

Lenczna, town in Russian Poland, Gouvernment Lublin. Country Lubarto, 3216 inhabitants.

And in "Meyer's Conversational Dictionary" (1890) two W. Russian County towns of the name Ostrow are mentioned.

The next day the "Vaterland" was obliged to publish the following correction: —

Franz Doll Esq.,

Responsible Editor of the "Vaterland"

Vienna.

With reference to the insertion of Dr. Deckert in No. 139 of your paper of May 21st, 1893, I must ask you, in accordance with § 19 of the Press Law to print the following, in legal form and adequate time: —

It is untrue that simultaneous with my correction and the published telegram of an official the "Vaterland" of May 16th "convicts me of mendacity" by proving from a geographical dictionary that at least three towns of the name of Ostrow exist in Russia.

The facts are that the Editor of the "Vaterland" fully confirms, by the notices he quotes from Ritter's Geographical Dictionary, (1874) the telegraphic communication I received from St. Petersburg, namely that, although there are three cities in Russia called Ostrow, none of the three are to be found in Gouvernment Lublin: while a city named Ostrowo, which Mr. Deckert and Paulus Meyer describe as the scene of their murder story, does not exist in the whole of the Russian Empire. Of the seven places in Europe bearing the name "Ostrowo" not one lies in Russian territory.

It is untrue that the "Vaterland" of May 17th. showed that an Ostrowo exists also in Gouvernment Lublin, and may be found on any survey map. The truth is that the "Vaterland" simply quotes an out of-date and unreliable conversational dictionary, in which the city of Ostrow on the

Tysmienica is mentioned as situated in Gouvernment Lublin: while, as a matter of fact, Ostrow on the Tysmienica is that town which is situated in Government Lomsha, the which is confirmed by all official authorities and reliable handbooks.

The ordnance survey-map, however, shows only one town, Ostrow on the Tysmienica, which is not a fourth town of that name, but the one situated in Government Lomsha.

It is untrue that I have been "duped" by the wire from St. Petersburg, which, in agreement with all geographical statistical works and maps, positively affirms that a town, place, hamlet of the name Ostrowo does not exist anywhere in the whole wide Russian Empire; or that I tried to dupe Mr. Deckert and the readers of the "Vaterland".

The facts are, that I only tried to provoke from Messrs. Deckert and Paulus Meyer a statement explicit and binding for legal purposes, i. e. on which of the three Russian towns of the name "Ostrow" the gentlemen would decide as background for their murder-story. I even left it open to them to choose, instead of the "Ostrowo", explicitly and repeatedly named in the "fatal" letter, a town of the name of "Ostrow": and instead of Government Lublin, another Russian Government.

I expected, after the publication of the telegram, a statement in reply specifying the town and the Government instead of those erroneously given — a statement which could be taken as the basis for a judicial investigation, and which should make it impossible to again move the scene chosen for alleged events.

But this declaration which could have been used for judicial purposes was not forthcoming, nor was it contained in Deckert's last letter.

It is untrue that I already knew on April 1st of the contract, which had been concluded between Deckert and Paulus Meyer. I have never reported such a thing, and such a statement has been attributed to me only by Deckert.

The facts are that I heard of the contract only three or four days later, whereupon the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" published on April 7th. the article on Mr. Deckert.

It is untrue, further, that I heard first of these events from Professor Bickell, and that this contradicts the letter published by him.

The facts are that I met Professor Bichell once, casually, in the year 1886, as a member of the Vienna Orientalist's Congress in the University: and I saw him again only at the beginning of the second week of May of the current year, when he appeared at the urgent request of Paulus Meyer, to induce me not to use against him the numerous detrimental statements of Protestant clergymen and Berlin antisemitic organs regarding his character and antecedents. Paulus Meyer then desired to be freed from the hands of Deckert (literally "from the claws of these people") and promised in compensation, a booklet containing "revelations" regarding the shameful proceedings of the antisemites — an offer from Paulus Meyer which, as Professor Bickell must confirm, did not meet with the desired approval from me.

It is untrue that only one witness of the contract, and he a Catholic priest, was "let into" the matter.

The truth is that, beside Professor Bickell, other persons both in Vienna and elsewhere knew at the time of the conclusion of the bargain.

It is untrue that Mr. Deckert has, with the aid of the documents of the trial, furnished historical proof of such a murder committed in the year 1475, the victim being the boy Simon of Trent.

The truth is, and Mr. Deckert's writings show it at every turn, that Mr. Deckert knows absolutely nothing either of what the authorities have to say on the subject of Simon of Trent, or of the abundant literature dealing with the matter. He is not even aware that during the appeal (1476) heard before the Papal cross-examining judge, the Gentile Swiss, Zanesus, confessed to the murder of the boy Simon: after which the Jews, who had already been burned at the stake, were pronounced innocent; or that the Dukes of Milan, Bona

and Johannes Galeaz Maria Sforza, on May 19th, 1479, by a solemn edict, declared the innocence of the Jews of Trent as a well-known fact.

It is not true that I introduce into the argument things which are absolutely irrelevant to the ritual murder and the "fatal" (for whom fatal?') letter of the convert.

The facts are, that if persons make a terrible accusation of murder, and choose, besides, as locality for the same, a foreign land and a doubtful place; when, besides, the one pays over to the other first an "advance" of 100 Gulden, and later 200 Gulden, everyone would enquire as to the bona fides of these two worthy gentlemen, and would and must learn first, something of their antecedents.

It is untrue that my doctorate is doubted by many; but I am perfectly indifferent as to what title these gentlemen choose to give me.

Faithfully yours

Dr. J. Bloch, M. P.

The "Vaterland" of May 30th. further published the following:

Franz Doll Esq.,

Responsible Editor of the "Vaterland"

Vienna.

With reference to your article "Blochiade. Part II." published in No. 148 of the "Vaterland" of May 25th., I must ask you, according to § 19 of the Press Law, to print the following correction in legal form and appropriate time: —

It is untrue that I forgot to keep secrecy with regard to certain information communicated by Professor Bickell through whose agency Paulus Meyer promised me certain "exposures" of the antisemites, on condition that I, by my leniency to him, and my refraining from the publishing of his antecedents known to me from documents, would help to free him from the hand of Deckert (literally "out of the claws of these people"). The facts are, that the declaration of Paulus Meyer stating that he had never written the letter

announced by Deckert, relieved me, after the publication of the letter bearing the signature of Paulus Meyer, of the seal of secrecy. On the contrary, I felt it my duty to protect public opinion from a malicious mis-representation and an infamous plot.

It is untrue that "only a convert like Bickell doubts the statements made by another like Paulus Meyer".

The facts are that Doctor Bickell, a Professor of Aryan-Germanic extraction, declares that Paulus Meyer himself had, in conversations held with him, never once referred to the bloody tale of Ostrowo as a true or real happening. Further that, besides Professor Bickell, other Catholic theologians, even eminent dignitaries of the Church, give the lie to Paulus Meyer: as, for example, Cardinal Prince-Bishop Dr. Kopp, who declared explicitly in a written document — a certified copy of which I am in a position to place before the Editor of the "Vaterland", — that the supposition that the blood of Christians had ever been used by the Jews for ritual purposes can be proved neither from the Jewish religion, nor from history; and that such an accusation, be the reasons for it what they may, cannot be described other than as an absolute criminal falsehood.

I must leave it to Dr. Deckert to decide whether he will include in his allegations not only Professor Bickell, but also the Prince-Bishop of the Austro-Silesian diocese.

It is untrue that Sixtus IV. who has been appealed to against me, and who, in the spirit of the times, did not take exception to the cruel inhuman torture to which the so-called criminals of Trent were subjected, recognises in the Bull, dated July 20th. 1478, and addressed to the Prince-Bishop of Trent, Johannes von Hinderbach, the guilt of the Jews who had been burned at the stake, by approving of the bishop's conduct.

The facts are that in this special case it was only a question of the justification of Bishop Hinderbach: and the decision referred only to processum ipsum (i. e. the trial as such) as recte factum; since Hinderbach in the year 1475 could not know that in the year 1476 the Swiss Zanesus

would confess to the murder. Indeed, the Jews, in the year 1475 had declared that Zanesus was the murderer, but they were not believed. Zanesus (who is usually referred to in the documents as "Swizzer" i. e. Swiss, because of his birth) had had a law-suit before the Syndic of Trent against his neighbour, the highly esteemed Jew, Samuel, and because he was the loser, had sworn deadly enmity against the Jews.

How difficult it was, however, for the Bishop to escape being sentenced by the Pope: how long Sixtus IV. hesitated before he gave his signature to the document, the secret reports show which the Bishop's agents sent to him — the study of which I warmly recommend to Mr. Deckert. There he will learn of the severe illness of the Pope in 1478, and of how the signature to the document of June 20th. 1478 was begged from him during this illness; since, had the Pope refused to give it, Bishop Hinderbach was a lost man. The worship of Simon was, after another trial, forbidden.

It is untrue that the subsequent trial before the Papal Legate in Roveredo, which terminated with the acquittal of the Jews "who meanwhile had been burned at the stake" (the which I mentioned in my last letter), was simply "a game of intrigue".

The truth is, that already before the murder of the boy Simon in the Passover week of the year 1474, Bernardinus de Foltre said in a sermon directed against the Jews in Trent (literally): —

"And with these wicked Jews you associate? You say, although not of the true faith, they are still good men? I say to you that the Passover Feast of the Lord will not pass by, without they shall have given you adequate proof of their goodness of heart." (To be read, word for word, in the Annales Minorum XIV. p. 132 by the Church Historian Wadding). As, therefore, the intended murder of the boy Simon by the Jews was reported before it actually took place, and the announcement made days previously as to what would happen on the day of the Passover Feast, the accusation raised against the Jews in Trent was indeed a "game of intrigue".

but not the acquittal which was given when the appeal case was heard before the Papal Legate.

I find it superfluous to answer the personal insults.

Dr. Bloch, M. P.

The Tragedy of the Jewish Congregation of Trent.

As already stated, I published a historical account of the tragedy of the Jewish Congregation of Trent compiled from official documents, im pamphlet form, which I caused to be distributed gratis. In this account is described, in the first instance, the peculiar nature of the "evidence" which led to the arrest of the Jews. Immediately on seing the corpse, says the report, Bishop Hinderbach cried out: —

"This crime can only have been perpetrated by an enemy of the Christian faith" (Acta Sanct. II. p. 497), and swore to revenge the impiety. He immediately ordered a severe investigation, with which the Prefect of the City, Johannes de Salis, was entrusted. He, for his part, cross-examined the richest of the Jews; and as (I am quoting literally from the documents) upon the entrance of the Jews, the wounds of the corpse began to bleed afresh, a sure sign (evidentissima indicia) which occurs as everyone knows (experientia compertum est) when the murderer comes into the presence of his victim, it was accepted as conclusive proof that the Jews were guilty. On the grounds of this "sure sign", to which no other suspicious facts could be added, at first eight, a few days later nine, and later still, seventeen (of course, rich) Jews were put in chains.

But other means were easily found. There had been for years in the prison of Trent a baptized Jewish criminal, John de Feltre, who was offered liberty and pardon to induce him to give evidence against his former brothers in the faith. Mr. Deckert avers that it is untrue "that all the evidence given by the Jews had been wrung from them by torture." I have, however, in No. 128, of the Vienna "Vaterland" of May 10th, 1893. brought forward a witness against

this statement of Deckert's, whose veracity Mr. Deckert will hardly impugn, namely, Mr. Deckert himself, who, on page 21 of his booklet says:

"Only torture could wring from them a confession. Without touture they would probably not have confessed anything."

The Jews were for several days subjected to inhuman tortures, and "confessed" only after these had been again and again repeated and heightened. The Bishop of Trent had admitted this to the Pope in his letters (of justification). He writes "Having been tortured and questioned for many days (per plures dies torti et interrogati), they were unanimous in confessing nothing regarding the murder of this boy, or regarding their guilt". And in another passage: "In spite of the fact that many and varied measures have been taken against the Jews, almost fifteen days have passed" (quindena fere finita).

With burning rage and hate the Jews are tortured, and, since they confess nothing, the most varied and atrocious (atrocia) tortuers are renewed: namely fire, sulphur, and boiling hot eggs which are placed under the arms, so that one of the victims succumbed, and another has now died in the same manner; and so it was better for them to end their lives by death than to be tormented day by day with these various horrible tortures. If one considers the documents of the trial and all the allegations falsely brought against the Jews (licet falso conficta) one is forced to recognise that, were they even substantiated, this would be worth nothing because of the doubled, trebled and quadrupled torture; for who is so steadfast that he could persevere in lies for fifteen days (per quindecim dies) as the Jews have done?... Fifteen days have they been tortured, which, of course, has purposely been omitted in the documents that the cruelty of the torture may not be made manifest".1)

Had the Jews confessed during the first, second, or third torture, the official would undoubtedly not have found it necessary to apply so many various methods of torture, the very variety of which proves conclusively that they persevered in their denials, not once, but two, three, and four times. The Bishop of Trent himself says that he applied "manifold

(1) Licet in processum non ponatur quod factum est, de industria, ne appareat de crudelitate tormentorum.

and various tortures, and found them steadfast". All alleged confessions, therefore, which they are supposed to have made and afterwards certified, were wrung from them by the terror, intensity, and variety of the tortures.

The documents forwarded in his justification by the Bishop of Trent to the Pope, which, of course, had been carefully "prepared", give sufficient proof of the suffering of these martyrs. On March 30th., (Vienna documents. Folio 51) Samuel was "cross-examined" for the first time. He was brought back to prison to "recover" (animum repetendi); that is to say, in the judicial language of the time, he had lost consciousness. On the following day (March 31st) Samuel was undressed, bound hand and foot, and drawn up by a rope so that he hung suspended, by which the limbs were dislocated from the joints (by the weight of the body) — a proceeding which must have caused acute anguish. As he still declared himself and the other Jews innocent, he received "una cavaleta" (a jump) i. e. they let him suddenly down, only to draw him up as quickly again. Then they "touch" (i. e. beat) the taut rope on which he hangs, and again several times jerk him up and down ("give him a jump"). Unconsciousness succeeds, and prevents the continuation of the trial.(1)

On April 3rd., the proceedings are resumed, first with repetition of all grades of tortures applied on March 31st. As, freely suspended from the rope, he still avers the guarantee of his own innocence and of all the Jews, the rope is somewhat violently "touched" and he is twice jerked up and down from a height of two armslengths.

Again drawn up, the unfortunate man cries out — "Podesta, from whom have you heard that the blood of Christians is of any importance or use to us?" The answer

(1) Samuel is removed for the sake of "animum repetendi".

(2) "Corda fuit pluries squassatta". Innsbruck documents: also rueret man das sail ettwas vill.

(3) Duae cavalletae altitudines duorum bracchiorum vel circa. Innsbruck documents: "also liess man in tzwir auf zwayer arm hoch oder langk springen."

runs: — "I have heard it from Jews in the same position as Samuel".(1)

The procedure of letting him drop was repeated twice from a height of two or three arm's lengths, and, this torture still having no result, they left him so suspended in the air for "two thirds" of an hour, until again unconsciousness supervened.(2)

The fourth day of torture, April 7th., opens with a repetition of the former tortures, and as Samuel not only denies all guilt but exclaims "If I confessed to any wrong-doing I should lie!" they tie, to the right leg of the suspended man, a wooden block (which, by dislocating the limbs, still further greatly increases the pain). In addition they take an iron pan of fire on which sulphur had been thrown, and hold it to Samuel's nose. In spite of the stupifaction caused by the sulphur-fumes robbing the victim of his breath and senses, and the pressing questions (cum pluries interrogaretur), he perseveres in the denial of all guilt. The rope is, therefore, again several times "touched", the wooden block is tied to both shins (whereby the load and consequent pain are still further increased), and the unfortunate man is left suspended for a quarter of an hour. The torture being still insufficient the procedure of suddenly dropping and jerking up and down, is again repeated: and now, at last, Samuel's power of resistance is broken. Crippled, half-mad from the torture which has lasted several hours, and has been, with every refinement of cruelty, constantly varied and brought to a climax, he "confesses" that he and Tobias had "placed a kerchief round the

(1) Dominus protestas respondit, quod illud a Judaeis similibus sicut ipse Samuel i. e. from the confessions, under torture, of former trials. This reply of the Prefect of the City conducting the cross-examination, is very significant. It confirms a fact which is also proved elsewhere (see Archives of the Catholic Church Law Vol. 50 p. 46, Nr. 2), namely, that Bishop Hinderbach had brought to Trient the protocols of other trials. No wonder that the "confessions" of the Trent Jews were in agreement with those of their fellow-sufferers in other trials!

(2) Dum staret sic appensus per duas tertias partes horc. One must remember that on the same day he had already borne the same pain for a considerable time!

neck of the boy, and tightened it, whereby he was throttled". More than this "statement", which stands in direct contradiction to the accusation of drawing blood from the boy, was not to be wrung from him. To the question as to the manner in which, and the person by whom, the wounds had been inflicted on the boy, he declares his absolute ignorance.

A pause now succeeds in the "examination" of Samuel until June 6th.: that is, almost two months. During this time the other Jews are martyred and confessions forced from them which now form a basis for the further cross-examination of Samuel. The protocols of June 6th. report, in the case of Samuel, only the first stages of the torture. (undressing, binding, and drawing up). As they add that he had to be led back to the prison "animum repetendi" (because he had lost consciousness), the torture must have been much more intense. Probably already on June 6th. Samuel had retracted his confession of April 8th., just as he does now on June 7th. The verbal report of the protocol of that day regarding the torture reads as follows: —

"Wednesday June 7th, in the torture-chamber. Requested to tell the truth, because there was no need to keep secret what all his confederates had already confessed, he replied that they, if they had confessed anything, had not told the truth. The Prefect of the Town, having been informed that the drinking of holy water induces criminals who will not confess to make a statement, gave Samuel, then, a spoonful of such water. Pressed again to state the truth, he declared that he had done so. They then took two boiling hot eggs, and placed them, hot as they were, one under each armpit. Once more requested to tell the truth, he replied that he intended to tell it. He wishes, however, that only the Captain and the Prefect of the City should be present when he makes his confession. The Captain and the Prefect then bade all present to leave the torture-chamber, and when the Prefect, the Captain, and Samuel were alone, the latter declared, as the Captain afterwards reported to me, the Notary, that he was willing to tell the truth on condition that the Captain and

the Prefect would have him only burned at the stake, and not die another death."

The report tells its own pitiful tale! Although Samuel hears that his fellow-sufferers have already confessed, he denies all guilt; until the continued torture, horrible in the last degree and driving him to madness, shows him the uselessness of further resistance: and the certainty of fresh increased torture forces him to prostitute himself to the will of his tormentors. Dumbly resigned, he has but one wish to be released from his torments which had lasted nearly two and a half months (from March 27th.) by as speedy a death as possible. Had he not the promise that he would "only" be burned!

He made this "confession" at first before only the two officials. He is then reported to have repeated it before a third (Odoricus de Brezio), while before the other judges who were then recalled to the torture-chamber he only says that he "wanted to tell the truth". As, however, the Captain and the Prefect saw that he was "well inclined" to tell the truth(1) they did not ask him, as one would expect, to do this there and then, as he is supposed to have done before: but he is brought to the house of the Captain of the Town, and there it is said that, before a number of witnesses, among whom no notary was present, sitting at a kind of desk,(2) he made his "confession".

In spite of his furious self-accusations his tormentors were not yet satisfied; for on June 11th., he is again "cross-examined", and this, again, in the house of the Captain. He is asked "to tell the truth better".(3)

Under the threat that in case he did not do so he should again be tied to the rope Samuel replies "he wishes to tell

(1) Quod ipse Samuel bene dispositus erat ad dicendum veritatem.

(2) Dum sederet sub quadam cathedra, that means, he held a kind of lecture before his eagerly listening audience.

3) Interrogatur, quod melius dicat veritatem, minante eidem Samuel, quod si non dicat veritatem, ponetur ad cordam. Qui Samuel respondit quod vult dicere veritatem quia ex quo confessus est mortem pueri, vult confiteri reliqua.

the truth, because after having confessed to the murder of the child, he was willing to confess the rest as well". As the matter now stood, further denials would have been purposeless. They would have had, as consequence, only a renewal and increase of torture. Thus he "confesses" anything they ask of him. On June 21st, the unfortunate man is burned.

So is described, in the documents of the trial, even in those documents prepared by Bishop Hinderbach for presentation in Rome, the manner in which the "evidence" of the chief criminal Samuel was obtained.

And in this manner all the other victims of his judicial tragedy were treated, even those who allowed themselves to be baptized. Significant is the report of Israel, son of Mohar of Brandenburg. He was imprisoned on March 27th., tortured from April 12th. to April 21st., and asked to be baptized on April 21st. He was therefore released, and called henceforth Wolfkan (Wolfgang). On October 26th., he was again arrested, from this date until January 11th, 1476, repeatedly tortured, and put to the wheel on January 19th. He received this subsequent punishment because he had borne witness regarding the torture of the accused persons of Trent before the Papal Legate, the Bishop of Ventimiglia, in Roveredo. During his "examination" at Trent on Nov, 23rd.., 1475, Wolfgang says that he had answered, to a question put by the Bishop of Ventimiglia, "that fire and sulphur had been placed under his, Wolfgang's nose, so that his face burned ... and that the other Jews had been often tortured: that fire and sulphur had been placed under their noses so that their faces and chests were burned; and that eggs had been boiled and placed under their armpits": The apostolical brief of Sixtus IX (licet inter causus maiores [1] dated October 10the., 1475, and therefore written at the time when the trial was at an end, does not content itself simply with forbidding the worship on "pain of excommunication" but says expressly: — "until

(1) Printed from Pope Boniface XIV. in "De servorum Dei beatificatione et beatorum canonicatione. Litl cap. 14 Nr. 4 (Opera omnia Editio Romae 1747, vol. I, p. 112 ff).

now nothing is certain, nor strengthened by our judgment, nor confirmed, regarding the Trent boy, Simon, alleged (ut dicitur) to have been killed by the Jews".(1) More plainly the Pope could not testify that he condemned the whole judicial procedure, and attached absolutely no importance to the confessions! In this Brief, Sixtus had promised an investigation by a legate to be appointed ad hoc. This investigation was conducted in Trent and Roveredo by the Bishop of Ventemiglia, Giovanni Baptista dei Giudici, in the year 1476; and proved the innocence of the Jews, after the Trent citizen, Anzelinus, had charged with the murder the Swiss, Zanesus, who also resided in Trent and had sworn enmity to the Jews. It was, moreover, substantiated, that only by cruel torture had the Jews been induced to make their "confessions". The Papal Legate ascertained besides that most of the miracles that were supposed to have happened in Trent had been invented: and that all the notaries of the Trent bishop were forgers, who had written their statements in bad faith.(2)

This was the severest verdict against Bishop Hinderbach and the others guilty of the execution of the Jews; and evil threatened them, because now Sixtus entrusted the College of Cardinals with the investigation of the Trent judicial procedure.

Regarding the fact to which the "Vaterland" and Father Deckert have again pointed, namely that the Pope, on a revision of the trial, had approved of the attitude of the bishop, I have already made it clear that, at the new trial in Rome the object of which was the justification of Bishop Hinderbach judgment was pronounced that pro-

(1) Nihil adhuc certum compertumve nostro iudicio aut approbatum de quodam puero Simone Tridentino per Judaeos, ut dicitur, interfecto.

(2) "Dixit omnes notarios illos Tridentinos esse falsarios nec fideliter et juste scripserunt. Si docti et discreti Christiani et non seductores et praedones aut simplices et viles decepti illa miracula facta esse demonstrarent, non esset de Judaica perfidia et incredulitate curandum. Sed cum et constet de praeda, de injustitia, da falsitate, inobedientia, de contemptu et multiplici dolo et fraude simulationis, merito velut oves morbidae a reliquo grege sunt separandae et ad nihilum valent ultra, nisi ut ejiciantur et mittantur in caminum ignis ardentis.

cessum ipsum, i. e. the trial as such, was recte factum, because Hinrenbach could not know, in the year 1475, that in the year 1476 the Swiss Zanesus would be proved as the murderer. 'Indeed, the Jews already in 1475 averred that Zanesus was the murderer but they were not believed. Zanesus, who in the documents is usually referred to as "Swizzer" or the "Swiss", because of his birth, had been to law with his neighbour, the respected Jew Samuel, and, because he had lost the case, had sworn deadly enmity to the Jews.

How difficult it was, however, for the Bishop to escape being sentenced by the Pope, how long Sixtus IV. hesitated before giving his signature to the document, the secret reports show, which he bishop's agents sent to him. There one may read of the severe illness of the Pope in 1478, and of how the signature to the document of June 20th. 1478. was begged from him during his illness. Had the Pope refused to give it. Bishop Hinderbach was a lost man. The worship of Simon was, after another trial, forbidden.

If, however, Mr. Deckert denies that the Papal Legate had ascertained the innocence of the Jews, I have called to memory that he himself in his booklet has quoted the following documents:

38. Oct. 20th. Roveredo. The Legate Ventimiglia forbids Bishop Hinderbach, on pain of excommunication and prohibition of entry into any church, to proceed further against the imprisoned Jews. The Jewish women and children were to be released as quickly as possible (B. 51).

39. Oct. 29th. 1475. Special order of the Legate to the Captain of the City of Trent, Jac de Spaur, and the other members of the Court, to execute this command within three days, on pain of excommunication. (B. 52).

43. Nov. 2nd. Roveredo. Legate Ventimiglia sent to Bishop Hinderbach a Papal Brief in which the preachers are forbidden to speak of the martyrdom of St. Simon before the matter has been thoroughly investigated before the Papal Commissary (B. 56).

70. April 3rd. 1476. Sixtus IV. to Bishop Hinderbach. He had, since the return of his Legate, referred the matter

to certain Cardinals for enquiry. They had ordered the trial to stop. At the same time he had heard that the Bishop had proceeded further against the Jews. He is very surprised at this, and commands him, sub poena suspensionis a divinis, to stop the trial until further notice. The Jewish women are to be kept in a safe place outside the prison until such time as the matter has been thoroughly enquired into by the Cardinals. (Le Griffus B. 87).

192. Report on the cross-examination of the Swiss, who is accused of having carried the body of the child murdered by him into Samuel's house, out of enmity to the Jews. He is called the real author of the crime, and the "cause of great trouble" — "the miracles may be real, and the Swiss still the murderer."

Mr. Deckert mentions this important document of the trial as well, and adds it to the account of the "opposing side". He does not dare to affirm that this is only evidence furnished by the Jews. Those of the "opposing side" are, for him, all who did not actually take part in the execution of the innocent victims of Trent.

To indicate the spirit in which the trial was conducted it is sufficient to state that the Papal Legate, provided with full authority from the Pope to enquire into the proceedings in Trent, was made the object of every sort of calumny, persecution, and threats. He even thought it wise, under the pretext of affected health, to remove from Trent to Roveredo, there to conduct the examination. The experiences the delegates of the Venetian Republic had there made, had shown him very clearly what awaited him in Trent. The documents of the trial give enough instances of the accusations levelled against him: —

"The Legate would not himself hear those who were eager to tell of the miracles, but gave the work over to his judge lateral".

"In the examination he would not listen to the witnesses against the Jews, and so gave the Jews the opportunity of speaking evil of the lawful judge. He had tried to release the Jews from prison, and had given orders that the wives

and children of the Jews, without any examination, should be released. He was apparently in the pay of the Jews".

"He was against the worship of the holy martyr, and had, even before a decision was reached, expressed the opinion that the whole case against the Jews was nought."

"His judge lateral and notary were strongly suspected of bribery by the Jews; in spite of it, they have not set them free".

From Rome the illness of the Pope was announced, and that he had heard with great displeasure how his Legate had been suspected of dishonest dealings; that epigrams and satires had been published against him; and that he had also been mocked by pictorial representation. The Bishop of Trent was commanded to put a stop to this in his diocese.

And yet another episode is mentioned, undoubtedly the most remarkable occurrence in the whole tragedy.

The Jews requested a priest named Paul Ser. de Novaria to copy out for them the documents of the trial in the bishop's castle, as they wished to send them to the Pope, the Emperor, and the other Princes. The Jews were desirous of obtaining a copy of the original documents of the trial, knowing, as they did, that they could only tell in their favour, and having forseen that the Bishop of Trent would not produce the original documents in Rome, but instead, documents which had been carefully prepared. The priest was discovered in the act, and proceedings were taken against him. What did he do to escape the question? Mr. Deckert himself reports: —

"In an unwatched moment he cut out his own tongue with a pen-knife, and cast it into the water-closet".

This episode of itself throws a lurid light on this monstrous trial, and one understands how, in view of this trial, Pope Paul III. in a Bull, dated May 12th, 1540, condemns the whole accusation of blood as "a monstrous birth of hatred and envy, of blind coveteousness, that the possessions of the Jews might be taken from them with some semblance of decency", and that he forbids, for all time, most emphatically, any repetition of this accusation, threatening for disobe-

dience the heaviest penalties of the church: this prohibition to be in force for all time.

It is interesting to note how strongly the teachers of the Talmudic law have spoken against the application of torture and the question.

A famous Babylonian Talmud teacher, the founder of the schools there, Rab (Aba-Areka) said: —

Had King Nebuchadnezar, instead of at once casting the three men, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, into the fiery furnace, caused them to be beaten and tortured, they would certainly have worshipped the image; for torture is harder to bear. It demands more will-power and strength of purpose than a quick, though painful death. (Kethubot 33 b.) The Tosafot to this passage, however, refer to the painful death of R. Abika, which seems to contradict this statement. But even this death cannot be compared with the painful tortures to which the Jews of Trent, as was so often the case in the middle ages, were subjected.

Menasse b. Israel in his book "Teshuath Israel" written in London in 1556 (in English) tells the following story: —

A Portuguese Prince had a Gentile Court-Physician who was accused before the Inquisition that he professed, in secret, the Jewish faith. Brought to trial, the physician averred that the accusation was groundless, but his assertion was not believed. Torture was applied, and under terrible agony, he confessed that he was really a Jew: and was thereupon executed. The Prince, however, who knew that his physician had been a pious Christian, and that only torture had wrung from him this false confession, brought drastic proof of his innocence. He spread the report that he had fallen seriously ill. After some days he sent for the Grand Inquisitor with the request for the last consolations of religion. The Grand Inquisitor came, but immediately upon his entry into the palace, the doors were locked behind him. The Prince, who had apparently been lying on his death-bed, arose suddenly, and demandel of the Inquisitor that he should at once declare in writing that he, the Grand Inquisitor, professed the Jewish faith and put his name to this statement. On the

refusal of the Inquisitor, the Prince called a servant, and ordered him to bring a helmet which had been brought to red heat in the fire, and to place it on the Inquisitor's head. But at a first glance at the red-hot helmet, the fiery religious zeal of the Grand Inquisitor cooled, and he acquiesced in the Prince's demand. The Prince then reminded him of the trial of his physician. The Inquisitor, who had himself experienced the argumentative power of the torture, employed it later, nevertheless, to wring confessions from his victims.

It was clear that such a calumny as that of Paulus Meyer must not be left to history and perhaps misuse in the future, with simply a weak retraction; but that it was of vital necessity to press for a clearing-up before a court of law. My efforts, in spite of the refusal of the Public Prosecutor, were directed towards making use of the law-courts of Vienna. Convinced, as I was, that the writer of the lying letter, although he had taxed his imagination to invent the fairy-tale itself, and to suitably deck it out, had not given himself the trouble to invent new names, but had used those which, by chance, had remained in his memory from his youth, it appeared to me highly probable that all these people, or their legal heirs, really existed. Should this supposition prove true, we stood before the possibility of making the matter "presentable enough" for a court of law.

The first task, therefore, was to find the people, to prove beyond a doubt their existence, to then obtain powers of attorney from them, and to bring the case before the High Court of Vienna. I received support and valuable assistance from the Editors of the "Hazefira" in Warsaw, Nahum Sokolow, and Chaim Selig Slonimski, who undertook the task of finding and properly identifying the persons named by Paulus Meyer. And then it was a question of identifying Paulus Meyer, alias "Pawly" alias "Kremenetzky".

The escapades of Paulus Meyer under those three names in Germany, England, and France were interesting enough. I was therefore firmly convinced that the travelled Russian had no lawful claim to any of these names: and that he had

good cause for not divulging his true name. I endeavoured, therefore, to obtain possession of a photograph of this gentleman, in order to have it identified in Russia. This at first seemed fraught with difficulties: yet in spite of the well-known aitrusim of the antisemites, and their renowned incorruptibility, a few were prepared to do me the service. By this photograph which I sent to Warsaw, he was identified as Eliezer Baruch Ashkenazi, registered in duplicate in Biala and Brest, two towns in the neighbourhood of Ostrow, Government Siedlce. The father of Leiser Baruch (as he was called in Biala) had died in 1871. The mother, a poor widow, was still alive. From his earliest youth he had displayed such depravity in his inclinations and behaviour, that he was looked upon as a black sheep by his parents and acquaintances. He was a nuisance to his early widowed mother and his relatives. A brother-in-law of the widow, and therefore uncle of Leiser Baruch, Moishe Leib of Ostrow, a brother-in law of Rabbi Jehoshua (libelled as murderer by Paulus Meyer) took the boy: and the people in Ostrow can remember that a bad end had already been prophesied for him. On the death of Rabbi Jehoshua his brother-in-law Moische Leib left Ostrow and went to Palestine. Leiser Baruch was, from that time, left to his own devices: loafed about in the world, returning from time to time to Biala to "sponge on" his relatives. He threatened repeatedly that he would get himself baptized, and such threats always brought him a few roubles — the signal for his disappearance. After an absence of years Leiser Baruch reappeared suddenly in Biala under arrest. He was for some time in prison, and was for three years under police supervision.

A few years ago his relatives in Biala received from Leiser Baruch a letter, sent from England, containing a request for a few tefilin and tsitsis. His conscience had been troubling him: his father had appeared to him in a dream: he wished to become a Jew again. The letter remained unanswered.

From the same source it was confirmed that Rabbi Jehoshua ben haraw Schlomo Leib m'Lentschna had been

active in the city of Ostrow (called by the Jews "Ostrowo") in Gouvernment Siedlce from 1860 to 1872. This city had formerly belonged to Gouvernment Lublin. He had died on April 26th, 1873, in Warsaw. The tombstone in the Warsaw cemetery reads:

פה ננוז
הרב מוהר"ר יהושע זללה"ה
מאוסטראווע
בהרב הצדיק מוהר"ר שלמה יהודא וצללה"ה
מלענטשנע
נפטר יום ו' עש"ק ב"ח ימים לחודש ניסן שנת תרל"ג לפ"ק.

תנצב"ה.

לזכר עולם.

אשר ארבעה אמות מכל צדי הקבר מסביב אין להניח לשום אדם כי כן היתה הצוואה והקרקע הגיל עם הארבעה אמות מכל צד מסביב נקנה עבורו לצמיתות.

ומעבר השני:

הועתק מצוואה שלו

פ"נ ההמ"ז יהושע מאוסטראווע
בהרב הקדוש מוהש"ל וצללה"ה
זיעיא מלענטשנע
נפ' ביום עש"ק י"ג בספירה כ"ח ניסן תרל"ג.

This rabbi, therefore, died on April 25th, 1873. Some months before his death Rabbi Jehoshua lay seriously ill in Warsaw; the murderer, therefore, had been dead for longer than two years before the occurrence of the murder attributed to him. In the Easter of 1875, the aforesaid rabbi was not among the living, but had been dead for some time. The father of Paulus Meyer died in 1871: and in the letter it says that in the year 1875 his father brought him to Rabbi Jehoshua in Ostrow. The dead father, therefore, brought him to the dead rabbi. Paulus Meyer alleged that he was then fourteen years old. Granted even, that the deed occurred in the year 1873, at which Easter time the rabbi lay seriously ill, he himself must have been, at this time, between eleven and twelve years old: and one must be out of one's right mind to affirm that a child of this age was put to the study of

the Cabbala or taken, as Meyer describes, to witness such a bloody deed. Other important documents have also been obtained. The murdered child is supposed to have been brought from Lubartov. The municipal board of this city, where all local happenings, according to law, must be precisely recorded, states officially that neither in the year 1875, nor for many years before this date, neither in the town nor in the neighbourhood has a child disappeared in a doubtful manner. It is substantiated as referring to the whole district by the Chief Officer of the same (Naczelnik powiatu): while the whole of the City Corporation (Lawniki), all of unimpeachable Gentile stock, confirm that no Gentile child in the whole neighbourhood disappeared during the years mentioned. A daughter of Rabbi Jehoshua Lentchna deceased in 1873, of the name of Rachel, was the wife of the Rabbi of Biala (Gouvernment Siedlce), Jankel Rabinowitz. There resided also the two so-called assistants and accomplices at the supposed murder of the child in Ostrow—Moische Berisches (Rozanker) and Srul Parzewer (Israel Frost). The former was "Shames" (servant) to the rabbi, the latter had retired later into private life. In Lubartow, in a village, lived the supposed agent who had procured the child—Samuel Wassermann from Tarlo,- called Shmul Tarler, who formerly had supplied the rabbi's kitchen in Ostrow with butter and cheese.

Our friends in Warsaw, on my information, gave power of attorney to my old advocate Doctor Josef Kopp, barrister, as did also the son-in-law and the daughter of the deceased rabbi of Ostrow, as well as the three other persons accused in the letter by Paulus Meyer, to bring an action against Paulus Meyer, Father Deckert, and the Editor of the "Vaterland" at the R. J. High Court of Vienna. Sokolow and his friends had worked well, and deserved our heartiest thanks.

Paulus Meyer had meanwhile been taken into custody by the Vienna High Court at the instigation of the Royal Saxon Court at Leipzig. By June 12th., the powers of attorney had arrived, certified by the notary of the Warsaw Court and

the Imperial Consul General at Warsaw. These documents were sufficient proof of identity.

And now at the Vienna Court the rabbi Jankiel Rabinowitz of Biala in Russian Poland, as a son-in-law of Josua Lentshna, (deceased in 1873, and slandered as murderer by Paulus Meyer and Deckert), together with his (Jankiel Rabinowitz's) wife, Rachel Rabinowitz, (daughter of the said Rabbi of Ostrow), and Israel Frost alias Partzewar, Moses Rosenker alias Moische Beriches, and Schmiel Tarler (the latter of whom had been slandered as the murderer of the Gentile child in the letter addressed by Paulus Meyer to Father Deckert) brought an action, with Dr. Joseph Kopp as Counsel for the Plaintiffs.

On August 4th., the preliminary cross-examination and first judicial investigation were closed, and the suit filed against Paulus Meyer, (now in custody), Dr. Joseph Deckert, and the "Vaterland", on account of the letter published in the "Vaterland", and signed with the name of "Paulus Meyer".

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Among all biblical names, none has been so favoured by fortune as the name of Joseph, which, in correct Hebrew pronunciation, continues to live among all peoples, and enjoys uncommon popularity with Christians and Mohammedans. Father Deckert also bore the name of Joseph, called his new church "St. Joseph's". The St. Joseph of the "Messenger" (Deckert's magazine) was, of course, Joseph the Foster-father. The "Messenger" had its special column of prayers.

The help of St. Joseph was requested in all the difficult situations of life — in illness, pecuniary difficulties, approaching parliamentary elections, when danger threatened in the "stable", or when it was a question of beating "Jewish competition". In the month immediately preceding the last hearing of this trial, the Parson of Weinhaus made a special request for prayer. In the August issue the following lines occur: —

"A happy ending to a grave libel action which Russian

Jews, at the instigation of Vienna Jews, have instigated against the Editor of this magazine, Dr. D.".

And in the September number, among the requests for prayer you may read again: —

"A happy ending to the notorious trial before the Vienna High Court of the Editor of this magazine, Dr. D.".

The case opened before the Vienna High Court on September 15th, 1893. Counsels for the defence: for Paulus Meyer, Doctor Griez de Ronze; for Dr. Deckert, Dr. Porzer, afterwards Vice-Mayor of Vienna; for the "Vaterland" Dr. Pattai, afterwards President, and Member of Parliament.

On Thursday, Sept. 14th, the "Deutsches Volksblatt" published in its evening issue, in order to influence the jury, an article entitled "Contributions to the Ritual-murder Question", in which adequate incense was burned before Father Deckert for his "scientific investigations", based on official statements regarding the victims of Jewish fanaticism, the memory of whom is still alive in Tyrol. Father Deckert had, for the occasion, written a new booklet, which was issued before the day of the trial.

And, lastly, the antisemitic Press had not neglected to remind the jury that it was the ex-rabbi Bloch who had brought about the whole "fatal" trial, and who was arranging and directing it behind the scenes.

Dr. Bloch exerted his efforts to find the accused persons: and when he had succeeded, induced them to bring a libel action against those who had spread the accusation.

On Friday Sept. 15th., on the morning of the trial, the "Deutsches Volksblatt" published a new article, referring to the boy-murder at Xanten, for the breakfast-table of the jurors. Towards mid-day, the Editor of the antisemitic "Deutsches Volksblatt" offered himself as a witness for his friend Deckert. The antisemitic parties and sects united their forces in order to save Deckert and his companions, and to influence the jurors in their favour. * * *

Since the suit had been filed, I had stepped completely into the background. My task was done. Now the court must speak. Dr. Joseph Kopp, barrister, took the case in hand.

Stenographic Report of the Proceedings at the Trial of Paulus Meyer, Father Deckert of Weinhaus, and the Editor of the Vienna "Vaterland", Franz Doll.

In Vienna, on Friday, September 15th, at 9 a. m. began the hearing before the High Court of the action brought by Jankiel *Rabinowitz*, his wife *Rachel*, *Moishe Rosenker* alias Berliches, *Srul Frost* alias Partzewar, and *Schmul Wassertrum* alias Tarler, against *Paulus Meyer*, *Father Josef Deckert D. D.* and the Responsible Editor of the "Vaterland" *Franz Doll*, the accusation being that of defamation of character.

As President — *Judge Haller*.

As Counsel for the Prosecution — *Dr. Joseph Kopp*. As Counsel for the Defence — *Dr. Griez de Ronze* (for Paulus Meyer), *Dr. Portzer* (for Father Deckert), *Dr. Pattai* (for Franz Doll).

Jury-men: Karl *Reichert*, Karl *Wittman*, Karl *Ozalewski*, Joseph *Reinhardt*, Johann *Garber*, Ferdinand *Eder*, Robin *Riegler*, Jakob *Politzer*, Jakob *Schember*, Wenzel *Lorenz*, Moriz *Selldorf* and, as substitute for another juror, Lambert *Berger*.

President: I declare the court open, and ask the Clerk of the Court to state the case.

The Clerk of the Court states the case.

The President then takes the particulars of Paulus Meyer (31 years of age, Protestant, unmarried, formerly Jewish missionary, born in Wlozlawick [Russian Poland], citizen of Wilna in Russia).

President: Have you ever been before a court?

Meyer: Yes, I had a disagreement with a missionary in Danzig, because I spoke very strongly against the Jewish Mission.

President: Were you then sentenced?

Meyer: To fourteen days.

President: On what charge?

Meyer: Alleged begging.

President: What education have you had?

Meyer: At home, in my father's house, I studied Hebrew. before I became converted.

President: You have studied theology, I see then, and your studies in this direction seem to have had no influence on you; for your parents professed the Jewish faith. What profession did you choose?

Meyer: Until I was twenty-one, I lived with my parents mostly. Then my father died, and his wish was —

President: I must ask you to be as brief as possible. What profession did you choose?

Meyer: Teacher and journalist.

President: I see from Journal Nr. 27 that this tallies with the information given by the Intelligence Department, and from Journal Nr. 31 that the Police Authorities state that they have nothing against Meyer. He has a blameless character, lived up to the time of his arrest with his fiancée. Emma Wituska, and paid for his flat 22 florins. His fiancée left Vienna for Wiesbaden on July 1st, 1893. His income is not known.

Particulars were then taken of Dr. Joseph Deckert: born in Drosing (Lower-Austria), citizen of Vienna, forty-nine years of age, Catholic, unmarried, priest of the Weinhaus Roman Catholic Church, blameless life.

The President confirms, from Journal 20, that these particulars are in accordance with the information from the Intelligence Department; that the Police Authorities have nothing against Dr. Deckert, according to Journal 32; that he has a blameless character, and that he is priest of the Weinhaus Roman Catholic Church. He enjoys a considerable fortune (figures unknown), and has a yearly income of 1500 florins. The President then takes particulars of Franz Doll: — forty-

three years of age, Catholic, married, Responsible Editor of the "Vaterland", born at Atzgersdorf, citizen of Vienna. blameless life.

President: What education have you had?

Doll: First "Realschule", then "Gymnasium". Later I took up the study of theology, and now, for ten years, have been a journalist.

President: I see, from Journal 28, from the Police Authorities that there is nothing against Doll. He has a blameless character, lives in good circumstances, has an income of from 180 to 200 florins per month, pays for his flat 520 florins, and is the father of a child five years old. He provides for wife and child, and carries on a simple household with his wife.

President: I must ask the accused to note the order of the proceedings, and to pay particular attention to the charge, which will follow. I will now pass on to the swearing-in of the jury. (This follows.)

The reading of the charge now, takes place which runs

R. I. Criminal High Court of Vienna.

Charge brought by Jankiel (Jakob) Rabinowitz, Rabbi. and his wife Rachel, the servant (shames) Srul (Israel) Frost alias Partzewar, and Moishe Rosenker alias Beriches, all four of Biala, Russian Poland, and Shmul Wassertrum alias Tarler, land-owner in Tarlo, Russian-Poland through Dr. Joseph Kopp, barrister-at-law in Vienna, supported by Dr. Elias Münz, Counsel for Criminal Offences in Vienna, I. Rotenturmstraße 15, against Mr. Paulus Meyer, His Reverence Dr. Joseph Deckert, and Franz Doll, for defamation of character.

Royal Imperial High Court.

The preliminary cross-examination of the prisoner Paulus Meyer, Dr. Joseph Deckert, and Franz Doll, at the instigation of Mr. Jankiel Rabinowitz, his wife Rachel, Mr. Moische Rosenker alias Beriches, Srul Frost alias Partzewar, and Shmul Wassertrum alias Tarler, closed according to an official decree, dated July 21st, 1893, No. 27.153. I now bring forward, as attorney, the following accusation, having full

power from the plaintiffs mentioned. this power of attorney being among the documents of the court.

Accusation.

1. Against Paulus Meyer, alleged journalist and teacher of Oriental languages. 30 years of age, born in Wlozlawik (Russian-Poland)), Russian subject, Protestant. formerly Mosaic, single, at present under arrest, formerly residing Cottagegasse 7, Wahring.

2. Against Dr. Joseph Deckert, Priest in Weinhaus (Vienna), 49 years of age, born in Drosing (Lower-Austria), citizen of Vienna, Catholic, single residing No. 30 Weinhaus High Street.

3. Against Franz Doll, Responsible Editor of the Vienna newspaper "The Vaterland", 42 years of age, born at Atzgersdorf, citizen of Vienna, Catholic, married.

Ad. 1. Paulus Meyer, in that he, in No. 129 of the Vienna daily newspaper the "Vaterland", on the third page, and first column, beginning with the address "His Reverence Father Joseph Deckert, Weinhaus, Vienna" and, ending in the third column with the words "to which his estate belonged. D. O. was the author of the letter, dated April 20th. 1893, which he gave to Dr. Joseph Deckert for publication, causing it to be printed.

Ad. 2. Dr. Joseph Deckert, in that he passed on the said letter to the editor of the "Vaterland" for publication, being fully aware of its contents, causing it to be printed.

Ad. 3. Franz Doll, in that he, being aware of the contents of the same letter, gave it to the "Vaterland" for publication, and this in full: the letter beginning with the words: "It was in the year 1875" and ending with the words: "to which his estate belonged. D. O.", all three accusing the Rabbi Jehoshua (Shye) deceased in the year 1873, the servant Moishe Rosenker alias Beriches, and Srul Frost alias Partzewar, and the land-owner Shmul Wassertrum alias Tarler, falsely, and in print, of a crime, and that the crime of murder; without the accusation going so far as to come under § 209 of the Statute-Book dealing with defamation of character; and

has, therefore, rendered himself liable to punishment under § 493 of the Criminal Laws, because of the transgression of § 487 and § 495 dealing with the protection of the honour of the individual.

I therefore move that proceedings be taken against Paulus Meyer, Dr. Joseph Deckert, and Franz Doll, before the High Criminal Court of Vienna; and that the accused be communicated with, or rather commanded to attend; that the article which is the subject of this accusation be read, as well as the article under the heading "Rabbi Bloch and the Ritual-Murder", published in No. 123 of the "Vaterland" of May 25th, 1893: and also the articles under the heading "A Controversy", contained in No. 125 of the same paper, dated May 7th, 1893, and in No. 128, dated May 10th, 1893. Further, that the original letter of Paulus Meyer, produced by Joseph Deckert, be read, together with the postscript, ad. J. A. 7, and with the documents granting to Counsel the power of attorney ad. J. A. 3, A. F. and ad. J. A. 11. A. B.

Grounds.

In the incriminated letter it is affirmed that the writer "was himself witness of the slaughter of a Gentile child, whose blood was to serve a supposed ritual purpose with the Jews".

The author of the letter then describes the events, which are supposed to have taken place in the year 1875, just before the Jewish Passover, in Ostrowo, Government Lublin, Russian-Poland; as the chief instigator and director of the murder, a rabbi of Ostrowo, named Jehoshua ben h'Raw Shlome Leb m'Lentchna (son of Rabbi Shlome Leb in Lentchna), as perpetrator of the deed, two shames (servants) of the rabbi in question — namely Moishe Beriches, and Srul Partzewar. Lastly, the land-owner, Shmul Tarler, is accused of having provided the victim. Because of these communications, in which the above-mentioned four persons are clearly and distinctly described as accomplices in the crime of murder, an action for defamation of character has been brought, accord-

ing to § 487 of the Statute-Book. This defamation is to be regarded as an offence, in that it was committed in print. The legal responsibility rests upon: —

1. The author of this letter, Mr. Paulus Meyer, who not only empowered, but bound the addressee to publish the communication "to prevent further harm, in order that no other Gentile children may fall victims to such Jewish assassins, in their mad religious fanaticism". In the preliminary cross-examination Paulus Meyer, recognising apparently that he could not take any responsibility for this allegation raised by him for the basest motives — an allegation as horrible as false — has, however, absolutely declined to answer the question of the cross-examining jugde as to whether he, Paulus Meyer, confessed to the authorship of the said letter and to having caused it to be printed. This silence, however, exonerates the accused the less, as Dr. Joseph Deckert, whose evidence should deserve unconditional credence, had distinctly declared in the preliminary cross-examination that the incriminated letter had been given him for publication by Paulus Meyer after his arrival in Vienna in mid-April.

2. The Reverend Father Joseph Deckert, who, before the cross-examining judge, confessed explicitly that he had instigated the publication of the said letter addressed to him, in the newspaper "The Vaterland", by placing the same at the disposal of the Editor with the request that it should be printed.

3. Mr. Franz Doll, Responsible Editor of the "Vaterland", who, likewise, during the preliminary cross-examination, admitted that he had read the letter before it was printed, and at the request of Dr. Deckert has transmitted it to the printing office.

The two last-named plead in their defence the fact only that they believed the communication of Paulus Meyer to be true. Quite apart however, from the fact that Dr. Joseph Deckert, as well as Mr. Franz Doll, in view of the antecedents of Paulus Meyer — the which were well known to them — and the many warnings against him which they had received, had more than sufficient grounds for treating the accusation

brought forward by him with the greatest distrust, their alleged good faith cannot, according to the law, give them any impunity for the spreading and publishing of the said accusation in print.

Entitled to bring an action would be, in first instance, the rabbi mentioned in the letter: who, however, and that some two years before the fictitious murder, had died in Warsaw. He is represented according to § 495 of the Criminal Law by his daughter Rachel, and her husband, his son-in-law Jankiel (Jacob) Rabinowitz, rabbi in Biala, Russian-Poland.

Further entitled to bring an action are the two Shames (servants) of the rabbi mentioned in the letter, as well as Shmul Tarler, indicated in the post-script.

During the preliminary cross-examination, sufficient opportunities were given to Mr. Paulus Meyer, Dr. Joseph Deckert, and Mr. Franz Doll, of bringing proof as to the truth of the allegations contained in the incriminated letter, thus exonerating themselves. This proof was certainly not forthcoming from them, neither was it attempted or offered. The accusation therefore, seems, in every respect, well grounded.

Vienna, August 3rd, 1893.

As substitute for Dr. Joseph Kopp:
Dr. Elias Müntz, m. p.

The President then reads, in connection with the accusation the *letter* published in Nr. 129 of the "Vaterland" of May 11th, 1893.

Cross-examination of Paulus Meyer.

President: Mr. Paulus Meyer, have you understood the charge?

Meyer: Yes.

President: Do you plead guilty?

Meyer: No.

President: If you plead not guilty you are entitled to make a coherent statement in refutation of the charge. Will you take advantage of this right, or shall I question you?

Meyer: I state that I neither composed nor signed the letter. That I can declare with reference to the authorship of the letter.

President: You, therefore, disclaim the authorship of the letter? Do you also negate the charge? Did you hand over the letter to Father Deckert?

Meyer: No.

President: With that your cross-examination is really finished. You see that the charge states the contrary. You must now, in your defence, explain to us how your name comes to be connected with the whole affair.

Meyer: Excuse me, I ask that Doctor Deckert shall report on the authorship and composition of the letter.

President: You have now the right to be heard, and must address the court yourself. You cannot say that you leave it to Doctor Deckert, in order that you may arrange matters at your pleasure.

Meyer: I have no intention of doing so. I only wish Dr. Deckert to speak first. Then I will explain the whole matter from my point of view.

President: That is not allowed. You can refer to anything that is said when the time comes, afterwards. But you have now the right to be heard, and as you plead not guilty it is for you to defend yourself. If you declare that you will not defend yourself now, but only after Dr. Deckert has spoken, you will probably prejudice the judges against you, by making it appear that you are endeavouring to derive, from another's statement, the matter for your own defence.

Meyer: It has not yet been proved that I am the author of the letter; and as I believe that no one can prove that I am, I don't see how I can defend myself.

President: You hear how the charge states that Dr. Deckert declared before the court that he received this letter from you, that he has knowledge of the fact that the letter was composed by you, and dictated by you to your fiancée; that, further, you gave him the letter for publication, and dictated the postscript in the letter.

Meyer: Am I allowed to ask a question?

President: You are the accused, and have, therefore, to answer.

Meyer: If Dr. Deckert declares that I gave him the letter, and asked him to publish it, he must state when and where.

President: That will be his affair, later. He will also be heard. But the charge states that you were the perpetrator of the deed: that you composed the letter, and handed it over to Dr. Deckert.

Meyer: Excuse me! I cannot acknowledge that I am either the writer or the author of this letter.

President: You have said that already!

Meyer: I am innocent! absolutely innocent of the whole affair! and if Dr. Deckert says it, he must be able to prove it.

President: I have already given Dr. Deckert's statement at the preliminary cross-examination. Have you any reply to make to this? If you simply state "no", I call your attention to the fact that we shall proceed with the trial, but that you may possibly prejudice yourself, or call down the suspicion of unreliability. It is in your own interest that you should answer the charge. As you declare that you did not compose the letter, nor give it to Dr. Deckert, how can you explain the fact that your name came to be connected with it?

Meyer: I did not sign the letter and cannot explain how a second person did such a thing.

President: Do you know Dr. Deckert?

Meyer: Yes.

President: Have you had any connection with him?

Meyer: Yes.

President: What induced you to get into connection with him?

Meyer: I came into connection with Dr. Deckert through Professor Rohling in Prague.

President: For what purpose? Was it simply to form a friendship, or for what other reason?

Meyer: When Professor Rohling recommended me to Dr. Deckert I didn't myself know why. If you will allow me I will describe it all from the beginning.

For some time lately I have lived in Leipzig, and there I

got into correspondence with *Rohling*. Up to this time I knew Professor Rohling only from hearsay. Last year Mr. Karl Paasch called on me in Berlin. I was working in the Jewish Mission, and left later because of disagreements I had with them. I published some things about them afterwards. I wanted to write about them at the time, but I had no opportunity. The "Staatsbürger-Zeitung" gave me the opportunity afterwards of making disclosures regarding the Jewish Mission. It was through this that I got to know Karl Paasch. He came to me one day, said he had spoken to Rohling about me, and he (Rohling), wanted to know me. I gave him my address in Berlin, 97 Klostergasse, Hotel Garni: and then Paasch suggested that I should write to Rohling. I did not know what, though. Still, as Paasch asked me, I wrote a few lines. As Rohling was known as a Talmud scholar and Hebraist, and it was difficult for me to write German to a German, I perferred to correspond with him in Hebrew. To my first letter I got no answer.

President: You got, therefore, into connection with Professor *Rohling?*

Meyer: I will give you a clear picture of the whole matter.

President: But keep to the point!

Meyer: That was the first time I had any dealings with *Rohling*. In between this, followed the scandal of the boy-murder at Xanten. One day I received from the President of the antisemitic League at Berlin the request that I, as convert, should decide, to the best of my knowledge and conscience and strictly according to the truth, whether the Jews use the blood of Gentiles for any ritual purpose. I gave no answer to this. At the same time, out of annoyance and bitterness over Professor Strack, with whom I worked in the Jewish Mission, I asked the "Staatsbürger-Zeitung" to give me a person to work for me, and I would dictate to him all my experiences at the Jewish Mission, directed especially against Strack who had defended the boy-murder at Xanten. I was annoyed with him, and knew that he had insufficient knowledge of Hebrew. I cannot admit that a Christian theologian . . .

President: Come to the point! My question was: — How did you get to know Dr. Deckert? Leave the ritual murder alone, and come to the point!

Meyer: The "Staatsbürger-Zeitung" has, of its own accord, added to the letter which I published against Strack that I intended to ask him to prove that there does exist a blood-ritual because he . . .

President: This was, then, scientific research?

Meyer: Professor Strack knows nothing of the Talmud. Even then I had the same misfortune, there being then, as now, the question of a boy-murder. The Editor added to my letter that I asked Professor Strack to prove there does exist a blood-ritual. I have never made such a statement. I read the letter in which my name was mentioned. The Editor should then have corrected it, but I could not carry the matter through.

In the "Jewish Press" I was attacked as an antisemite. It was stated there too, that I had been expelled from Berlin, and gone to Leipzig. Dr. Wesendonck took me under his protection there. He came to me one day and brought me a letter from Rohling, enclosing ten florins for me to buy myself something with. He wrote me that a Jew in Magdeburg knew Hebrew very well and had been asked by Rohling to prove that very much in the Talmud had been falsified. Rohling then said that one must apply to Meyer.

President: Speak slowly, and you will save our time! I will not interfere with your manner of defending yourself, but give your mind to this: — we want to get at your connection with Dr. Deckert. We have heard that you had connections with Rohling, the purpose being that of scientific research. Now we come to the second person.

Meyer: To avoid all misunderstandings I want to give a clear picture of the matter in the briefest form. I am not a German, and so must ask for indulgence.

President: But keep to the point!

Meyer: Dr. Wesendonck asked me whether I could protect Rohling in the matter of "The Talmud Jew", as the latter had

offered a prize of 3000 florins. I said that I had not busied myself with the "Talmud Jew", and did not wish to do so. In the meantime I received letter after letter from Rohling, and sometimes money as well. After that, I received from Rohling the booklet "Polemics". I should very much have liked to solve the whole blood-riddle, because, I said to myself, it would be a very good thing to ascertain whether the blood ritual really existed, and if it did, I would prove it even though I were a Jew. It is not true, as some papers say, that I am an antisemite. I do not write against the Jews. I only fight lies and trickery. That one can see from my other writings. I have also written very unpleasant things about the Protestant clergy. In his booklet, Rohling mentioned a book called "Gan naul" (i. e. "The Closed Garden"), in which the Jews are bidden to slaughter Gentile children for ritual purposes. The booklet goes on to express its regret that this book has been lost, in an inexplicable manner. I went to the Leipzig library, and found there a book "Gan naul"; but this had nothing to do with the question, or religion, but deals only with grammar. I wrote to Russian Poland to ask if any such book was known in which the blood-ritual was alluded to; because I believe myself to be rather well acquainted with the Cabbalistic writings, and have never found such a book. People then advised me to go to Prague, and talk the matter over with my "friend" Rohling, as he called himself. I went to Prague for this purpose. It was the middle of March 1893. I introduced myself, and he showed me every possible consideration. He said to me: — "Look here, my dear Meyer! Take a seat".

President: That has nothing to do with the matter in hand!

Meyer: I am just coming to *Dr. Deckert*. Rohling said to me "Look here! It's very good that you have come to Prague just now. I have sent some letters to Vienna. I should like you to get there at the same time. Catch the 8 o'clock train! I'll go with you to the station". I tried to speak to him about some Hebrew matters, chiefly about "Gan naul", but also about the book "Lew haiwri". I began to talk, but he gave me no answer at all. On the contrary, altough he knew that I could not speak Latin, he spoke to me, first in Latin and then in English. He

gave me some bottles of wine to take with me, and accompanied me to the station. He also gave me four letters to take, one addressed to Dr. Bickell, one to Dr. Deckert, one to Prelate Sebastian Brunner, and one to Professor Wahrmund. On the first day after my arrival in Vienna I went to Prelate Brunner. He said to me: — "Dr. Deckert is away. Come another time!" I then went to Professor Bickell. He said he had to pay a call on a lecturer of the Innsbruck University; I must come the next day . . .

President: I must interrupt you! You are talking pure nonsense! We want to know how you became acquainted with Dr. Deckert. Keep to the point! Who recommended you to Dr. Deckert?

Meyer: Professor Rohling! I delivered the letter to Sebastian Brunner, and he said to me: "Dr. Deckert is away". The next day I called on Brunner again, and he conducted me to Dr. Deckert. When we came to the room he was just off to the school.

President: Prelate Brunner, therefore, introduced you to Dr. Deckert? What business had you with Dr. Deckert? Only be short! You talk round and round the matter, so that one can not allow you to go on, or the proceedings will take three days. Answer for what purpose you called on Dr. Deckert!

Meyer: Rohling told me that he was recommending me to all the gentlemen. They would give me scientific work.

President: It was, therefore, a question of getting a post, in order that you might continue scientific researches?

Meyer: Dr. Deckert said to me as we got there: "You must excuse me, I must be off to school!" I came to him again, and he spoke to me at once, on the first day, about a scientific work on the blood-ritual.

President: Have you ever had anything at all to do with the letter?

Meyer: No.

President: How, then, did Dr. Deckert come to publish the letter?

Meyer (turning to Dr. Deckert): Did I give you the letter?

President: I must ask you to address your remarks to me. You will have the opportunity of debating with Dr. Deckert later. How do you think Dr. Deckert came in possession of this letter to the "Vaterland", if it be not from you?

Meyer: I will explain that clearly and explicitly..

President: You state that you did not compose it, nor dictate it to your fiancée. Do you know anything about the letter?

Meyer: I read the letter for the first time when it came out in print.

President: Not before? And do you not know that Dr. Deckert sent the letter to the "Vaterland", or how he got the letter? Do you not know that?

Meyer: Yes.

President: Well then, tell us how Dr. Deckert came into possession of the letter, which was published, and forms the basis of the charge!

Meyer: I beg you not to forget that I do not know the language well, and speak German very imperfectly. I will relate the whole affair. I am no lawyer, only an ordinary man. It is better that you should leave me free to tell all I know.

President: Very well then! We'll try again! (Laughter.)

Meyer: I did not give the letter to Dr. Deckert, neither did I dictate it, neither am I the author of it. On the contrary, when I read in one of the papers that Dr. Deckert was going to publish the letter of a convert according to which he was supposed to have been eye-witness of a ritual-murder, although my name was not mentioned, I was terribly upset! I felt awful! Professor Bickell came to me and said: "Are you the convert mentioned?" I answered: "I don't know any more than you do. I must wait and see!" It seemed awful to me! I came to Dr. Deckert and I said: "Won't you give me the letter to read?" I begged and prayed of him to at least let me know what was said in the letter. I did not know, however, that my fiancée had written it. I had unfortunately got into trouble through the "Staatsbürger-Zeitung" and other "Blood-antisemites". All this had upset me dreadfully! I went again to Dr. Deckert; he should not publish anything; I couldn't be responsible for it; I did not know what had been written; you are making me

miserable; I should be turned out of Vienna! Dr. Deckert said to me: "Then go to Switzerland! Money is no object in this case!" On the evening before the publication I went to the church to find my fiancée. When I got inside the church the housekeeper of Dr. Deckert ran up to me and said: "Father Deckert wants to speak to you!" I went, and asked him what he wanted. He said: "I say, Meyer! The die is cast!" "What does that mean?" "The letter must be printed." "What has the letter to do with me? Show it to me!" "Oh, it's already gone!" I was terribly upset: and quite rightly, for I was attacked by the whole press! I kept on asking Professor Bickell why people should insult me. They should at least wait until it was proved! The next day I came to Professor Meister where my fiancée lived. They always called it the "Vaterland-letter". The paper, though, I did not see: I had to go to the city to get a paper. And I was fearfully upset all the time because Bloch had attacked me so in his "Wochenschrift". I said to myself: — "What shall I contradict? The people will think I am a rogue, a scoundrel, a dangerous liar. What shall I contradict?" I wanted however, to wait until it got as far as the law-court. The next day I went to Professor Meister to read the paper. He read the story. He is a zealous friend of the blood-ritual, too. I said to him: "Make me a present of that paper!" I went to my fiancée and asked her to read it to me, because I myself don't read very well. She read me the whole thing: and I was absolutely crushed. I studied the letter first in the cell. It grieved me to hear that I was supposed to have been an eye-witness when the boy was killed. I was distracted! There was not a living soul to whom I could unburden myself. Professor Bickell I could not trust, as he was too agitated. I wanted to go to an editor or to a lawyer. But I was not free. I lived the whole time with Dr. Deckert at the parsonage. I said to myself, therefore: "What shall I do?" On the evening of the 12th or 13th of May he said to me: "Look here! I am going to the city! Come with me!" He dragged me with him, then, to the "Vaterland". I said: "Are you going to Doll?" He said: "No, to Inthal." I waited for about an hour, then a messenger came out, and called me in. Dr. Deckert asked me to take a seat, and gave me

a cigar. The talk was on the subject of ritual-murder, but even when nobody mentioned it, my head was full of it. I couldn't even speak. I couldn't collect my ideas. I went back home. The house-keeper said: "Professor Bickell was here a few minutes ago, and was looking for you!" (I had rented a flat in the Cottage-District). "He has just gone to your fiancée!" I said: "Come with me! I am so upset"! We went to Professor Meister. I told the house-keeper to fetch my fiancée. I wanted to say goodbye to her, as I was going with Bickell. Professor Bickell then went out, and said: "Come in!" I came in, and ran up against the Professor who said: "Good evening! Kommen Sie! Quickly! Mit mir!" I left him then — I believe after I had had a glass of wine — and went downstairs. I said to him: "As there is no decent restaurant in the neighbourhood be so kind as to come into my bedroom"! although I knew that he did not like to go to Dr. Deckert.

President: You are again wandering far too wide of the subject.

Meyer: Don't interfere with me, Your Honour. I cannot curtail anything!

President: We know how you came to Dr. Deckert, and, according to your story, the whole business was a mystification. You had been placed in a most difficult and painful situation: especially as you did not wish to have anything to say in the matter of the blood-ritual.

Meyer: Professor Bickell came into my bedroom. Then I saw he wanted to speak about the blood-ritual. So I said to him: "I am thoroughly exhausted. To-morrow I shall be in my new flat. Perhaps you will be so good as to come to me there! Professor Bickell said: "Very well!"

President: Get to the next morning immediately.

Meyer: Bickell said: — "You are in a bad position, and have had the misfortune to drop right into the middle of the blood-campaign. If you need money, I will help you with the sum of 1000 florins, so that you may begin a new life. Write a few lines to me! I am certain that you did not write that letter!" I said: "That is very kind of you, but I can give you no answer.

President: Get to the facts!

Meyer: I am coming to them! I thought: — "Shall I take 1000 florins, go away, and then write a letter to say I did not write the letter, or that I wrote it in a moment of mental aberration? (If anybody writes a letter like that it must be in a moment of mental aberration.) So I said again: — "I can give no answer." Why would I not take the financial help offered? Because I was not entitled to the 1000 florins; because I was not the author. Why should I then take 1000 florins? If I had been the author of that letter, and had then afterwards thought over the fact that I had written a lie to ruin a whole nation, it would have been my bounden duty to go into the street and publicly call out: "I have sinned!" For that, I do not want 1000 florins! If I say, though, to Professor Bickell. "I did not write it", then the antisemites would say: "Meyer is to be bought. Bickell has bribed him." So I said to Professor Bickell: "I can give no answer. The time will come. I shall yet check-mate the liars about blood". May I go on?

President: Certainly! But keep to the subject.

Meyer: Professor Bickell then bade me goodbye. I was very sorry.

President: We need not know that!

Meyer: I begged that he would, at least. correspond with me. Two days later I received a letter in which he asked the same. On May 25th, I was arrested.

President: According to your statement I gather the following: You suggest that you have been used as a tool by Dr. Deckert wih reference to this letter in that he brings you forward as the author, as the person who handed him over the letter for publication. Now tell us, is this your signature?

Meyer: May I hold the letter?

President: You can hold anything; only you must give it back. (Laughter.)

Meyer: That is as little my signature as that I have written the whole thing!

President: This is rather significant: — your signature appears also many times on the protocol of the cross-examination. This signature is, either purposely or by chance. disguised in two places. The Gentlemen of the Jury must de-

cide which for themselves. Either the author of the signature was ill when the first protocol was signed, and thus the signature, for the age of the man, explainable: or he was highly excited; then it is also explainable. In the second protocol one notices further that only one letter is purposely disguised, while the other letters have been signed with a firm hand. I can certainly write! (Laughter) but I am no expert in handwriting. Then there is again a signature where the words "Paulus Meyer" agree with the signature of the letter.

Meyer: The doctor has discovered that I am highly nervous and excitable. I feel also a clouding of the vision.

President: If you contest that you signed the word "Paulus Meyer" at the bottom of the letter, do you know who did it?

Meyer: No. I must ask to be allowed to speak about the signature on the two protocols. Dr. Knapp, assistent of Stellwag, had examined my eyes, and put drops in them. My eyes were much weakened by this, and Counsellor *Feigl* who conducted the examination, said himself that I could not sign. because drops had been put in my eyes. In my agitation I paid absolutely no attention to the signature; and besides this. Father Deckert has receipts and bills from me. Anybody can see from that that my signature is always so. My signature is in the extradition paper too.

President: Gentlemen of the Jury, in my humble opinion, which it rests with you to confirm or reject, the first two signatures give the impression that the author was a person who signed as he did through mental excitement, or physical debility, or purposely, with intent to deceive. I must ask you. therefore, to examine the last two signatures of the protocol of the cross-examanination, to compare them, and to form your own judgement as to whether my suspicion that it is the same hand-writing, the same stroke to the "M", and the same characters used in the word "Meyer", is justified: and whether my suspicion that Paulus Meyer is the writer of these lines is plausible or not. I have passed no definitive opinion. You must examine that on your oath.

Meyer: I was so upset the last days that no one can say I purposely disguised my signature so that it should not tally

with the supposed signature of the letter . . . . . I could have had no reason for deception. And lately, when my eyes got so weak, I had no idea of the letter, or the signature.

President: There is the official document! You find there, undoubtedly, the real signature of Paulus Meyer.

Meyer: You can see that I certainly did not intend to alter my hand-writing in the last few days; and an expert could tell you whether my signature here is real or disguised.

President: Your undoubted signature we have here!

Meyer: Is the signature to the letter undoubtedly mine, please?

President: No. The undoubted signature is in the protocol. I give no opinion on the others.

Meyer: The alteration in my signature is simply the result of my agitation.

President: I have only made suggestions, please. The Gentlemen of the Jury must form in their minds a picture of the matter, and judge absolutely for themselves. Tell us, further, Mr. Meyer, if the words "Paulus Meyer" were not written by you, how came it that Bickell had negotiations with you regarding the retraction of the letter?

Meyer: Professor Bickell knew quite well that I had connections with Father Deckert. He was firmly convinced that no other convert could possibly have been meant.

President: Now, please. People impute to Professor Bickell that he offered 1000 florins for the retraction of the letter.

Meyer: No. He only wanted to help me. He believed that I had acted as I did because I was in poverty: that poverty had driven me to it, and not the wish to sell myself to the Blood-antisemites. He only wanted to help me out of my distress.

President: Out of pure charity, then?

Meyer: He thought that if I was assisted I should not be dependent any more. I should be my own master, and so I could retract the letter.

President: But if you didn't write it?

Meyer: I didn't tell him that.

President: Professor Bickell was of the opinion that you were the writer of the letter?

Meyer: Yes, because I was in connection with Dr. Deckert.

President: Professor Bickell must have been deceived by Dr. Deckert then? He must have received the information that you were the author of the letter.

Meyer: I don't understand that.

President: Is it possible that Dr. Deckert deceived Professor Bickell?

Meyer: I refused to give Professor Bickell any answer. I have already made it clear that I could not take money for a sin, still less for something I had not done.

President: You declined the help of 1000 florins, but declined as well to retract the letter, because you had not written it?

Meyer: No. I did not say, and have never acknowledged, that I wrote it.

President: You knew that he believed you to be the author of the letter, and you left him in this belief?

Meyer: I, of course, believed that he thought me to be the author. I said to him the following: "If I go now to the editor, as many people advise me, to contradict things, what shall I contradict? Shall I contradict that I am the writer of the letter, or that I composed it? Then there will be another scandal, and another controversy would begin in the daily papers. I must wait. Dr. Deckert has already been challenged. If he has any honour, he must out with the letter.Then I shall speak." In one newspaper there appeared a heading "Paulus Meyer in the Law-Courts." Thank the Lord! I thought. "I can congratulate myself. That is the best place to solve a riddle like this; better in a court of law before the honourable judges! If anything is affirmed in the law-courts, it isn't as in the press. If I come before the court, I will tell the truth. If I had said to anyone: "I did not write that letter", they would have said immediately that I was open to bribery.

President: If you did not write the letter, and did not sign it, did your fiancée write it?

Meyer (examining the letter): I recognise the hand-writing of my fiancée.

President: How came your fiancée to have anything to do with it?

Meyer: I will tell you all about it!

President: Who asked you fiancée to write the letter?

Meyer: If I am interrupted so often I can't speak at all. I get so confused, I cannot possibly make everything clear. When I lived with Dr. Deckert — that is, so that no one shall misunderstand me, when I came to Vienna — Dr. Deckert had looked for a flat for me, but I could not keep it up. My fiancée, therefore, boarded with Professor Meister, and Dr. Deckert kept me with him. The press attacks began then at once. I could not begin the scientific work which the contract mentions, and of which I want to speak. When I came to Vienna for the first time, Dr. Deckert asked me if I was capable of writing a work for him in which it was proved that the Jews used the blood of Gentile children for ritual-purposes. I said: "That is impossible! Even if in Jewish books such a thing is mentioned, I am not in a position to state that it is so, since I have never seen such a book. An antisemitic paper in Holland mentions such a book. . . . Do you know what?" I said to Dr. Deckert: "I can undertake to do this: — I can compile a work in which all passages are carefully examined with a view to discovering whether any references are made to the blood-ritual. The passages I will translate, so that nobody can say I have falsified them and people must judge whether they have a reference to the blood-ritual or not." That I said to Dr. Dekkert. "Good"! he answered. But now I wanted to know whether Dr. Deckert would employ me. One day he asked me: "What do you want if you work for me?" I said: "I don't know how conditions are in Vienna." He replied: "You will have free lodging, and 30 florins a month." I said: "I can't manage on that if I want to get married. That would not be possible even if I were alone." He took me to Professor Meister and showed me the little room I was to occupy. I said: „If you are going to engage me, you must give me 100 florins for the time being, as long as the cost of living is dear, so that I am my own master and can work." He said: "I can't do that." "If you won't", I said, "Good! I shall go to Leipzig. I didn't

want to come to Vienna at all." But as I had travelled from Leipzig to Vienna at my own expense, I wanted at least my travelling expenses back. Dr. Deckert said he would think it over; I should come the next day. That was in the Good Friday week. He hoped I would do my best, and to this end we would draw up a contract. I replied: "I don't understand anything about these things.Write that I agree to work for you, and to collect all the passages which have any reference to the blood-ritual, or might give cause for any such suspicion. These I will translate to the best of my ability and my conscience. I suggested too, that the Hebrew originals should appear on the one side in heliotype, and on the other side the German translation. Whether these passages would prove that a blood-ritual exists, the experts must decide for themselves. I don't intend to expose myself to a scandal. "Good"! he replied, "Come to me to-morrow!" I came to him, but he had no time then. So I went to *Professor Bickell*. Professor Bickell went about with me the whole day: and when I said I must go to *Dr. Deckert*, he accompanied me, because I was quite a stranger in Vienna, and could not yet find my way about. Professor Bickell introduced himself, and after we were seated, we spoke about the work. Dr. Deckert still believed that Professor Bickell was an adherent of the blood-ritual theory. He, therefore, spoke quite freely about the contract, and Professor Bickell read it through. While he was reading it, I saw that I had pledged myself to write a work on the blood-ritual, — in short, to bring proof that the Jews use the blood of Gentiles. When I heard that, I grew ghastly pale. Professor Bickell said to me, first in English, and then in Hebrew: "Will you do that?" He motioned to me that I should go. I answered that I would think it over: that I was very agitated. I came out. He gripped me by the hand, and said: "Do you want this work?" I said: "The business with Dr. Deckert is not clear to me.He has altered the contract". Dr. Bickell said: "It would be very interesting if you would write a work like that, so that the world could form its own opinion on the subject." The next day I came to Dr. Deckert, and said to him:" I cannot bind myself." He said: "Things aren't as bad as all that! We can easily alter it."

Every day I met Professor Bickell. On Wednesday I went to him. He was going to give me a post in the library of a Religious Order. He introduced me that day to a Jesuit.

President: Are you getting to it that your fiancée wrote the letter? (Laughter.)

Meyer: Excuse me . . .

President: You do yourself harm rather than good when you wander away from the subject like this.

Meyer: I came to Dr. Deckert, and he had drawn up a contract for me. He gave me 100 florins for travelling expenses back to Leipzig, and I signed it under the impression that he had altered it according to my wishes. Then I went to *Dr. Bickell*, because I was going away. I went to Leipzig, and there I had the contract read out to me. I thought that I was dealing with a clergyman and therefore I trusted him, as I had believed in so many other antisemites. I was terribly upset about the contract. I thought to myself: " If I dont go back to Vienna he will have the contract printed. If I don't keep to it, he will say I swindled him out of 100 florins." So I went back to Vienna to get the contract altered. One day as I was asleep there knocked . . .

President: Please stop! Get to the letter. You are simply playing with our time. I wish to know when your fiancée wrote the letter and why.

Meyer: But I must tell — —

President: I take it on myself that you must not!

Meyer: But, my Goodness! They will ask me . . .

President: When did your fiancée write the letter?

Meyer: That I don't know!

President: What do you know then? That it is your fiancées hand-writing? We can substantiate that, besides, if you submit the letters of your fiancée.

Meyer: Please, your Honour, I am terribly nervous and agitated.

President: I get nervous, too, when you gossip like that. (Loud laughter).

Meyer: Please, your Honour, I must tell you about that. I do beg you not to interrupt me! I get, then, quite confused,

and it would be better if I didn't speak at all. And I am not a German. I want to give a clear picture of the matter. One morning Dr. Deckert came into my bedroom, and said: "Here is the "Österreichische Wochenschrift"! Look what the Jew Bloch writes about the affair!" I express myself so badly because I can't speak German well.

President: You speak German quite well.

Meyer: Well, Dr. Deckert said that he had been attacked in the "Österreichische Wochenschrift" with the words "roguery" &c. He was in a hurry, because he was going to a service: and as he went I put the "Wochenschrift" aside, because it didn't interest me, and slept on. Then I showed it to my fiancée. When he came back he said: "What do you say to that?" I said: "What can I say? Dr. Bloch can abuse people in this paper just like Hildesheimer in Berlin". He said after that: "He takes me to task as if I were a silly school-lout"! and he was white with passion. I said: "He abuses me, too." Then he turned the conversation, and asked me when I intended to begin my scientific work. I said to him: "When my things come, and when I have them in my flat." He said: "Look here! Until you begin your scientific work, I know of another occupation for you. I will bring out a pamphlet, and perhaps you can relate some of your personal experiences. You were in the Chassidim school . . . ." I beg your Honour to let me pause for a few moments. I am exhausted.

President: Yes. But then keep to the subject.

Dr. Griez: I will ask permission here to read an extract. I proposed once before to read it. It will be in place at this juncture, and is contained in Nr. 123 of the "Vaterland", of May 5th, 1893.

Dr. Pattai: I beg to be allowed to read Nr., 125 and Nr. 129. The Clerk of the Court reads the article "Rabbi Bloch and the Ritual-Murder" (See pages 382 ff.).

President: Would it not be sufficient simply to give the number of the "Vaterland", and refer to this for the fact that in the following numbers the controversy Deckert—Bloch is further carried on?

Dr. Griez: I will confine myself to the reading of a few short paragraphs.

President: Well, now! In Nr. 25 of the "Vaterland" a letter appears, signed by Dr. Bloch, and addressed to the Editor of the "Vaterland" in which the old standpoint is again taken up, i. e. that such ritual-murder does not exist. Then comes the answer of Dr. Deckert. The last passage may perhaps be of interest. "I, therefore, repeat: Dr. Bloch has, neither in his article in the "Wochenschrift" nor in this reply, refuted one single fact about the Trent trial; but it gives me great pleasure to see that he does not again attempt to justify the statement I have refuted, namely, that the children of Israel, alone of all people, have kept their hands clean of blood, and their hearts free from cruelty. Please take note further that my much attacked work "A Ritual-murder Proved by Official Documents" by Father Joseph Deckert, (third edition), has been published by Gloss in Dresden, and may be ordered also, through any antisemitic newsagent. The same applies to the little book: "Can a Catholic be a antisemite?"

Dr. Griez: I must beg also for the reading of the undoubtedly relevant passage, beginning with the words "As far as the statement is concerned" . . . .

President (reads): "As far as the statement is concerned that no baptized Jew has ever confirmed the story of the Jewish blood-ritual and fanatic murder, that has already been proved false by the documents of the Tent trial; for there, not only did the baptized Israelite Wolfgang confirm the murder, but also baptized Jewish women, and some of the convicted murderers (who, through baptism, tried to avoid the death penalty), did not retract their statements. And have I not myself in hand the letter of a convert, who, as Talmud scholar, was eye-witness of several ritual-murders; who describes these same at length, and offers to give testimony on oath before any court of law? I have been empowered to publish this letter, and will, at a fitting occasion, do so, if I hear any more of the matter."

Dr. Pattai: I have still another request, namely, that the introduction to the article in which the letter itself was published, and which was written by the editor of the "Vaterland", may also be read.

President: This is Nr. 129 of the "Vaterland" (reads): —

The Letter of the Convert.

Our readers will not deny that we have done all that lay in our power to immediately close, in our paper, the controversy over the so-called ritual-murder, after giving to Dr. Deckert, as was our duty, space in which to defend himself against the attacks made on him, and Dr. Bloch the opportunity of reply. As however, Dr. Bloch, appealing to § 19 of the Press Law, re-opened the discussion, and not only he, but others from all sides, urgently pressed for the publication of the letter of the eye-witness of a ritual-murder such as is so often mentioned in the course of the controversy, we meet, herewith, this request, without drawing any conclusion from the article, which might be harmful to Jews not belonging to the Russian sect mentioned above. Indeed, we are convinced that the facts related will, in these circles here, call forth horror and disgust.

Dr. Porzer: I beg that the passage from the "Vaterland" of May 10th, may be read, in which Dr. Deckert is invited to publish the letter.

President (reads): "Lastly, Dr. Deckert offers to publish a quotation from a letter supposed to have been written by a converted Russian Jew, a Tsaddik scholar; which letter, out of kind consideration, which we Jews hardly deserve, and certainly have not demanded, is still being kept secret. With referenne to this quotation I must state that, according to § 19 of the Press Law, I am in a position to make only the following statement: —

It is untrue that this convert can ever have been an eye-witness of such a gruesome blood-ceremony, which the Chinese attribute to the Christians and the antisemites to the Jews.

The truth is that Clemens XIV. says in his above-mentioned writings, referring to all converts who in any country and in all times up to his own have acquired rank and position in the Church, that they solemnly testified against the existence of the blood-ritual.

"It is, therefore, fruitless as regards the conversion of the Jews, to attribute to them this error; for they then believe that

we invent lies against them, which is no little hindrance when we would appeal to them as trustworthy. It leaves on their minds (the minds of the Jews), besides contempt and bitterness, such a harmful impression, that they will, in the end, hear nought of our holy religion: coming at last to the most erroneous conclusion that it is founded on lies and deceit."

The readers of the "Vaterland" must decide the question whether the statements of the Church authorities, or the communications of Paulus Meyer deserve more credence".

Dr. Porzer: In reply to this I must ask to be allowed to have the concluding sentence read, which begins "That, too, the much-cited Clemens . ."

President (reads): That too, the much-cited Clemens XIV. is suppposed to prove. No! That really goes too far! I believe Mr. Editor, that the best you can do, to avoid any further discussion on the subject, is to publish to-morrow, in your highly esteemed paper, the letter of the convert, asserting that he has been eye-witness of such ritual-murder, which letter I have already produced for your inspection. The whole proceedings of Bloch seem to have no other purpose.

Well, we can do him this favour.

Dr. Kopp: I must ask also for the reading of the passage which begins with the words: "As regards Paulus Meyer, he will defend himself."

President (reads): "As regards Paulus Meyer he will defend himself. Anyone who has read his interesting booklet, "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing", will readily understand why Bodelschwingh and his Jewish associates, including Dr. Strack and Hirsch Hildesheimer, tried to get rid of him in Berlin. Meyer made them too uncomfortable with his revelations about the Protestant Jews' Mission. He had been guilty of blasphemy? Ah well! I know even a Catholic priest whose writings have been accused before a court of being blasphemous. Why? Because he quoted a passage from the Talmud! And now the last contradiction, — the assertion that no convert could have been eye-witness of such a gruesome deed! (Very guarded indeed!) No convert; but perhaps someone else!

President: I think we can now continue the cross-examination of Paulus Meyer. (Turning to Meyer.) We got as far as your negotiations with Dr. Deckert about the contract.

Meyer: Dr. Deckert thought, that as long as I was unable to begin on the agreed work, I might, for the time being, write something else. He wanted to publish a pamphlet, and wanted me to tell him something about my experiences. I said I was willing to tell him something of my experiences with the Chassidim, or among the rabbis — the Tsaddikim as they are called. He thought it would be very interesting to get a clear picture of all this. So we sat for hours, until far into the night. I always came to him at 10 o'clock at night, and spoke about rabbis and Chassidim.

President: You have told us all this. Please proceed!

Meyer: But I intend to tell you everything. I am just coming to the point. Good Heavens! I must be allowed to speak.

President: If you do not follow me, I shall be compelled to question you. I do not wish that the Gentlemen of the Jury be detained longer than is absolutely necessary to ascertain the facts.

Meyer (almost in tears): But the interruptions take up still more time. (Laughter.)

President: No more about the matter, please!

Meyer: I am so confused that I don't even know were I left off. I feel awful!

President: Then anwer my questions! You spoke with Dr. Deckert on Jewish customs?

Meyer: I want to get to it why they attributed the writing of such a letter to me.

President: Well, you initiated him into the customs of the Jews. Please go on!

Meyer (almost in tears): In intend to tell you all about it.

President: It doesn't become you to act a farce in this manner!

Meyer: Dr. Deckert said I should provide him with the material for his booklet; until I began work on my own, I should relate to him my experiences. I suggested to him that I

should give him pictures out of my life. He was very pleased with that. He wanted me to tell him especially what the Jews did on their feast-days, and how life goes with the rabbis. I wanted to tell him all that, and we sat up all night. Often I could not get rid of him until 3 o'clock in the morning. He took down in shorthand everthing I told him.

President: So that possibly he was in a position to write such a letter himself?

Meyer: I must confess that when the cross-examining judge asked me about the signature — — —

President: I understand you! You mean that you have given Dr. Deckert so much information on Jewish customs, that he would be in a position to write such a letter himself. Please proceed!

Meyer: On the first day, when the cross-examining judge showed me the draft of the letter, I didn't know what to answer to it.

President: We know that! I must ask you to be more concise. I must, as President, take care that the proceedings be not unnecessarily protracted. I ask you how it came about that your fiancée wrote the letter?

Meyer: I ask your Honour to allow me to explain the matter.

President: But briefly. Your rights will not, in any way, be jeopardised.

Meyer: I am only eager to make the matter clear to the President and this High Court.

President: Well! Go on!

Meyer: For instance, I told him how the unleavened bread was baked at Easter by the Jews — by the common Jews, and by the pious Jews, by the Chassidim — —

President: Leave that alone! That is all included in what I allowed you to state before, namely, that you had told him so much about Jewish manners and customs that Dr. Deckert was acquainted with everthing in the letter.

Meyer: Do you object to even the few words I have to say? Let me speak just three words!

President: You can speak three sentences!

Meyer: I told him how the unleavened bread was baked at Easter . . . .

President: You are repeating yourself again!

Meyer (in tears): If I musn't speak, it would be better if I were taken back at once to the cell and sentenced.

President: Don't act a farce!

Meyer: I had explained to him how the dough is kneaded and how particular the pious Jews are about how it is done in a white basin, or a glass basin, and with clean cloths: and that the Chassidim receive bread from the rabbis if they previously order it. They prefer the unleavened bread made under the supervision of the rabbis for the first two nights. The orders are written on slips and then the unleavened bread is sent out. I also spoke of the "Feast of Atonement", of "Jom Kipur": and told him how that is celebrated. He knows a lot about these things. He asked me what the meaning of "kapara was". I told him "korban".

President: Proceed.

Meyer: I gave him illustrations of life among the Jews. While we were busy with this, he often had a quarrel with the "Österreichische Wochenschrift", and then he was fearfully upset, and came very often to me. Then one day he came with some paper and said: "Your fiancée has a good hand-writing. Give her these things to copy out!" I took the written sheets, and went to my fiancée, and said: "There is something to copy out!" She was very unwell at the time. She had caught cold. She copied out the things.

President: What did she say to you about them?

Meyer: I asked her, but she didn't tell me anything. If I had n't seen her hand-writing on the letter, I shouldn't have known anything about it.

President: Well, when you saw the hand-writing, did you ask her then?

Meyer: I did not know that she had written the letter.

President: Why did you ask her then?

Meyer: After the letter had appeared in the "Vaterland" I had no one to ask, so I asked my fiancée if she knew anything

about the letter — if she had any idea she had written it? She said: "You know quite well that I feel ill now."

President: What did she answer you with regard to the letter?

Meyer: That she had not noticed what she was writing.

President: But, really! If one has written a letter like that, one cannot possibly forget all about it.

Meyer: Excuse me! I will answer that! If one copies from a draft one is not bound to study the matter.

President: But you called her attention to the letter?

Meyer: I did ask her, but she said she could not remember anything.

President: We are to believe, then, that she wrote the letter like a machine. But the hand-writing is hers. Are you able to produce other letters written by your fiancée?

Meyer: I admit that it is the hand-writing of my fiancée.

President: But they might help as an illustration of the whole matter!

You admit, then, that this is the hand-writing of your fiancée and that she has been used by Doctor Deckert? Did you ask Dr. Deckert for the letter back?

Meyer: I asked him to show me the letter; but he always turned the conversation. Then he always gave me a little glass of wine, and said: "Don't you be afraid"! I was terrible upset.

President: Why were you upset if you didn't know anything about the letter?

Meyer: I was upset when I read that such a letter would be written in my name, a letter of which I was quite innocent, and which would do harm to four poor innocent Jews. That can create a great disturbance in Russia! A very little causes trouble there! I did not know what to do. I was fearfuly upset!

President: Yes. You are always upset!

Meyer: Believe me, I am quite innocent! Indeed, I am! I have been in prison for four months. I saw that the editor did not intend to refute the matter, and my whole thought was: "I must go to he court! There I shall be acquitted."

President: So you did not get the letter back from Dr. Deckert? The signature "Paulus Meyer" is not yours?

Meyer: No.

President: Do you believe that Dr. Deckert is the kind of person who would not make any enquiries about you and your financée, and then would risk coming before the public with a proceeding like this? That is very questionable!

Meyer: At first he didn't want to do it. He was only joking when he announced the letter. Later his hand was forced.

President: You believe, then, that he was forced into a corner by the controversy with Dr. Bloch, and so used this as a way out of it. The whole story, then, is not true. Were you ever eye-witness of a ritual-murder?

Meyer: Never in my life; and I don't believe a word of it!

President: You were not present then?

Meyer: As little present as the persons accused!

President: Does anyone wish to put any more questions?

Juror Selldorf: I should like to ask whether other writings are here besides the official protocols, which have been signed by Paulus Meyer in a calmer moment?

Dr. Porzer: Such a letter will be produced for inspection.

Dr. Kopp: I ask to be allowed one question more. (Turning to Paulus Meyer.) You read this letter in the issue of the "Vaterland" of May 11th., and were horrified by it. Now, tell me; if a man, be he scholar or not, be he Jew or Gentile, be he German or Pole, see his name appended in the newspaper to such a letter — a letter so abominable — would it not be the first thing he would do to immediately make an uproar, and say: "This letter is not from me!" That seems to me to be the only course to take. If to such a letter my name were appended, I would kill the man who would not immediately withdraw it! (Laughter.) You say you didn't do it, because someone (you suggest) had offered you money for the retraction. If you had wanted to prevent that people should say you had done it for money, you had simply to say: "Keep your money! I will retract it without that!"

Meyer: I did say that at the beginning! If I had said to Professor Bickell: "I will do it without that", it wouldn't have made nearly such an impression. There would only have been another scandal.

Dr. Kopp: You thought, then, that it would be more effectual if it came to a lawsuit?

Dr Griez (to Meyer): Your defence suggests that the incriminated letter was evolved from descriptions of religious customs of the Jews given by you to Dr. Deckert. When was this?

Meyer: Mostly in the late hours of the night. I usually came just before the street door was locked, and sat until 3 o'clock, mostly over a glass of wine, or black coffee. Sometimes I went only at half-past three.

Dr. Griez: Were you very tired?

Meyer: Fearfully exhausted! and when I drink a few glasses of wine, I get terribly excited. Often I got to my room at half- past three. At six o'clock Father Deckert would wake me to give me the contradictions of Dr. Bloch, which the "Vaterland" had sent him, for me to read. I was always terribly worried. I absolutely didn't know what to do. You see, I lived with him.

Dr. Griez de Ronze: I should much prefer that you answer briefly. Did you drink heavily during these hours of the night, or only moderately?

Meyer: I can't stand much. Now and then a little wine in small wine-glasses was drunk. Sometimes strong black coffee.

Dr. Griez de Ronze: Did you smoke very much?

Meyer: Oh, yes! It is a thousand pities, but I am an inveterate smoker!

Dr. Griez de Ronze: The publishing of the letter was occasioned undoubtedly by the polemic of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift"; and the incriminating letter refers explicitely to the Wochenschrift. One must conclude from this that the writer of the letter must have read the "Wochenschrift". When did you see the "Wochenschrift" for the first time?

Meyer: I believe on the 21th of April. A few days later, when Dr. Deckert showed me the issue, and said: "How he goes on!" I said: "Rabbi Bloch is, in Vienna, what Rabbi Hildesheimer is in Berlin!" The whole article, however, I did not read. I hadn't the patiencte to read it. Dr. Deckert was fearfully annoyed that Dr. Bloch had attacked him so fiercely.

Dr. Griez de Ronze: Thank you!

Dr. Porzer: You stated previously that before the letter was published, you knew of the intention to publish it; you found that terrible. Did you, then, say direct to Dr. Deckert, or to the "Vaterland" that the letter must not be published, that it was not from you? You could easily have done that.

Meyer: Ah! He always pacified me and put me off. I was so upset over the attacks made on me, which made my whole situation worse. By my acquaintance with Rohling I had called down a curse on my whole life, and brought on myself all this misery. I couldn't console myself because I stood there quite helpless.

Dr. Porzer: On the contrary! You went with Dr. Deckert to the "Vaterland", before the letter was published, and there told the same tale.

Meyer: What? Who to?

Dr. Porzer: To the Editor Inthal! That was substantiated at the cross-examination of Inthal; and he can be cross-examined again here — a proceeding I suggest.

President: I ask the gentlemen at the same time to state whether they wish other witnesses to be called, as I shall then, at once, proceed to do so.

Dr. Porzer: One more question to Paulus Meyer! In a letter to the newspaper, Professor Bickell says: "He allowed the conclusion that he was the author of this letter."

Meyer: Allowed it to be understood? That is only his opinion.

Dr. Pattai: He says: "At first he did not acknowledge himself as the writer of the letter, but soon he allowed it to be understood that he was its author." He had, therefore, before the publication, begged Meyer again not to have it published.

Dr. Griez de Ronze: The accused can give you no information on this subject.

Dr. Pattai: I only want to mention that it is contained in a letter of Professor Bickell to the "Vaterland". He expresses himself quite definitely on the point. I ask that he may be cross-examined.

Meyer: I suggest that he should be cross-examined on conversations I have held with him.

President: In the course of the preliminary cross-examination you treated the matter quite differently. You said then that you suggest that Professor Bickell should be called as witness that he offered you, after the publication of the incriminated letter about wose authorship you could give no information, the sum of 1000 florins and provision for your future, if you would retract the said letter in writing: — which proposal you declined. You declined the proposal on the ground that you had taken up no definite standpoint regarding the whole trial, because you did not acknowledge the authorship of the letter, and because it was the question of a fact which succeeded the incriminated action. And now you say that Professor Bickell should be heard on every point!

Dr. Kopp: I will not oppose any suggestion made by the Learned Counsel for the Defence which can be of any assistance to the accused. It shall not be said that any medium of defence has been wrested by me from the Learned Counsel for the Defence. But, as the Court has correctly decided, this matter has nothing to do with the case. The question raised by Paulus Meyer is quite irrelevant. The Court has already recognised that any conversation held with Professor Bickell on the matter is quite irrelevant to the question as to whether the offence has been committed, or the fact proved. I do not wish that the proceedings shall be endessly prolonged, since I may then be compelled likewise to call witnesses. The whole question is simply that of whether Paulus Meyer signed the letter or not; and to answer this I do not consider that the affair with Professor Bickell comes at all under consideration. I do not consider it desirable to protract the trial through the calling of all sorts of persons, and the putting of questions which lead far away from the matter in hand. I cannot believe that the cross-examination of Professor Bickell would be in the interests of the defence. I in no wise shrink from such a cross-examination; I do not fear it, as I know Professor Bickell to be a man of the highest integrity, so that,

as far as I am concerned, apart from any other consideration, I have nothing to bring against his cross-examination.

Dr. Griez de Ronze: I must reply to this that the absolute irrelevance of the deposition of Professor Bickell is not to be taken for granted; since, in this trial, owing to the peculiar character of the material of the trial, the character of the different persons called has great significance. The Gentlemen of the Jury must be able to judge who of the accused persons are more or less worthy of credence. Under these conditions, the deposition of Professor Bickell can be of importance: and I am, therefore, in favour of it.

Dr. Porzer: Since it is owing to my question that the subject has been raised, I would suggest that, for my purpose, it would be quite sufficient if the already mentioned paragraph of the letter of Dr. Bickell to the newspaper were read out.

Dr. Pattai: I agree to that, if the President will be so kind as to read the extract.

President: I think it appropriate to summon Professor Bickell, because I do not know what offers were made at the last, and because the relationship beween Professor Bickell and Paulus Meyer is of importance.

Meyer: Professor Bickel is in Innsbruck.

President: If you knew that, why did you not say so before? Then, of course, we cannot refer to him. Are you quite sure of that?

Dr. Griez de Ronze: No. One does not know it for certain.

President: Mr. Meyer, give me the Vienna address of Professor Bickell.

Meyer (gives it).

Dr Pattai: Mr. Meyer, you closed your cross-examination by saying that you were not present at this occurrence in Ostrow, and that you have never declared that ritual-murder exists.

Meyer: There has never been such a thing.

Dr. Pattai: Have you never, as journalist, expressed the contrary opinion?

Meyer: I know quite well what you would suggest. You are thinking of the pamphlet "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing".

Dr. Pattai: Did you there affirm it?

Meyer: In the pamphlet I dealt with the abuses of the Jews' Mission. The second part Dr. Wesendonck wrote. In my pamphlet the ritual-murder is not dealt with.

Dr. Pattai: I only wish to know, whether, as journalist, you have always taken up this stand-point?

Meyer: I am not a German journalist.

Dr. Pattai: Did you never send a communication to the "Leipzig Social Journal" in which you affirmed that you are in a position to prove the ritual-murder?

Meyer: May I ask you to read it to me?

Dr. Pattai (reads): The recent happenings at Xanten I could not view in silence: since for me, as for everyone else well acquainted with the Jews and their teachings, there exists absolutely no doubt that the murder of the Christian child was committed by a Jew. Through my study of the Cabbala and the Talmud I have been brought to the firm conviction that the Jews use the blood of those of another religion for their ritual purposes. I cannot hide away this truth in my heart; and so I come before the public in the cause of truth and justice: that nevermore such horrible crimes may be committed." These are the same expressions as occur in the letter which you say has been falsely attributed to you.

Meyer: I asked the Editor of the "Staatsbürger-Zeitung" not to write about the blood-ritual. The people have used my name.

Dr. Pattai: They, too, have used your name? Because of your agitation I suppose, you did not offer then any contradiction? You lived in Leipzig, and there the paper is printed. That was on March 5th, a short time before you came to Vienna.

Meyer: I very seldom read the German papers before I came to Vienna. I will only say that I have been misused by the Blood-antisemites.

President: Do you perhaps lay youself open to that kind of thing?

Meyer: I do not lay myself open. I quarrelled with my missionary colleagues, and as I had no other facilities for

writing about the abuses I discovered. I made use of the anti-semitic Press, which gave me space in its papers. The Press then used that to take advantage of me, and exploit me. If I had come with any contradictions, they would have laughed up their sleeve. They knew I could not bring an accusation. I was a stranger in a strange land, and so they could do as they liked with me. They said: "If we don't contradict anything, Paulus Meyer can't touch us."

Dr. Pattai: You did not contradict anything here, then, because it would not have been accepted. But what about your pamphlet "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing"? Why did you allow it to be printed in your own pamphlet? Arguing like that, everybody could disavow his own scientific work!

Meyer: I have already said that I only spoke about the Jews' Mission in that pamphlet. I told the publisher that I could not undertake the corrections. Later, I was summoned because of that, by the missionaries. I reserved the right to defend myself there before the court, as I did here. What could I do? I could not contradict the pamphlet. When the summons came, I said: "There's nothing for it but to go to law"!

Dr. Griez de Ronze: The passages in question are found in Part II. of the pamphlet "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing". You reply that the whole extract was written by a third party?

Meyer: Wesendonck wrote it. The preface to the pamphlet is his as well.

Dr. Pattai: As the article in the German papers has been falsely attributed to you as well, I suggest that a telegram be sent to the publisher Fritsch, so that he may give us information.

Meyer: Theodor Fritsch is no authority.

President: I will here interrupt the proceedings for a short time.

(The hearing is adjourned at 12.5 p. m. and resumed at 12.15 p. .)

Cross-examination of Dr. Joseph Deckert.

President: I now proceed to the cross-examination of the second accused. Dr. Deckert, what have you to answer to the accusation? Do you plead guilty?

Dr. Deckert: Not guilty.

President: You have the right to reply to the accusation in a coherent and relevant manner; and I ask you to make use of this right.

Dr. Deckert: I must first, in connection with the matter, relate how I became acquainted with Paulus Meyer, and how this letter came to be published. Paulus Meyer came to me in Weinhaus at the end of March of the current year. I did not know him, neither personally nor from his writings. He brought me a warm recommendation from Dr. Rohling, Professor at the Prague University, in which he was introduced as a very efficient Orientalist, and a reliable man. Paulus Meyer showed a number of testimonials, which were from places where he had been used as a Jewish Missionary. I cannot remember details, but I know that he showed a considerable number.

Among others, he showed me a pamphlet "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing", in which he offered to write a scientific work to prove the ritual-murder. I asked him what he really wanted with me. He replied that he had made himself impossible in Germany; the Jews hated him as convert, and the Protestants because he had written against the Jews' Mission. He wanted to find a quiet spot in Vienna where he could write, in peace, the work announced in his pamphlet. Would I help him?

I did not at once assent tothe proposal. I said: "One must think it over!" He went away, and came again a few days later, this time not alone, but with a Professor of the University, Dr. Gustav Bickell. The latter introduced him to me as a good friend, and told me at the same time that he had been recommended to him, (Dr. Bickell), by his good old friend Rohling, and begged me to use my influence for him in the matter of the publication in Vienna of a scientific work.

I must confess that I attached much importance to this recommendation of the University Professor, Dr. Bickell. It was an antisemite who had introduced him to me, and it was a declared philo-Semite (on this point of the blood-ritual) who had also recommended him to me. Besides this, Rohling had appealed to the antisemites in Germany — to Wesendonck

and others. I accepted the offer, and in the presence of Dr. Bickell on March 31st., signed a contract, in which he pledged himself to write a scientific work on ritual-murder by the Jews; — not only to pick out certain passages, and translate them for anyone to examine, but actually to prove ritual-murder. So ran the contract, which I here produce. (Hands it to the President). In the presence of Dr. Bickell, therefore, I concluded the contract. Professor Bickell has read the contract; he read it out, and Paulus Meyer signed it.

*Meyer (*makes a sign that he wishes to speak).

President: You will be allowed to reply later.

Dr. Deckert: After the signing of the contract Paulus Meyer went to Leipzig, from where he wrote to me to look for a flat for him. I touch on this point because my opponents have censured me for giving Paulus Meyer my hospitality for a few days. Paulus Meyer came with his fiancée whom he wanted to marry here in Vienna (to which end I had taken the necessary steps), and whom, as he affirmed, he needed as copyist and secretary. As he had no furniture, however, I offered him my hospitality, until his furniture should arrive: he could sleep at my flat if he wished. His fiancée was the guest of my friend. When his flat was ready, he went into it; but his fiancée lived the whole time with my friend. I mention this because my opponents have brought this up against me, too; I cannot grasp why. Is there any reason against my offering hospitality for a few days to a man who had been recommended to me, and that by so many worthy men? That is, I take it, no ground on which to base a reproach!

He came to Vienna at the end of March. In the meantime, on April 7th., had begun the attack on my pamphlet in the "Österreichische Wochenschrift". At first I knew nothing about it. I am not a reader of that paper. Someone brought it to me, evidently to annoy me. I got this number at the end of April, and could not, of course, let the matter pass in silence, for my booklet, although compiled from official documents, that is to say based on historical grounds, was described by Bloch as a pamphlet of the meanest and most lying order, and he declared it a lie that Simon of Trent had been murdered by

the Jews; -- the Jews had been the victims of a judical murder, and so forth. Bloch even went so far in his polemics as to state that, of all people, only the Jews had kept their hands and hearts free from blood. I could not be indifferent to that! That was an attack on historical truth, and, at the same time, a covert attack on the Roman Catholic Church, who honours Simon of Trent as a Saint!

I gave the article to Paulus Meyer (who was in connection with me at the time, of course) to read, and it disgusted him exceedingly, not only because of its contents, but because he had attacked me so shamelessly in general. In the course of our conversation, he said to me: "I can not only prove that ritual murder exists, as I have promised, but I, myself, was once eye-witness of infanticide of this kind." And then, among other things, he detailed the fact about Ostrow very fully, — much more fully than the letter describes them. He mentioned at the time other facts. At first I could not give full credence to his statements. The whole thing seemed to me too bloody. But I had read similar facts in history. Impossible, therefore, it was not. I questioned him on different points, and I asked him especially if I might take down what he said in shorthand. He gave me permission. The copy is still in my possession, and I will produce it if necessary. At last *Paulus Meyer* said: "I would be better if I related these experiences to you in the form of a letter." I agreed to that, and after a few days he came to me with his fiancée, and handed me the letter which is here among the documents. I saw at the first glance that his fiancée had written it, but that the signature was his. I recognised it from other manuscripts — from the contract, and from the letter he had written to me from prison. I here produce the letter for inspection. This letter, people affirm against me, he wrote at my request. That was not the case. He had first related to me the facts, and because they seemed of interest for the polemic I was carrying on, I got him to give them to me in writing. I did not ask him to do it, but he offered it to me of himself. My opponents also argue that he was paid by me for it. That is a vicious libel; for the moment when Paulus Meyer had come

to me with the suggestion of payment for the writing of the letter, or a demand, or a subsequent request, I should immediately have shown him the door; for I should then have been firmly convinced, that the whole story was a fabrication. Instead of this — and I lay much stress on this point — after the publishing of the letter even, when Professor Bickell begged him to repudiate the story, and offered him 1000 florins (120 florins per month, and provision for life), even then he did not deny the contract — a sign that not only was he of the opinion that he was the author of the letter, but that he was convinced of the truth of the matter. I had this letter in hand, therefore, and knowing that, composed the reply to the first attack of Dr. Bloch. On that occasion I made only a reference to the letter; I did not name the place in which this murder was supposed to have occurred, and I did not mention persons. The matter, at that time, was for me simply a fact which might strengthen scientific conclusions I had formed through independent historical study; that is to say, I had, through the study of the official documents of the trial of Simon of Trent, arrived at the conviction that, in previous times, there had been ritual-murders. The story of Meyer was only a strengthening factor; it could not influence me either for or against, since the letter does not bring forward any scientific proof. I, therefore, made only a reference to it; but scarcely had this reference appeared in the "Vaterland", when my opponents began to cry: "That is impossible! A letter like that does not exist, cannot exist!" And Dr. Bloch expressly said: "No convert can possibly have seen such a thing, nor have written of it!"

In the "Sunday and Monday" it was said that I was only fooling, that I was holding the sword of Damocles over the heads of the Jews to terrify them; and it was demanded of me, on my priestly honour, that I should produce the letter. Now, of course, I was in a moral predicament. If I did not publish the letter, I should be denounced as a liar. That I could not, dared not allow! But in spite of the fact that I saw myself compelled to publish the letter, I attempted one last proof of the integrity of my informant — that is to say, I went with Meyer, (a fact he will not deny), before the publishing of the letter, to the

"Vaterland" offices. There I introduced him to the Chief Editor Inthal as the author of the letter, which I had previously given the editorial staff for perusal. There, this case and similar cases were spoken of, and Meyer swore by all that was good, that he had been witness of this deed of blood. Now, of course, all doubts fell from me; for when a man who had been recommended to me by Dr. Rohling and Dr. Bickell as a scholar and a man of integrity, when such a man comes forward as eye-witness — and not only before me, but before a court of law — if one cannot believe him, then, there is no more to be said! So came about the publishing of the letter.

President: It is stated in the accusation that you gave the letter to the Editor to make use of, and intentionally demanded the printing of it.

Dr. Deckert: I gave the letter to the Editor to read, and then agreed that it should be published. Certainly!

President: What have you to say about the contents of the letter?

Dr. Deckert: I can say no more about them than that I refer to my informant, who was eye-witness, as he said; and who not only *said* that, but also wished to swear to it. I, of course, believed the contents to be true. With the details I was not acquainted. I knew neither the place nor the persons. How should I accuse a Jehoshuah ben Leib of anything? Paulus Meyer had dictated the letter to his fiancée, and handed it over under his signature. The responibility of it I must leave to my informant.

President: You say he had dictated the letter to his fiancée. Were you present?

Dr. Deckert: No, but that it is her hand-writing, I know.

President: I do not dispute that. Only this is suspicious: — I must confess that after to-day's proceedings, and the documents dealing with *Paulus Meyer's* cross-examination, a doubt appears as to whether *Paulus Meyer* is the author of the letter; and this, because he is *not capable of composing a letter with such a polished style.* Can you explain this?

Dr. Deckert: The matter appears to me thus: — as we have heard, he is not quite perfect in German; but his fiancée is a

highly educated young lady, who probably arranged the matter he gave her in the correct form. I know that she is a well-educated German lady from conversations I have had with her: seldom, but here and there.

President: You mean that she has expressed his thoughts in the correct German form? Paulus Meyer's fiancée, according to German law, has the right to refuse to make a statement. She has done this, as the gentlemen can see from the documents.

Dr. Kopp: I must put the question whether it is disputed that the letter in the issue of May 5th., where you say: "So Dr. Bloch, we will wait for the appearance of this letter — and then to the squaring of accounts"! &c. is from you?

Dr. Deckert: That which has been published in the "Vaterland" is from me.

Dr. Kopp: I have not for a moment doubted that! I only wished to have it confirmed. In the preliminary cross-examination you said that Paulus Meyer had been recommended to you by many worthy men as a great Talmud scholar, and one especially conversant with Hebrew literature. You adhere to that?

Dr. Deckert: Yes.

Dr. Kopp: But, in this case, the point at issue was, whether certain persons A. B. C. had committed a crime. If a man purports to be eye-witness of a murder, it has nothing to do with his scientific work. The question is whether he was really present, and whether one may believe him. An absolutely ignorant man, who cannot recognise one single Hebrew character, may be witness of a murder; but if he be the greatest of scholars, and were not present, he cannot know the facts about it. On this scientific knowledge, therefore, it does not depend. But that Meyer's character was so highly praised, — that you have not said in your preliminary cross-examination.

Dr. Deckert: Oh, yes! I did say that he was recommended to me as very reliable man. But here is the complete letter. (The accused hands the President the letter, the contract, and the letter addressed to him from prison by Paulus Meyer).

Dr. Kopp: That Dr. Bickell mentioned him to you as his good friend, we have no proof from you. That was a point which served your purpose! I very much regret that you did not, in time, have Bickell summoned to be present. I am sorry, but, without any offence to you, we have, at present, only your word.

Dr. Deckert: I was very often with Professor Bickell. He always showed himself as Paulus Meyer's friend. It was because of this that I, myself, did not distrust him; for the moment Dr. Bickell had let fall a word to his detriment, I should have known where I stood.

Dr. Kopp: You made use of an expression which you perhaps meant quite harmlessly, but which, in the course of the polemics, is given another flavour. You said Bickell was a philo-Semite. The antisemites use that word for those who do not belong to their party; but if one speaks vulgarly, one says: "He is the henchman of the Jews." As far as I am acquainted with Professor Bickell from his writings and his actions, he is a man of the highest honour, (Dr. Deckert: "Certainly!") who would condemn wrong, be it on the Christian or the Jewish side: and would, in the same manner, praise and support all that is good. A philo-Semite therefore, in the Jewish sense, he would not be.

Dr. Deckert: I did not affirm it. I added to my remark in what sense he is a philo-Semite, namely, on this question of the ritual-murder, where he is in agreement with the Jews. Rohling takes the other side; on this point he is an antisemite. With it, both gentlemen are good friends and worthy old men.

Dr. Kopp: Did Paulus Meyer reside with you for a time?

Dr. Deckert: I cannot call that "residing". One resides in a house only if one has there one's own bed, dines there &c. That was not the case here. He only slept at my flat, and that for about a few weeks, until his own flat was in order.

Dr. Kopp: With his fiancée?

Dr. Deckert: No!

Dr. Kopp: Oh, please, I am not reproaching you . . . . . What money did you give him?

Dr. Deckert: I promised him 100 florins per month on condition that he gave, in return, the money from the remmeration received from his writings.

Dr. Kopp: You only promised?

Dr. Deckert: I also gave him something. I was not bound to do so. In the same manner I sent him 100 florins to Leipzig, so that he could travel from there to Vienna.

President: I here state that the letter of *Dr. Rohling* reads as follows *(reads)*:

Prague, March 21st, 1893.

Dr. Joseph Deckert, Vienna.

Dear Sir,

I have just received your edition of the documents B. Simonis. God reward you! In connection with it, I call your attention to the fact that in Leipzig a work has appeared on the Protestant baptism of the Jews, and Strack's cultivation of these same, (published by E. Rust, Leipzig), which will be of interest to you. Leipzig scholars tell me that you will find in Paulus Meyer an excellent Hebraist, with whom no one living can compare. All I have read of his confirms me in this opinion. Besides this, he is described as a thoroughly honest and upright character, who, in Roman Catholic circles, would certainly become a worthy member of the fold. Meyer now wishes to write a comprehensive work in Hebrew and German on the blood-ritual, which shall confirm the same by numerous hitherto unknown texts from the Talmud, the Cabbala, and appendices. I, therefore, want him to come to Vienna, where he will be able to write his work in quietness, finding help from kind people there; for he is very poor. His mother was a Greek Catholic, his father a Jew, who had him brought up on strict rabbinic lines. The Protestants baptized him, and gave him work in the Jews' Mission, where, however, the abuses practised drove him to resign, and to an attack on them, which the enclosed pamphlet describes. His letters, as well as everthing I have heard of him, show a reliable character, for which reason I beg you to give him, in Vienna, your support. He will also be able to continue the "Shulchan", and earn his bread by literary

work. For the first few months, though, someone must stretch out to him the helping hand. Three to four months are necessary for the production on the blood-ritual. Anyone giving the man the opportunity of earning his bread will have done a good work, and will not be disappointed in him, as Fritsch and others write me. Be so kind, therefore, as to help here, since I myself am not in a position to do anything.

Yours in veneration

Dr. Rohling.

Then comes the contract which has been laid before me (reads):

Contract.

Mr. Paulus Meyer, journalist, residing at present here, promises herewith, within from four to five months (i.e. the last September 1st, 1893) to produce a work on ritual-murder by the Jews (once practised by many tribes, and now, after the intermingling of the same, by all tribes, according to orthodox-cabbalistic teachings, and written Rabbinic laws) for the purpose of atonement i. e. for ritual and also for other purposes; moreover, to prove this ritual using of the blood of those of another faith, as practised on the eve of the Passover and at other times, especially by the Themanic Jews; these facts to be proved from various cabbalistic writings, and passages compiled from the Talmud in other books. This work shall contain a true translation of the passages mentioned, together with the original text in heliographic type, a criticism of the text, and a grammatical glossary.

To make possible this important and interesting work, Dr. Deckert, parish priest in Vienna, in the name of a syndicate yet to be formed, agrees to advance to the said Mr. Paulus Meyer, in the event of his carrying out this work in Vienna, the sum of hundred (one hundred) florins, Austrian currency, for the period above mentioned. Dr. Deckert shall be allowed to inspect the progress of the work, and shall receive repayment of the sum advanced from the net-proceeds of the aforesaid work, due to the author in accordance with a legally binding contract concluded with the editor, Mr. Hermann

Wesendonck of Leipzig. Should this sum not suffice, the same shall then be paid from the remuneration promised, according to a contract with Wesendonck to Mr. Paulus Meyer, after his translation of the "Shulchan-Aruch".

Should an edition of both works, owing to some unforeseen event, be impossible, the author, Mr. Paulus Meyer, shall place his manuscript dealing with the ritual-murder, prepared for the printing-press, at the disposal of Dr. Deckert; reserving to himself, however, should the publication then come about through the efforts of Dr. Deckert, at least half of the net-proceeds, after the deduction of the sum advanced to him. Further arrangements between the editor and the author are the author's own affair.

Read, agreed and signed,

Paulus Meyer.
Dr. Deckert.

Vienna, Weinhaus, March 31th, 1893.

Is this your signature, Mr. Meyer?

Meyer: Yes.

President: Then there is another letter which you wrote from prison?

Dr. Deckert: I will make use of this letter only as far as the signature is concerned.

Meyer: Yes, it is my signature.

President: Mr. Meyer, what have you to say to these statements?

Meyer: I ask, if Professor Bickell were present when I signed the contract; because Dr. Deckert has said that *Bickell* read out the contract. From that one might draw the conclusion that I signed the contract in he presence of *Dr. Bickell.*

Dr. Deckert: Yes, you signed the contract in the presence of Professor Bickell, who read it aloud; and you signed it first, I afterwards.

President: It is a fact that the signature of Meyer appears above, and Dr. Deckert's below.

Meyer: Dr. Deckert has alleged that I handed him the letter immediately after my arrival i. e. that I brought with me the finished blood-letter.

Dr. Deckert: No.

President: No, that is not correct.

Meyer: It has been stated that my fiancée wrote it, and that she is a highly educated lady. Dr. Deckert will admit that my fiancée was most unwell and not at all in a state when she would be capable of writing such letters. My fiancée, is, besides, no writer. Did I, perhaps, dictate the letter?

President: He does not assert that. It is only asserted that the letter is in the hand-writing of your fiancée, and that you were the author in as much as you related to your fiancée the facts, and she, who far excels you in German style, committed them to paper.

Meyer: The cross-examining judge told me that Dr. Deckert said, in his preliminary cross-examination (I believe) that I did not ask him to publish the letter. To-day the says that I forced myself upon him. The whole letter is a reply to the "Österreichische Wochenschrift", which attacked Dr. Deckert. All my life, though, I had had nothing to do with Dr. Bloch. I have never seen him, nor spoken to him. He had never done me any harm and did not concern me. Father Deckert also asserts that he had only known me for a short time. I should have had to have known him a much longer time before I would say, as he asserts, that I would do it for love of him, and without any payment. Can anyone suppose that, in that short time, I had developed so much love for him, and so much hatred against Dr. Bloch? How does Dr. Bloch concern me? I didn't even know him. I've never even seen him.

Dr. Deckert: I must assure Mr. Meyer that when it is a question of protecting my honour, I do not need his services. I did not need your assistance in defending myself against *Bloch.*

Dr. Porzer: You said in your defence, Doctor, that you showed the issue of the 7th April of the "Wochenschrift" to Meyer; that he read it, and also followed further the controversy.

Dr. Deckert: Certainly! And that most eagerly! He, of course, read every issue of the "Vaterland" containing con-

tradictions by Dr. Bloch, and my replies. He knew, therefore, that this letter had been announced.

Dr. Porzer: He knew, then, that this letter had been announced. It is alleged that he urged you not to have his letter published.

Dr. Deckert: That is a defence which I cannot understand.

Dr. Porzer: You, therefore, expressly declare that this assertion is incorrect.

Dr. Griez de Ronze: One question! We have heard that you were kind enough to extend your hospitality to Paulus Meyer. Can you remember for how long? I believe he arrived in Vienna on March 23rd. How long did he stay with you?

Dr. Deckert: I cannot say for certain.

Dr. Griez: But until about May 11th or 12th?

Dr. Deckert: Yes, that is possible.

Dr. Griez: Is it correct that you published a contradiction in the "Neues Wiener Tagblatt" asserting expressly, with reference to § 19 of the Press Law, that Paulus Meyer did not live with you?

Dr. Deckert: I had to make a distinction between "living" with me and "sleeping at my house". That is, of course, not one and the same thing.

Dr. Griez: Thank you, Father Deckert. You admit that you officially denied that Paulus Meyer had stayed with you. That is a matter to which we will refer later. You admit, too, Father Deckert, that you stated in the "Österreichische Wochenschrift", referring to the same passage: — "It is not true that I took him into my flat. The fact is, he has his own flat." I must follow this up with another question.. You knew where Paulus Meyer lived after he moved out of the parsonage?

Dr. Deckert: He had never moved in, and so he could not have moved out.

Dr. Griez: Well, when he ceased to spend the nights with you.

Dr. Deckert: From that time he lived in the Cottage.

Dr. Griez: But you knew his address?

Meyer: When?

Dr. Griez: Perhaps you will leave that to me! Is it true that, when a police-agent came to you, you declared you did not know where Paulus Meyer lived?

Dr. Deckert: I am always very guarded with a police-spy.

Dr. Griez: That may be a matter of feeling! I only wish to confirm a fact. The letter was, at any rate, dictated; for we have heard that you gave the "Wochenschrift" to Meyer to look through; and as this letter deals with the contents, it must have been dictated. Do you know where the letter was dictated? In the parsonage or in his flat?

Dr. Deckert: Certainly not in the parsonage.

Dr. Griez: Can you perhaps say when that occurred?

Dr. Deckert: At the beginning of May. I cannot definitely state the day.

Dr. Gries: But in the early days?

Dr. Deckert: It may also have been at the end of April. I do not know for certain.

Dr. Griez: Is it correct what Meyer says, that you gave his fiancée manuscripts to copy out?

Dr. Deckert: Absolutely invented! To the best of my knowledge, never.

Dr. Griez: But you have often had copyists for literary work?

Dr. Deckert: But certainly never an Emma Wituska.

Dr. Griez: I must state one fact more, please. You will not deny that you had the express intention of bringing forward proof that the Jews, in the past, used the blood of Christians for ritual purposes?

Dr. Deckert: I believe no one can be prevented from forming a conclusion on historical grounds. I have studied the documents dealing with Simon of Trent, have collected data, and arrived at the conclusion that this ritual murder actually did take place; and I did it, because I wished to correct the prejudice that such murder has never been committed, and never could have been committed. Science is unrestricted; whether my investigations lead me one way or lead me another, it does not follow that I am a villain or a liar as Bloch styled me.

Dr. Griez: I did not wish to insinuate anything. I simply wished to confirm the fact that you set it before you as an important task, and studied in this direction; that you published not only one pamphlet on the ritual murder, but have lately published a second on the subject, in which proof is supposed to be brought that, in the past, three Tyrolese children were also slaughtered.

Dr. Deckert: Certainly!

Dr. Griez: You stated previously that the letter of Meyer in which the murder of the fair-haired boy is described exercised no influence on your scientific conclusions regarding the ritual murder.

Dr. Deckert: None at all, I will not say.

Dr. Griez: I mean no influence on your already formed convictions.

Dr. Deckert: I was strengthened in my convictions.

Dr. Griez: That seems to stand in contradiction to your statement in the "Vaterland" where you say that the study of the documents of Trent had convinced you that the Jews in past centuries used the blood of Gentiles while the letter of Meyer had convinced you that the Jews of to-day are still using it. I wanted to ascertain whether the letter of Meyer had this effect, that you were convinced by it that the Jews are, at present, using the blood of Gentiles?

Dr. Deckert: I call your attention to the fact that you have left out a whole passage of my utterances in the "Vaterland". I declared that, through study, I had arrived at the conclusion that such ritual murders really have taken place, and that the possibility exists that such murders occur in our time among the Chassidim — not among all Jews.

Dr. Griez: I shall later take the liberty of asking for the extract to be read out. From the passage it appears that the letter brought to you the conviction that such murders also occur at the present time. I wish to put one last question regarding the publication of the letter. Meyer defends himself by saying that not only did he not recommend the publication, but he even begged you not to proceed with it. Neither does there occur in the documents of the cross-examination one fact to point

out that Meyer has exercised any influence at all on the publication of the letter. I want to ask you now: Has Meyer done anything towards the publication of the letter in any periodical?

Dr. Deckert: Certainly! It is in the letter itself. He implores me, in it, to make his communications public in my circle.

Dr. Griez: In your circle: that does not mean in a newspaper.

Dr. Deckert: If I am only to speak of it in my circle that is no publicity; but he asked me to make the matter publicly known.

Dr. Griez: You interpreted the matter in that light.

Dr. Deckert: And also to achieve the purpose mentioned: "to prevent further harm".

Dr. Griez: According to the explanations given by you the publication was simply a result of the polemics with Dr. Bloch; as you said to-day, to protect your personal honour.

Meyer: I must ask whether Dr. Deckert denies that he sent for the house-keeper and said: "The die is cast! The letter must be published!" although I implored him that the letter should not be published.

Dr. Deckert: "The die is cast!" meant only that the letter had already been published. Meyer misunderstood that.

Meyer: He says he went with me to the office of the "Vaterland" before the letter was published. I assert that this is untrue. I want to ask if he remembers after he got back from the editorial office . . .

President: What had he to do at the editor's office?

Meyer: I was so dreadfully agitated at that time . . .

President: You are always agitated.

Meyer: I only want to know whether he affirms that we were at the office of the "Vaterland" before or after the publication of the letter.

President: He asserts before the publication.

Meyer: But he must remember.

President: It is possible that you were at the editorial office after the publication too.

Meyer: He asserts that I confirmed the murder incident at Ostrowo in the presence of Inthal.

Dr. Pattai: The whole controversy was also printed in the "Wochenschrift"?

Dr. Deckert: Yes.

Dr. Pattai: The letter as well?

Dr. Deckert: Yes.

Dr. Pattai: What explanation was given there of the ritual murder? Did not Bloch say that the Gentiles even killed their own children in order to put the blame on the Jews?

Dr. Deckert: From various newspapers information was collected that Gentiles slaughter the children to put the blame on the Jews.

Dr. Pattai: Have you the plaintiffs in your mind? Had you the intention to accuse them?

Dr. Deckert: That is absolutely impossible. I knew nothing of them, and was not even acquainted with them personally.

Dr. Pattai: Did you know the position of Ostrowo?

Dr. Deckert: No.

Dr. Pattai: Did others know it?

Dr. Deckert: Even Dr. Bloch did not know it.

Dr. Pattai: This fact seems to me of importance, and I must beg you to explain it. The matter was in intimate connection with the controversy.

Dr. Deckert: Yes. Dr. Bloch caused a telegram to be sent to him from Peterburg, stating that an Ostrow, or Ostrowe, or Ostrowa did not exist in Russia.

Dr. Pattai: You replied to this that three such places were in existence?

Dr. Deckert: The "Vaterland" did.

Dr. Pattai: What did Dr. Bloch reply to that?

Dr. Deckert: He said that the telegram had been put into the world only to produce a statement for judicial purposes.

Dr. Pattai: I shall later ask to have this passage confirmed.

Meyer: Dr. Deckert says he knew nothing of Ostrowo. When I communicated my experiences to him he said: "You know, Mr. Meyer, if one speaks of such things it is always better to give names of places." Then I named, among others, the

town of Ostrowo and mentioned the names of those persons in whose circle I had moved.

President: But you said that you did not know anything of the letter and did not tell Dr. Deckert anything about it.

Meyer: You misunderstood me, Mr. President.

Dr. Griez: Meyer's defence is that he gave Father Deckert pictures of the religious life of the Jews: that he gave him examples and told him of how he lived among the Jews in Ostrowo: how he was with them, and how, according to his defence, these names were used in the letter.

President: But he has just described the story of Ostrowo as though he had narrated it.

Meyer: I cannot put the matter in the light I wish. When I dictated to him, I mentioned the names of persons. I explained that there are two sects among the Chassidim. For instance, among the Chassidim the eating of fish on Saturday is strictly observed.

President: This has nothing to do with the matter.

Meyer: Excuse me! If one the Chassidim sees that there is no fish, he will run for three miles to another town. I told it to him like this, for instance "He runs to Lavertone" &c. In this way I mentioned names.

President: Your names have been misused then?

Juryman Selldorf (to Dr. Deckert): The data of the supposed murder refer to the year 1875. Do you believe that a murder can be committed in Russia without meeting with condign punishment? And did you really credit the statements of the accused whose antecedents you knew?

Dr. Deckert: I wish to state that Meyer's antecedents were known to me only through Dr. Rohling and Professor Bickell. Further, I knew only what he had stated in his "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing". That is not incriminating. It did not surprise me in the least that a murder could remain undiscovered in Russia in the year 1875. That occurs even with us, and in other highly civilised countries. (Laughter.)

A Juryman (to Dr. Deckert): Was Meyer registered with the police during the time he slept with you at the flat?

Meyer: Not at first. I did not know where I ought to register myself.

President: It probably was not done, because we know the police were looking for him because of information received from the High Court in Leipzig.

Meyer: I believe I understand that Mr. President means because a summons was pending for me in Leipzig.

President: No. I did not say that. I mean that we cannot confirm whether you were registered by the police or not.

Meyer: When I moved out I asked what I had to do with regard to my new address, and Dr. Deckert said: "Register yourself! You are not bound to give the date of your arrival here." To which I answered: "It's in the papers."

President: Answer the question of the Juryman. Yes or no?

Meyer: No.

Dr. Deckert: Acting on Meyer's letter, I found him here a flat. He could not, at the moment, take it, because he had no furniture. That had first to be obtained. I said: "You must register yourself." Whether he did so or not, I do not know.

Juryman: I only wished to know how it is possible for a man to wander about in this way.

Dr. Kopp (to Dr. Deckert): You have stated that he had no abode.

Dr. Deckert: The things he brought — books &c. he had taken to his flat.

Dr. Pattai: Now one sees where he slept from one day to the next.

Meyer: I should like to explain the matter.

President: We have heard enough on the subject, and for this you will certainly not be convicted. We will now proceed with the cross-examination of the third accused. (To Franz Doll.) You have likewise the right to plead in a coherent manner.

Cross-examination of Editor Doll.

Doll: The whole discussion arose out of a pamphlet by Dr. Deckert on Simon of Trent, which Bloch attacked in a most fierce and dirty manner. That was the reason why I, as re-

presentative of a Christian paper, gave a Roman-Catholic priest facilities for defence. The editorial office wished to make an end of the matter after the second article, and wrote that the discussion was closed. Besides this, to make the matter impartial, the second article was printed under the heading "A controversy". Before there was any question of publishing the letter in our paper, therefore, we were desirous of closing the discussion, but Rabbi Bloch would not do this. He sent contradiction upon contradiction at a length which far exceeded the limit of § 19.

He made various observations, in which he questioned the existence of the letter, and at last, in thick type in the "Sunday and Monday" there appeared an insertion in which Dr. Deckert was invited to publish the letter. That was the reason why I gave space for the letter. I know that many people in my position would draw themselves out of the affair by saying that they had not read the incriminating article. I shall not do that! I confirm that I had read the letter. In opposition to this, however, I must protect myself from the accusation that I meant to injure the persons there mentioned. I must say that on the reading of this letter the persons themselves did not even come before my eyes with dramatic vividness. I read the letter as one would read a letter from Brazil, where the facts play in the mind but not the persons; and besides this, I will confess that I did not know where Ostrowo was; even Bloch did not know this. He published a telegram from the political authorities in which it was said that Ostrowo did not exist. A few days later, we heard that the telegram had been fabricated for judicial purposes.

At what high pressure Bloch worked is shown by the fact that he had the — what shall I say? — the face to refer to the Austrian Postal Authorities regarding the telegram. That the whole thing was an arranged affair, was quite clear. Now I must mention another thing. The whole of our newspaper fabric is built up on special reports through the medium of persons or institutions. The newspaper reproduces what it has heard. The newspaper protects itself in this way, that, when it does not wish to identify itself with a certain report, it asks the correspondent to sign the article. That was my case. This letter of

Meyer lay before me, written in such a moving manner that I could conclude Deckert had not written it, but another person more initiated in Jewish rites. Besides this, I knew that Meyer had two guarantors at his back: and so I took the letter, and herewith disclaim all responsibility.

President: Who handed the letter over to you?

Doll: The Chief Editor Inthal.

President: Did you know how he had obtained the letter?

Doll: He told me the writer of the letter had called with Dr. Deckert.

President: You published the letter, being convinced of the truth of it, and taking into consideration the guarantors.

Dr. Pattai: You then gave Dr. Bloch the opportunity of replying again?

Doll: Repeatedly. We printed his corrections at full length.

Dr. Pattai: Did you curtail anything?

Doll: No.

Dr. Pattai: Was Bloch able to bring further arguments against the letter?

Doll: Yes.

A Juryman: Are such articles never censored before they go to press?

Doll: Except by the editor — no! The responsible editor reads the letter through, and if he thinks he will take the article, he takes it.

Cross-Examination of the Witness, Chief Editor Inthal.

The cross-examination of the witness Inthal now follows.

President (after taking particulars): Are you related to the accused or connected with him by marriage?

Inthal: No.

President: Is the oath demanded in this case?

Dr. Griez: I ask that the evidence may be taken on oath. (The oath is taken.)

President: I must ask you to tell us how the letter which is the cause of this trial to-day, and which appeared in Nr. 129 of the "Vaterland", reached the editor's office.

Inthal: To the best of my knowledge, Dr. Deckert brought the letter.

President: When?

Inthal: At the time of the publication — a few days before.

President: You cannot remember exactly? Did he come alone to the office?

Inthal: He brought with him, once, the author of the letter.

President: Was that the time when he gave you the draft, or was it another time?

Inthal: At the time of publication. Whether before or after I cannot say for certain.

President: Who was with him?

Inthal: Paulus Meyer. He introduced him, and it seemed to me to be taken for granted that he had written the letter.

President: Was anything said on the subject or not?

Inthal: I held no conversation with Paulus Meyer, but Meyer told various things about his acquaintance with a Professor of the University, Dr. Bickell: and in these stories — I mean the stories about his acquaintance with Bickell — he mentioned this letter. That I can remember exactly. When, in this connection, Bickell asked him why he had written the letter, he answered — I don't know whether as a question or positively — "Why did they annoy me so much?" or "They have annoyed me so much!"

President: That must have been at the time when the letter was already published.

Inthal: The letter had been mentioned as early as the first insertion of Dr. Deckert's. It may, therefore, have been before. I knew of Meyer's letter, and took it as a matter of course, when Meyer came, that he was the author of the letter.

President: Do you remember especially why Meyer was at the office with Dr. Deckert? What was his purpose in coming?

Inthal: Dr. Deckert came, and said Meyer was there with him. Might he bring him in? Since he was there in the company of Dr. Deckert, I had no reason to refuse him admission.

President: Did he say for what purpose he had brought him?

Inthal: Of course as author of the letter. It seemed to me he had brought him to show him, in a way.

Meyer: I speak German badly. I gather that the witness says I introduced myself when I came in as the author of the letter. At least he says himself I was the author.

Inthal: It was Dr. Deckert who said that you were the author of the letter. This was taken for granted.

President: And Meyer did not contradict this?

Meyer: Did I say in your presence I was there when the deed was done? Did I affirm that by word of mouth?

Inthal: Whether you mentioned this special case in Ostrowo I cannot say for certain; but you mentioned one in Smyrna or Damascus — I don't know exactly which — which you did affirm. You named the Rector of a Pilgrim's House in Jerusalem, with whom you had talked the matter over. You lamented most bitterly the condition of affairs among the Jews. The gentleman, who must have been a Jew too,wept with you over these sorrowful facts.

President: Can you not remember whether this was before the publication of the letter or afterwards?

Inthal: I remember exactly that it was after the publication of the letter. I should not have remembered, but I know it because, when I came back into the office. Professor Bickell was waiting and wanted to have an explanation from me. That cannot possibly have been before the publication.

Meyer: Did you print the letter on my introducing myself as author? Did you know that for certain?

Inthal: Perfectly. I was absolutely without any doubt on the matter that you wished the letter to be printed.

Meyer: You firmly believe, then, that it was before the printing of the letter?

Inthal: I cannot say for certain, but I think so.

Dr. Porzer: You gathered from Meyer's attitude on this occasion the impression that he must be a man convinced of the fact that ritual-murder is practised by the Jews?

Inthal: This was the purpose, I think, of Meyer's whole conversation in the office. He had the intention of introducing himself to me, to as one who could prove it.

Dr. Porzer: You said he spoke of a case in Smyrna, and lamented that such things happened among the Jews?

Inthal: He told that with reference to his acquaintance with a missionary in Jerusalem.

Dr. Porzer: And he did not, in the conversation, deny the authorship of the letter?

Inthal: In no way.

Dr. Deckert: Do you remember whether I introduced Meyer as the author of the letter which you had previously read?

Inthal: I have said so.

Dr. Deckert: Did he make any reply to that?

Inthal: No.

Dr. Pattai: Did he not make a solemn avowal at the last?

Inthal: He raised his hand and swore that what he said — whether he added what he had written, I'm not sure — was true and that he could prove it before any one.

Meyer: The witness says that I stood up and swore with my hand raised that everything I said was true: while, a second ago, he could not distinctly remember whether this letter came into question at all, and whether we had spoken of it. If we had spoken of it, though, what would have been the good of my swearing?

Why should I have spoken about Damascus? If you had said to me: "I do not believe your evidence. How can you prove it?", then I would have got up to swear to it.

President: You say you did not swear to it. The witness says you did . . . I have just received from the messenger I sent to Professor Bickell's house the report that he left for Innsbruck three weeks ago, and that the date of his return to Vienna is uncertain.

Are there any other suggestions? Or do the gentlemen wish any other facts to be confirmed? There is, for instance, the suggestion that all powers of attorney for the plaintiffs be read out. It may perhaps suffice that the powers of attorney are here before me, and that the High Court has brought the case, of which to-day's proceedings are the result. Should the Court have erred in this respect, and these powers of attorney be not perfectly complete, the defence would be given the opportunity of raising the plea of nullity.

Dr. Pattai: I don't wish to tire the gentlemen, but I must ask that the reading may take place.

Dr. Kopp: I state that, out of caution, I, too, demanded the reading. For my part I am willing to forego it.

President: Meyer suggests bringing forward a medical opinion on his state of health, and suggests either the hearing of the prison doctors, or the reading of their diagnosis. The doctors have given the following medical report: —

R. I. High Court Infirmary.
Medical Report.

(Reads.) With reference to the official request made on September 4th, 1893 (Z. 38.446) asking that the physical condition of Paulus Meyer may be inquired into, the undersigned beg to state the following:

Paulus Meyer, 31 years of age, in custody since May 25th of the current year, of very weak physical build, much reduced by under-nourishment, suffers from a high degree of neurasthenia (weakness of the nerves), and is anaemic. He complained almost uninteruptedly during his confinement of the most various nervous complaints, exhibited great excitement from time to time, and has been under treatment ever since his arrest: which treament was once interrupted by a three day's stay in the infirmary. In the month of July of the current year, he complained of acute pain in the left eye, and disturbance of the vision. Although the undersigned could not find any disease of the eye, having reference to the fact that Paulus Meyer had some time previously lost the sight of one eye, an examination of the alleged diseased eye by a specialist was made, which, however, gave also a negative result and the symptoms complained of were described as neurasthenic.

Except for symptoms of anaemia and weakness of the nerves, no organic disease was discoverable in Paulus Meyer.

Vienna, September 7th, 1883.

Dr. Griez: I suggest the reading of two testimonials.

President: They will not detain us long.

Dr. Porzer: I would further suggest short readings from newspapers.

President: If there are no further suggestions (No one responds) I will interrupt the proceedings for the space of an hour.

(The trial was interuppted at 2 o'clock and resumed at 3.15).

President: We now proceed to confirm the powers of attorney by the reading of the documents.

Dr. Porzer: At this stage of the proceedings I must make a request, and I make it at this point because, in an unexpected manner, a witness has offered himself who is able to give evidence on a, as it appears to me, important point. Mr. Paulus Meyer, in the course of his cross-examination, stated that he was not the author of the letter. I beg to suggest that Mr. Ernst Vergani, Editor of the "Deutsches Volksblatt" be called as witness, at whose office Mr. Paulus Meyer appeared, acknowledged himself as the author of the letter, and declared himself willing to write other articles on the same subject, since he had undoubtedly been eye-witness of ritual murders.

President: Are the facts acknowledged?

Meyer: It is true that I was once at the office of the "Deutsches Volksblatt", but that was only because Dr. Deckert had asked me to contradict the attacks made by the Jewish Press, and because an answer of Dr. Deckert had not been accepted by the "Sunday and Monday". Dr. Deckert advised me to go to the "Deutsches Volksblatt" and get them to take my answer. When I got there I asked Mr. Vergani whether he would accept anything from me. He said: "No. I don't take things like that. I'm not interested in them." As Mr. Ernst Vergani has been present at the trial, and sees that I took such a standpoint afterwards, it is natural that he should support the defence.

President: Are the facts acknowledged?

Meyer: I did not speak with Mr. Vergani on the blood-ritual article, nor on anything else. I simply asked him about a contradiction.

President: It is not true, then, that you acknowledged to Mr. Vergani that you were the author of the letter.

Cross-examination of the witness Ernst Vergani.

(Particulars of Ernst Vergani, witness, are taken: born in Sollenz in Galicia, 45 years of age, Roman Catholic married, Editor of the "Deutsches Volksblatt", neither related to accused, nor connected with him by marriage. The oath is read out, and taken.)

President: Do you know whether the letter signed "Paulus Meyer", published in the "Vaterland", and forming to-day the subject of this trial, proceeded in any way from him, or was confessed to by him as its author?

Vergani: That I do not know. When I read to-day in the evening paper the assertions of Paulus Meyer — I left the office at 12 o'clock — I remembered that on May 20th he had been to see me, and offered to write in the "Deutsches Volksblatt" an article on the ritual-murder — the same which had already been mentioned in his letter to the "Vaterland". He said he was prepared further to write about the ritual-murder in general, as well as to give me detailed articles on the Talmud, (under his signature if it must be) which would make a great sensation, as no one know Hebrew as well as he did, because he had been educated in rabbi-schools, and knew the Talmud extraordinarily well. I asked him, then: "Were you really present at the murder?", and he answered. "Of course! I can altogether tell ever so many things about such murders." I said: "Why do you want to leave the "Vaterland"? Some of your articles have already appeared there." He replied. "The people have no courage. You would take hold of things in a radical manner." I said: "No. I will not take you as co-worker." (He had wanted such a post with me.) "I don't want your articles either." He asked me what reasons I had. I said simply: "You know that I take up the standpoint of racial antisemitism; that I wouldn't take anything from a baptized. Jew any more that I would from a genuine Jew, and believe in one, as much as I do in the other." He was very disgusted at that: and called out: — "You'll regret that!" Then he turned away and went off.

President: Is that true?

Meyer: It is entirely misrepresented.

President: What is true in it?

Meyer: I came to Vergani, and asked him if I could defend myself in his paper against the attacks of the Jewish Press, as the answer of Dr. Deckert had been refused by the "Sunday and Monday". He answered shortly and angrily: "I am only a spectator in those things. I don't want to have anything to do with a baptized Jew." That annoyed me very much. I am firmly convinced that if Mr. Vergani had heard or read anything else and it was to the advantage of the antisemites he would have come forward. Oh! yes! And I can tell you that, if there had been time, there are other gentlemen who would have been only too willing, in the interests of . . ."

President: Keep those observations to yourself! They are neither relevant nor proper. Witness, you adhere to your statement in spite of all, and can prove the truth of it?

Vergani: I have sworn to it.

Dr. Griez: When Paulus Meyer offered to write on the ritual-murder, did he mention whether he was for or against the existence of the same?

Vergani: Apparently in the sense of the letter published in the "Vaterland".

Dr. Griez: You gathered from his statements, then, that he would write for the existence of ritual-murder?

Vergani: I take it that he would not have come to me to defend anything to the contrary.

Dr. Pattai: But you asked him if he were himself present at the ritual-murder which the "Vaterland" described?

Vergani: He, at once, answered: "Of course"!

Meyer: Did you gather from my conversation what had brought me to you? What did I suddenly want from you? Did I even ask for a remuneration from you?

Vergani: You simply said to me: — "The Vaterland" has not the courage of the thing!

Meyer: But the Editor of the "Vaterland" has stated here to-day that he only saw me once, at night. How could I judge from that whether the "Vaterland" had much courage or little? For that, I should have had to have known him longer and more intimately.

Juryman Selldorf: Why was it, witness, that you did not, at the moment when Paulus Meyer declared that he had been eye-witness of a ritual-murder, put the matter in the hands of the police?

Vergani: It had already appeared in the "Vaterland" for anyone to read.

Juryman Selldorf: But you say that he told you about it?

Vergani: It was quite plain for everyone to read in the letter, though.

Juryman Selldorf: You reply to that, then, that it was there for everyone to read.

Meyer: I can't understand the whole story. Perhaps, as you seem so clever, and have heard such a lot, you can tell us what brought me to you? Pure love of the antisemites? What brought me to you? Did I ask you for any money?

President: It has already been answered that you did not ask for money.

Vergani: There is no reason why I should even give a thought to it.

Meyer: I am quite positive that I did not speak with Mr. Vergani on the subject.

President: You hear what the witness says.

Meyer: One statement contradicts another, then! Of course, no antisemitic Editor would say anything detrimental to the antisemites.

President: The powers of attorney may now be read out, if desired.

Dr. Pattai: If you please.

President (reads powers of attorney).

Dr. Pattai: I must ask for two insertions of Dr. Bloch in the newspaper to be read out.

Dr. Kopp: They cannot possibly be of any importance to the trial.

President: The first insertion reads: "Having received a recommendation to an official in Petrograde, I applied to him for particulars which might help to substantiate (if such existed) some facts stated by Paulus Meyer, giving adequate reasons for my request. The following reply was received by telegram:

Dr. Bloch, Editor of the "Österreichische Wochenschrift", Vienna. No city, hamlet, place, or village, of the name of Ostrowo, or Ostrowe, or Ostrowa, exists in the whole of the Russian Empire: therefore, neither in Government Lublin (Russian Poland). Further inquiries are, therefore, impossible as well as superfluous'. The R. I. Postal Authorities in Austria will confirm that a town of this name exists only in the Prussian Territory of the former Kingdom of Poland, in the Administrative District of Posen: not, however, in Russia; and Paulus Meyer has laid the plot of his murder story there for two reasons.

Before Dr. Deckert sent, for publication in the "Vaterland", a story like this, with such grave contents from the supposed pen of the universally highly esteemed Paulus Meyer, he should at least have made sure that a town or place called Ostrowe, in Government Lublin (Russian Poland), really exists."

The second insertion reads:

The facts are, that I only tried to provoke from Messrs. Deckert and Paulus Meyer a statement explicit and binding, for legal purposes, i. e. on which of the three Russian towns of the name of Ostrow the gentlemen would decide on as background for their murder-story. I even left it open to them to choose, instead of *Ostrowo* explicitly and repeatedly named in the "fatal" letter, a town of the name of *Ostrow* and instead of Government Lublin, another Russian Government. I expected, after the publication of the telegram, a statement in reply, specifying the town and the Government, instead of those erroneously given — a statement which could be taken as the basis for a judical investigation, and which should make it impossible to again move the scene chosen for the alleged events.

Dr. Griez: There remains a certificate of good behaviour made out for Paulus Meyer by the Russian Ambassador, but it is written in Russian.

President: It is not denied that he posesses such, and that the contents are as described.

Dr. Griez: I beg, then, for the reading of the two testimonials regarding Paulus Meyer's activities in Berlin.

President (reads):

The proselyte Paulus Meyer, has been in my service from August 1st, 1890 to this same day 1891. I have employed him in various personal matters, and have also used him for mission-work. During his stay here, he has exerted great efforts to get into touch with the Jews of the cities of this country, especially those of Russian-Polish nationality, and to bring them, whenever possible, into the evangelical fold. His standpoint has won him many friends among the Jews, but also many enemies. He leaves because I am not in a position to make further use of his services.

Berlin, N. W., Lessingstrasse 32, August 24th, 1891.

R. Beiling, m. p.
Pastor.

L. S.

Certificate.

(Reads): This is to certify that the bearer of this, Paulus Meyer, has been in my depot for spreading evangelical teaching among the Jews since March of the current year, here in Wilna, and also in Minsk, Grodno, and Bielostock. During these months, he has led a strictly moral, Christian life. His pleadings with the thousands of Jews who visited the depot as well as the many he met outside the same were full of enthusiasm and the power of conviction, aiming towards convincing the Jews, from the Old Testament, that the salvation of Israel and of all mankind can only be found in Jesus Christ. He did his duty with an energy and a faith such as is seldom seen: indeed, with self-denial. He often incurred the danger of assault by the Jews, in the streets or in their synagogues. As a worker in Israel the grace of God blessed him in a special manner, so that Zion could indeed say: "Behold! Salvation is at hand!" The time has now come to stretch out to Mr. Meyer, in his misfortune, the hand of brotherhood, in word and deed: both from the humanitarian standpoint, and in accordance with Christian love and charity. For the Master has afflicted him in that his only eye has become so diseased that he is almost blind; and, as a young proselyte — (he has been baptized but a year) — he is cast out and disowned by his own people and nearest relatives,

and has not yet won for himself, with the Christians, inner fellow-ship. Perhaps the Lord will display to him his wonderful powers of healing, that he may receive sight! Then, we hope, he will work with increased zeal among Israel, in the Master's vineyard.

God in his mercy grant that it be so! Amen!

Wilna, November 30th, 1888.

Dr. A. Althausen, m. p.

Dr. Griez: I beg further for the reading of a short passage from the pamphlet by Dr. Joseph Deckert entitled "A Ritual-Murder." The request is based on this — that the decision of the jury will depend largely on their judgment of how much weight may be given to Dr. Deckert's conclusions.

Dr. Porzer: Since the suggested reading is irrelevant to the case, and apparently has only as its object the furnishing of materials with which Paulus Meyer's defence may make further attacks not connected with the actual affairs in hand, I protest against the reading.

Dr. Kopp: I give the defence full liberty of action.

President: Since we do not know the contents, and the connection does not seem clear, I cannot accept the suggestion.

Dr. Griez: I believe I have already stated that the reading would serve the purpose of showing how Father Deckert arrives at logical conclusions. I can give the context very briefly. Father Deckert says, in it, that the fact that the Jews of to-day use the blood of Gentiles for ritual purposes is proved, since a French newspaper, the "Archive Israélite", in an issue referring to the Feast of the Passover, says that the religious precepts on the subject must not be overlooked; that while the women pursue their usual work, the men prepare the unleavened bread, — in which preparation the most scrupulous care must be exercised. The writer then continues, that, although blood is not mentioned, the most "scrupulous care" thus demanded in order that no precepts regarding the Passover Feast be violated, the exclusion of the women — all this, combined with the documents of the Trent trial, gives food for thought.

It is thus possible that many Jews, even to-day, eat Gentile blood in their unleavened bread without knowing it. I

suggest the reading of this passage, not because of the contents, but as an illustration of the manner in which Dr. Deckert draws logical conclusions; because this seems to me of importance for the jury's judgment of Father Deckert.

Dr. Porzer: The question of the ritual murder plays no part in to-day's proceedings. The conclusions drawn by the speaker are, therefore, of no importance; and as he has already read the passage the reading of it before the court is unnecessary.

President: The court has decided to decline the suggestion, since the incriminating facts have no relevant connection with it.

Dr. Porzer: I ask for two facts to be confirmed which are relevant to the matter of the trial.

1st, an insertion in the newspaper from Dr. Bickell, which has already been discussed; and 2nd, two short notices which appeared in two papers, whereby *Dr. Deckert* was urged, on his priestly honour, to publish the letter of Meyer.

President: Are there any objections?

Dr. Kopp: The facts mentioned are admitted by me.

Juryman Selldorf: I must put a question to the two first accused. Father Deckert, replying to a previous question of mine, stated that from the recommendation of *Rohling*, he believed Meyer to be an honest and trustworthy character. How does it then come about that they signed a written contract together, only usual among business-men? What urged you to demand from each other such security for your mutual services?

Dr. Deckert: I gave Paulus Meyer my confidence, not only on the Reverend Canon Rohling's recommendation, but also on that of the Reverend Dr. Bickell. Here it was a question of money, that he might live in Vienna and complete his work. He had promised me to return the money, and so it was necessary that I should give him, as is usual even among very good friends — though I was never his friend, never his good friend — something in writing, that I might get my money back. No one could take exception to that.

Dr. Porzer: Dr. Deckert, Meyer declares that you have often, the whole night through, sat and discussed with him.

Dr. Deckert: That is an absolute invention. It is my custom to retire usually at eleven, at the latest at twelve o'clock, since I must rise very early in the morning. That I have made merry with him until half past three, is not true. He was not nearly interesting enough!

Dr. Pattai (to Doll): How many subscribers has the "Vaterland" in Russia?

Doll: The Austrian papers have a very small circulation in Russia altogether. We have only one there, and that is in Moscow.

President: We now proceed to the questions for the jury.

Dr. Kopp: I think the matter forming the basis of such questions is contained in the accusation. It states that on behalf of my clients, I accuse all three persons of defamation of character, committed in print. That is the basis of the accusation. The manner in which this was done is likewise definitive and clear. It is reported, with reference to Meyer, that he composed this article, and handed it over to Dr. Deckert for publication. Regarding Dr. Deckert, the charge is simply that he gave the letter to the "Vaterland", with the request that it might be published, and against the responsible editor the charge is that he ordered the printing of the same. All facts worthy of consideration, are contained in these words.

Dr. Griez: I agree with the principal question, but find myself compelled to suggest a possible question regarding the defamation of character committed by the handing over of the manuscript of the letter, with knowledge of its contents, to Dr. Deckert.

Dr. Kopp: Whenever it is not absolutely necessary, I will not stand in the way of the defence. It shall never be said that I have hindered the gentlemen. If, therefore, Dr. Griez believes it can serve his client, I have nothing against it.

The proceedings are here interrupted for the space of a quarter of an hour. On resumption of same, the President puts the following questions, decided on by the Court: —

1st Question (Chief-question): Is the accused, Paulus Meyer, guilty of having composed the letter, dated April 20 th, 1893, and having given it to Father Joseph Deckert for publication, falsely, and in print, accusing, in number 129 of the daily Viennese newspaper "Das Vaterland" of May 11th. 1893, on the third page and first column, under the address "His Reverence, Father Joseph Deckert. Weinhaus, Wien", and ending in the third column with the words "to whom his estate belonged. D. O." the Rabbi Jehoshuah (Schye) Leib, deceased in the year 1873, the servant Moishe Rosenker alias Beriches, and Srul Frost alias Partzewar, as well as the estate-owner Shmul Wassertrum alias Tarler, of the crime of murder.

2nd Question (Chief-question): Is the accused, Joseph Deckert, guilty of having accused the above-mentioned persons of the crime of murder, by the handing over of the letter described in question Nr. 1, to the Editor of the "Vaterland" for publication?

3rd Question (Chief-question): Is the accused, Franz Doll, guilty of having accused the above-mentioned persons of the crime of murder, in that, knowing the contents of the letter described in questions Nr. 1, he accepted it for the "Vaterland" and gave it to be printed?

4th Question (Possible question, in case of an answer in the negative to Chief-question 1): Is the accused, Paulus Meyer, guilty, in that he knowing its contents, handed over the manuscript of the letter described in Question 1, to Dr. Deckert, thereby accusing the persons mentioned in Question 1. of the crime of murder?

Here follow the speeches of the counsels.

Dr. Kopp as Counsel for the Plaintiffs.

Gentleman of the Jury,

In the whole of my forty years' experience, mere has never come under my notice a case as simple and clear as that of today; nor a case in which so much has been done to render it unclear and confused.

Quite dispassionately I will endeavour, firstly, to lay clearly before you the facts, that the exercise of your high

office may be made for you somewhat more easy. The accusation is that of defamation of character.

The first question which arises in such a case, is the following: — "Has the honour of an individual been offended or not?" I should offend you, Gentlemen of the Jury, if I were to spend time on convincing you that a person's honour has been attacked, if a horrible murder, like that in question, be laid to his charge. There can be very different opinions on the subject of honour — in different stations, at different times, one says honour is touched: while, under other circumstances, the same facts would not at all be regarded as affecting it.

When, however, anyone is accused of the slaughter of a six-or seven year old child, in cold blood, as it might be an animal — an innocent child, that has injured no man — when one is accused of having done a villainous crime such as this, then I would call that man not responsible for his actions who would not feel offence at such an accusation! A man of this stamp must indeed have, in his breast, no spark of honour. I do not touch on the fact that murder is, of itself, a grave crime — the gravest we know in fact, since it meets with the utmost penalty of the law, the penalty of death.

But a murder of this kind, perpetrated on an innocent being such as this, is a villany to which only the most depraved of beings could confess. That defamation ovf character has been committed, therefore, against the persons to whose account such a charge has been laid — on that point I will, from now onwards, waste no more words.

The second question which arises is: "Which persons have been injured?" The persons have been named in the incriminating letter with the utmost distinctness. There occur, with reference to the names, signatures which read other than in the powers of attorney, with the addition that the man is named with an alias. You will find that among the Germans also. You need only travel an hour's journey from Vienna to find it. If you come into the Wiener Wald, you will find farmers described never otherwise than by the names attached to their farms.

These farmers are so called: such is often the case here, and, in the Alps, it is general that everyone is described by a — I will not say nick-name, — but a second name.

There can thus be no doubt, and, further, no one has contradicted, that a certain Jehoshuah is also called Schye Leib; and that Frost is also named Partzewar; Beriches has been named after his father. With reference to Tarler, the name is explained in the incriminating article itself. It is there mentioned that the land-owner was called Tarler after the village to which his estate belonged. These facts are all contained in the powers of attorney; so that no possible doubt can exist as to the identity of the persons whose honour has been affected. These persons have brought the matter before the court, and that their accusation is justified is proved by the fact that the court has taken up the case, and proceeded with it. These are, moreover, points which do not affect the Gentlemen of the Jury, for should a proper charge not be forthcoming, the case would be dismissed according to § 317 of the Penal Code.

The question before the jury is: Are the accused guilty of having done this? With the exception of the first among the accused (Meyer), that, also, is for the present so visible and plain that I will waste no words over it.

With reference to Paulus Meyer, we have heard that he has denied the authorship of the letter and the handing of it over for print. It is for the Gentlemen of the Jury to decide in how far he may be believed. I think that he has contributed most towards the conviction that he has answered untruthfully. During the cross-examination I seldom interfered. I had no occasion. Once, however, I did so; I was compelled to ask him: — "If this did not proceed from you, if you had not designed this letter for print, and, in spite of that, it appeared in a Vienna newspaper, which then comes into your hand — why do you pass it by? I do not think one needs to be a lawyer or a man well versed in journalistic matters, to know, in this case, the proper course to pursue. If such an article should appear in a newspaper, signed with my name, I should immediately write to that paper: — "Dear

Editor! You have been deceived. My name has been misused. I did not sign the article. I must ask you, at once, to correct it." Especially in a case like this, where the matter deals with such a grave crime, not a moment would one lose before appealing to the paper, and putting the matter in order.

This is so simple and so natural that the simplest man would grasp it. He says he did not want to do that, because he feared it would cause another scandal. Is it perhaps no scandal that the matter has gone as far as a charge and a trial? In the cross-examination, also, he declined to answer. Would any who knew himself to be innocent, reply to such a charge: "I give no answer?" Does he believe he has improved matters by that? Most decidedly not! One course alone was open to him, one proper course — and that would have been a worthy one — namely, the bringing here of crushing proof to show he had been abused. If he had said: "I will drag the matter into the light! It shall be shown to the world that I am innocent! This publicity is the very best thing to establish my innocence!", one could admire him. But we have heard from him no such words of justification, none in the least, not even one attempt at a proof. What man in the world, therefore, humanly speaking, would believe him?

He has stated, further, he did not desire the publication. We have heard, however — and here we can believe him — that he had been warned by a worthy gentleman, who said to him, later: "You have committed a grave injustice: an unjustifiable wrong. You can, by it, call down misfortune upon misfortune. Declare that it is not true; that you did not write it!" This, too, he refused: and we are told, because he was offered money for it. Well, Gentlemen of the Jury, if I have not, of myself, sufficient sense of justice to refute at once a calumny: to right, at once, a wrong: I prefer for my part the man who does it for money, rather than him who does not do it at all, but waits until today, and even then brings us nothing new. I believe, therefore, taking into consideration the statements of Father Deckert, taking into consideration all we have heard from a witness to whom he made no secret of his authorship of the letter, — taking into consideration

all this, no doubt can further exist. It is undoubtedly true, as we have today heard, and as one sees from the written defence contained among the records which the gentlemen may examine, and which he dictated in prison, that he was not capable — I admit this — of himself composing such a letter as the one which appeared in print. This, however, does not stand in the way of his authorship. It occurs very often that a person wishful of inserting an article in the newspaper and not being fully conversant with the language, i. e. with an imperfect knowledge of the language, gives the draft over to another for correction, that it may be shaped up into a correct and beautiful form. That may have been the case here. I do not believe him capable of writing anything in such good style. On the identity of the person who did do this, I may express no opinion. I must keep my thoughts to myself; for I should be imitating the bad example of the accused persons, if I, lacking proof, gave voice to my suspicions. I put aside, therefore, and am quite indifferent as to who corrected the draft; but it is a worthy product of his soul, and if it be not from him, it was still trough his agency that it came into print. He cannot say that it was stolen from him. It went through Father Deckert's hands, and Paulus Meyer offered no objection. All we have heard from the Editor of the "Vaterland" confirms this, too; for who would allow himself to be brought to an editor's office, would speak there on a blood-ritual among the Jews — what he actually said even the gentlemen themselves do not remember — without taking the opportunity of saying one word to the effect that it was not from him? That is unthinkable! He fears that may be published. Well! when he is once at the office, it should be his first task to say: "I do not wish the letter to be printed. Whoever does it, I forbid him to do it!" He did not do this, and so, according to human judgment — and we can but practise human justice, which must needs always be limited — we can only say "No one else can bear the blame".

Simpler, as I have said, is the case of the other two accused. They have confessed the charges which bring them under

the Penal Law, and you cannot possibly say "No," or you would be accusing them of lying. Father Deckert himself says he gave it to the "Vaterland"; and should he at the last hour — a thing I expect last from him — or should his counsel deny that that was so, I should be compelled to ask for the reading of extracts from the last part of the two already quoted newspapers. On May 5th. Father Deckert himself wrote that he was in the posssesion of such a letter. "Shall I do you the service of publishing the letter earlier?" On May 10th. one day before the publication, he says: "I think, Mr. Editor, in order to close the discussion on the matter, that the best thing you can do is to print tomorrow, in your worthy paper, the letter of the convert, which I have shown to you and which declares that the writer was witness of such ritual-murder." I cannot do more than send such an article to a person and say to him that his best plan would be to publish it on the morrow.

In that part of my speech regarding Paulus Meyer I perhaps forgot one more thing. He does not only say in his letter that he gives permission for the publication of the letter, but he also actually implores Father Deckert to do it, that is to say, he lays it on him as a duty — he says that quite definitely — to make it known in his circle "to prevent further harm", in order that no other Christian children may fall victims to such Jewish assassins, obstinate in their mad religious fanaticism". It is true that he did not make use of the word "print". But how should the matter be made public "in his circle", and in such a manner that people should be warned, so that other poor Christian children should not be made victims — how should all this be made possible otherwise than by the publication of the letter? It is a matter of course that this method must be adopted. And since, further, Father Deckert and Dr. Bloch were engaged in polemics on the subject, and since he himself was brought to the "Vaterland", there to speak with the Chief Editor, there can exist absolutely no doubt whatever, as to the meaning of the word "make public".

I have now repaired my omission, and with reference to Father Deckert I now state that he fully confesses to all

the charges made against him; and I need, therefore, make little further reference to the laws he has infringed.

I will only, therefore, refer shortly to the part played by him, by saying that punishment is due, not only to him who is actually the author of the defamation of character concerned, but also to the person who seeks to spread the libel. And it is not possible to spread anything more effectually then by giving an article to a newspaper, requesting that it may be published. The Press-Law declares also, that all persons concerned in such a publication render themselves likewise guilty of the punishable offence in question. No doubt can therefore exist — unless your finding be that defamation of character has not been committed by an accusation of murder, such as was made — that you have also to bring Father Deckert in guilty, according to the charge.

Over the responsibility incurred by the third accused, I believe I need waste not a single word. Knowing its contents, he gave the letter to be printed. With that, all is said — How can an editor incur more responsibility than by furthering the printing of such an article, having power to do so?

Such guilt being proved, the accused have still at hand the help of the law, in the case, namely, when they can bring proof of the truth of the matter printed, when they can prove that these persons have really committed this murder. The gentlemen have not even made an attempt to bring such proof; they have then have not even contended that it was true: they have done absolutely nothing to make it appear even possible — nothing in the least.

Here, too, then, it is impossible to deny the guilt of the accused. It is true that Father Deckert appealed to his good faith. It will be a matter for the President to make it clear to the Gentlemen of the Jury that such good faith cannot excuse a publication, made through a newspaper. A person concerned in the spreading of character-defamation in print, must be able to prove the truth of the facts contained therein. In spite of this, however, Dr. Deckert has brought forward various facts tending to show that he acted in good faith. If the Gentlemen of the Jury return from their retirement

having found the accusation true, the opportunity would then be given to the defence to bring forward all manner of extenuating circumstances. But at this stage of the trial, Gentlemen, you have not to concern yourself with that. Whether the punishment will be severe or mild does not at all rest with us. That is not the subject of the present discussion. You would be led astray if you were made to believe that good faith is something which can be absolutely a justification in this case. This is just, and must always be so; it is, in other lands, even more severe (as it is, the honour of the private individual is comparatively far too inadequately protected) — I may, myself, believe a person has committed a wrong, that is my own affair, and I can, accordingly, act towards him, as I think best; but if I spread this, I must answer for it. Otherwise there would be absolutely no protection for the honour of the private individual. One person says something detrimental to another's honour; a second respectable person believes him, passes it on; another believes it, it spreads, and so the libel travels through the city, through the land, through the Empire and no one can be charged with it, for the first offender is, in almost every case, never to be found. It is necessary therefore that the spreader of the rumour be punished in the same way as he who first makes the accusation. This applies especially to anything printed; for what slight effect has the spoken calumny when compared with the printed word! I am compelled, in reference to this, to return to a former point, and I say "Does this good faith seem believable?" I must answer "Non liquet". I cannot put Father Deckert to the test, body and soul; and as long as I have no absolute proof I will lay to no man's account more than is at hand. But what right had he to make such an extreme use of his good faith? In the cross-examination Father Deckert simply said that Paulus Meyer had been recommended to him by someone, or described to him by many people, as an excellent Talmud scholar. I allowed myself the remark, during the proceedings that this was a matter of supreme indifference; for being eye-witness of a murder I do not need to have studied ever so extensively,

and not being eye-witness, I can confirm nothing. That is, then, of no importance. Today he brings forward that Professor Rohling also wrote to him and spoke very highly in favour of Meyer. I noted this only superficially, but the important point I took good account of. He said simply that Rohling wrote him that he (Meyer) had been described to him as an honourable character, and that he was considered very reliable. Very well! If it be so, Rohling had done his part; he had not convinced himself, neither had he said: "I can guarantee for him", but simply "I have heard so". That is all very well: but is that ground enough on which to take for granted the truth of such a horrible calumny? That I cannot believe? Too much good faith is needed for that! Referring to Professor Bickell, that is a point on which, without being aggressive, I must allow myself to say: — I cannot believe that Professor Bickell spoke in such a manner to Father Deckert. He must allow me that; for when one brings, at the last moment, a proof which one could have brought long before, one must not take it amiss, if another, without making use of invective, says: "That is a made statement. You are accused and you are trying to help yourself." I, however, do not believe it; it is no proof. It has been said that Dr. Bickell introduced himself as the friend of Paulus Meyer, and described him as a man of integrity. After what Bickell has written besides, I do not believe this at all. But I hold that, in spite of it, Father Deckert should have guarded himself against going so far with Paulus Meyer. He, himself, writes in one letter, that he had made many bad experiences with baptized Jews. He must certainly have known, since he was acquainted with Rohling, and lived in Vienna, that some years previously a law-suit — it is true that it was not carried through, because Rohling drew back — but had it been, Rohling would have got into very deep waters, because of his faith in Brimanus. This Brimanus, too, was a baptized Jew. But before the matter had got as far as a trial, he was condemned by the same court for the crime of forgery.

Dr. Deckert might, therefore, have taken warning. Now he again allow himself to be taken in by a baptized Jew. By this nothing is said against a Jew who allows himself to be baptized, but very much against one who gets baptized and then at once behaves as an enemy and accuser of his own people. Against such — look at the matter from which point one will — great caution must be exercised. He who, once of a nation or religious community, renounces this community, seeks a new citizenship and then pours forth accusations against his fatherland and against his community, reports of them the most scandalous deeds, sets them down as enemies of the whole human race — him one should not believe. Our laws, even, go so far in their mildness as to allow that a witness may refuse to make a statement which might be used against a father, mother, or other near relative.

The law goes from the just and humane standpoint, that it must be painful in the last degree to anyone to be forced to give evidence against persons in near connection, even when they have behaved badly. We take this for granted with every decent man. And can one not, in the same way, say that he who has broken away from a people or religious community, on what ground so ever, should not dedicate the efforts of his life to fabricating deeds of shame against those to whom he, by birth, belongs, nor to set them up as people capable of deeds such as Meyer describes in his letter? This consideration alone should have made Father Deckert cautious; and if he indeed acted in good faith — a point on which I can have no knowledge — it was at least punishable levity, which the law cannot look upon as a ground for justification.

As far as the responsible Editor is concerned, he has made the excuse that it was a priest who gave him the letter.

I have nothing against his respect for the dignity of a Roman Catholic priest; but so far dare his respect not go that he takes everything for true which comes from that side. He adds further, that otherwise everyone would have a distaste for the freedom of the press, and remarks that the newspapers cannot proceed otherwise: if they get a report,

they must publish it. Oh! Thank you! A system of bandits would be justified by this! That will not do.

The newspaper must, as well, bear the consequences when people are denounced, and through calumny and slander of the worst sort wounded in their holiest feelings. So far the freedom of the press dare not go! Otherwise one would be delivered over, weaponless, to the journalistic gentlemen a thing which the decent journalists do not themselves demand. I believe, Gentlemen of the Jury, that with this I have exhausted all there is to say on the matter. I will not let myself go in beautiful flowery oratory or exclamation. I have laid the matter before you with the restraint I will employ in a school-task. I have said someone has been offended, the offended persons have brought an action, such and such persons have incurred responsibility in the matter, the responsibility has been brought home to them, and they have been unable to justify themselves. I need say no more. If you ask more, you must reach into the sphere of the judge, and of the law-giver. That, however, is not your task.

The task of the Jury is a great and responsible one, but your sphere has been defined for you by the law.

I ask you therefore to bring in a verdict of "guilty" against those who have undoubtedly earned it. How far atonement must be made, is matter for the judge.

Dr. Griez de Ronze for Paulus Meyer.

Gentlemen of the Jury! The Counsel for the Defence has quite correctly emphasised the extreme simplicity of the case before us today. I can only agree with him in this respect. Simple, extremely simple, is the fact. A grave offence has been committed; there is no doubt about that. And it has certainly affected you strangely that in defence of the accusation someone had led stress upon this: — "I did not at all intend to offend." It seems very cool if one hurls against a person the accusation of murder, and then says: — "I did not mean to offend the man!" That is simple! The thing that is not so simple, however, but very complicated, is the

question: "Who is the author of this defamation of character?" I believe that is the most difficult question which has ever been put before a jury in this court In most trials the material is objectively there; we have proof, documents, testimony of witnesses, etc. Here we have nothing except the answers of the two accused. — I say "two". for I put aside the third, who plays only a mechanical part. We have the statement of the two accused. Your only task will be contained in this: the discovery as to which answer appears more worthy of credence, and which of the two accused deserves to be believed. This question is rather difficult; and for this reason I am compelled, painful as it is to me, and reluctantly though I do it, to go into the character of the two accused. Since we have no other material for proof than the statements of the accused, it is my duty to examine which of the two deserves more to be believed. In this respect Father Deckert has considerably the advantage over Paulus Meyer. Father Deckert has a public position. His calling is a high one, and those who follow it, at least by far the greater part of them, distinguish themselves by goodness of heart, by consideration and gentleness towards their fellowmen, and by a strict, irreproachable love of the truth; so that it is understandable and natural that we connect, with a priest's office, the best qualities and virtues of the private individual, and are inclined, when a priest says anything, to believe it before anything which an unknown person like my client might say. But I must beg you in this case to put completely aside this nimbus that his priesthood should be taken into account when judging of his credibility.

We have heard from his own lips how, when opportunity offers, and when he believes it to be of advantage to him, he does not shrink from the putting of the facts in another light than the true one. It is confirmed that Meyer lived with him from March 23rd. to May 11th or 12th. Father Deckert argues against it that he did not live with him, but only spent the nights with him. I must ask you if that were so. The fact that Paulus Meyer lived with him, Father Deckert referring to a certain paragraph of the law, publicly denied.

He said: "It is not true that he lived with me". Now truth, Gentlemen, is a thing so precious, that she allows of absolutely no explanation ... It must be acknowledged here that it was falsehood to deny in the "Neue Wiener Tagblatt" that he had lived with him, and that it was falsehood to state in the "Österreichische Wochenschrift": "He has never lived with me, and I have never received him in my flat."

Another instance! When the police official came to arrest Paulus Meyer, Father Deckert declared that he did not know where he lived. The address of Paulus Meyer, though, was well known to Father Deckert. To my question, he replied that he was always very cautious with a police-spy: that is to say, he admitted that he had said what was not the truth. Now, if one will tell a lie when a third person is in danger, what will one not say if it be a question of one's own existence? if one is called on to defend one's self against an accusation?

It may be said that these little white lies are not of importance. I believe it of importance to call your attention to it, though, because, it throws a light on the credibility of the man, taking into special consideration his position, with which we are wont to connect the most scrupulous love of truth. Neither from the other side can I allow that Father Deckert, because he wears the cloth, is entitled to claim a higher decree of credibility than Paulus Meyer. As I have said, we are accustomed to connect with the office of a priest, the highest of Christian virtues. The first of the Christian virtues are love of our neighbours and mild judgment of their actions.

Yes, Father Deckert is proud that he set before himself the task of proving that not only the Jews in previous centuries but the Jews of today make it a practice to slaughter Gentile children. Is a man who sets before himself a task like this, — a task which stands in crassest contradiction to his priestly duty, — justified in believing himself more worthy of credence than another?

I therefore believe that you will not attach weight, in the judgment you pass during this trial, to the position enjoyed

by Father Deckert, in unfavourable comparison with that of my client; and that the question of the true authorship of the letter will be judged by you only according to the facts which appear from the examination of the letter, and the defence offered by the two accused.

A factor which comes very much in consideration when judging of the authorship of the letter, is the question of motive.

What motive had Meyer for committing such a horrible fraud? The man had renounced the faith of his fathers but a few years previously. He had only good memories of the Rabbi and his familiy with whom he had spent his youth; he had absolutely no incentive to come forward with such a horrible accusation. On the other side is the important motive of furnishing proof that even the Jews of today use the blood of Gentiles for ritual purposes.

This proof had to be obtained. He had to employ all possible means to this end; and one may very well imagine that a strong motive such as this, leading so easily to self-suggestion, could incite to action which found expression in the composition of such a letter.

But apart from the question of credibility and from the question of motive, I beg you to searchingly criticize the letter of the convert itself, and ask yourself the question, "Did Paulus Meyer really write that? Is it probable that this letter proceeded from this man, or is it the work of another?"

I pass over the fact that the letter is addressed — the coincidence has humour — for once from the "Anti-Corruption Offices". The letter begins with the remark: — "Reverend Sir, My name is perhaps not unfamiliar to you as last year etc. etc." This introduction must produce a most strange or almost jocose impression: for these gentlemen had been acquainted with one another for some length of time. So that even the introduction is a crass lie, which would say that he appears as a stranger on the scene, to bear witness of historical facts which Father Deckert had been seeking with such yearning. The second part of the letter deals almost exclusively with the controversy between Dr. Bloch and Father Deckert.

Now I ask you, what interest had Paulus Meyer in entering into combat for Father Deckert, whom he had known but a few weeks? He saw the "Österreichische Wochenschrift", as we have today heard from the lips of Father Deckert, for the first time in Vienna. That did not, by the way, hinder Father Deckert from publishing the letter under the address Leipzig, although he knew that the letter had apparently been written from Vienna. It is acknowledged that the letter was composed in Vienna; it had been dictated in Vienna. In spite of that it is addressed from Leipzig, "The Anti-Corruption-Office".

The second part of the letter indicates with the utmost clearness that the interest in the publication of the letter was not on Paulus Meyer's side. What interest could Paulus Meyer have in battling with Dr. Bloch? Even some of the expressions used in the controversy display their Vienna origin — "Drum-Major of the Vienna Jew-Guard" (Laughter)! That sounds quite homelike!

Paulus Meyer had only been in Vienna for a few weeks and is it feasible that he was already familiar with our expressions? The words are very significant of the fact that the letter begins with a lie and is made up of lies. One true sentence comes in, however, and this is "Your Reverence has for a long time, wanted this proof of the murder of a Christian child".

That is quite true. That had long been missing, and just this urgent need could be supplied by this letter.

The answer of the second accused tends this way: How is it possible that I could have fabricated these details myself? When one first reads the letter one has the impression that someone wrote it who really saw the thing. When, however, one looks a little nearer, one comes to the opposite conclusion. The whole staging is poor to the last degree, and the whole of the materials used are poor to the last degree, too. Of the important details, those worthy of mention are the slaghtering-knife (that one must have, ofcourse), a big basin, to catch blood (that one must have as well), and the persons who committed the act. Anyone can invent that!

It does not take much cleverness to gett all that together! It is true hat the innumerable little bottles which are supposed to have been standing there are a little error, evidently a little lapse on the part of the author: for a moment's reflection must have told him that a six year old child, even when fairly well nourished, has not enough blood in him to fill, when slaughtered, the countless little bottles, let alone the big silver ewer mentioned. They have evidently been brought in to suggest that they were to be sent to very many different cities, suggesting that the blood of Gentiles is used in countless cities in Russia. The minor details which come in suggest, without a doubt, a Vienna fabrication, and that by a not very versatile man; so that one must come at — last to the conclusion that the accused, Meyer, who seems well versed in antisemitic literature and in all the writings of Dr. Deckert in which the murders of children are described in the minutest detail, and in which the children are not killed at once but tortured first with the most exquisite of tortures — a man who has read this, would have put together something better that the simple story with which we are dealing.

I beg you, therefore, Gentlemen, when giving your verdict regarding Paulus Meyer's authorship of the letter, to keep before your eyes, considering the total absence of proof, all these facts and give him the benefit of every doubt.

The second question is whether Paulus Meyer did anything to bring about the publication of the letter. Now in this respect I believe the accusation to be absolutely unfounded. The only support for it lies in the fact that in the letter of the convert the request is directly made to Dr. Deckert to make it public in his circle; and it is argued by the Counsel for the Plaintiff that that can have no other meaning than publication through a newspaper. Now I must contradict that! It is not true that there is today no other forum that that of the newspaper especially in the case of a priest. A priest has a great platform among his circle; and it need not be taken for granted that a request to do something among his circle means necessarily a request for publication.

It cannot be assumed that the readers of the "Vaterland" belong to Father Deckert's circle. I do not believe that this supposition has any foundation.

Except for this passage in the letter, no proof at all is forthcoming that Meyer did anything towards the publication of the letter. Father Deckert acknowledges himself that he (Meyer) did not directly urge him to do so. The Gentlemen of the Jury will find in the protocol of the cross-examination the words "He did not directly urge me, but" (Father Deckert goes on the protocol) "I could conclude that he was agreeable to the publication". Apart from Father Deckert's good qualities, I must warn you against his conclusions; for it is too risky a thing to condemn Meyer because of one of Father Deckert's conclusions. Father Deckert draws such various conclusions! I have brought forward — unfortunately I could not read it — how he concludes from the fact that a Jewish newspaper urges the Jews to proceed with the Feast of the Passover according to the law, that this gave food for thought, and that it is therefore possible that the Jews still use the blood of Gentiles. That so nearly borders on madness that Father Deckert has forfeited the right to expect that anyone should place much value on his conclusions. He, however, only concluded that Paulus Meyer agreed to the publication. I must beg you to attach no weight to this conclusion either. If a person, by means of a conclusion, can accuse another of a crime which may bring him to the gallows, then one may also conclude, (all this referring to events happening before the publication), that Meyer agreed to the publication. All that happened after the publication does not come into consideration when judging Meyer.

It is true that the conduct of Meyer after the publication was unusual, and that it appears to us all as rather unsatisfactory. That is true; but Meyer has not behaved normally throughout his whole life. He has done most unusual things. As we know from the medical report, he is broken in body, weak of nerve; and he lives constantly on excitement brought about partly through the hardship of his life, partly thorough his environment. He is such a ready subject for

powerful suggestions, and he has responded to suggestions brought to bear on him from outside. I thus believe that his dealings cannot be judged by ordinary standards. He has certainly, here and there, exhibited behaviour which, at a first glance, is difficult to understand. But it is dangerous to conclude from that that he has rendered himself liable to punishment on the statements of Father Deckert. There is an old criminalistic axiom which says: — "Anything that speaks in favour of the accused should be explained in his favour". I think this axiom has never been better applied than in the case of my client.

He is an unfortunate man. We see from the strokes that fate has dealt him, that he stands before us a broken man. There were not only physical weaknesses to which he was subject, but also mental tortures. When the offer came to him to lend his knowledge and his own experience as a cloak for frivolous accusations, he felt his power of resistance vanish; he felt that he was no longer capable of holding out against the suggestions brought to bear on him. He knew that he could find salvation only in the hall of justice, and he has found it. Here the powers which play the great part on the market of every day have lost their domination! Here no boasting of rank can help, no boldness of assertion, no scorn of the opponent! In this hall one sovereign power alone has sway. That power is truth! To this power, Gentlemen of the Jury, you yourselves also will bow, and to the lap of this power has Paulus Meyer fled. Your verdict will not only ring salvation for my client, but will bring to the whole of society the comforting assurance that the responsibility for this abominable offence — child of an evil heart and dangerous to society — falls upon him who really deserves the blame. (Loud applause.)

Pres.: I must ask you to refrain from any demonstrations of approval.

Dr. Porzer for Father Deckert.

A double accusation has been raised against my client. The first says that my client handed over the much talked-of

letter to the publishing office of the "Vaterland" and thus caused the printing of it; and the second accusation has been made by Meyer, and supported by what we have just heard from the learned Counsel. The latter accusation tends that my client did not receive the letter from the hand of Meyer, but that he was, himself, the intellectual author of it; that, with a little manipulation, he got the fiancée of Meyer to write it, and that the signature has been forged. That is an accusation which affects the honour of my client so deeply, that I must deal with it first. Really I should ask myself: — "Is it at all necessary that I should cleanse my client of such a foul suspicion?" And had it not been for the words of the learned Counsel for the Defence, I should hardly have attempted it, since whoever has had the opportunity of hearing this morning, first Meyer, and then Father Deckert, cannot have one moment's doubt as to which of the two should be believed, which of the two has spoken the truth. We have all heard the, at first stuttering, and then gushing manner in which Meyer tried to avoid facts in his defence; and we heard, following that, the calm, measured, earnest, relevant defence given by Dr. Deckert. Truth does not speak as Meyer speaks! Truth is simple: she does not need so many words!

Another reference to a statement made against my client by the learned Counsel for the Defence. He has said that Dr. Deckert has forfeited the right to the credibility one usually gives to a priest. If that were true it would be a heavy stroke against my client. But what was brought forward as proof of this? It was said that Dr. Deckert had given a denial to the true fact that Meyer had lived with him. Now that is a play on words! If I allow a person to sleep for a few nights in my flat, he having himself an independent flat, furnished, and containing furniture, clothes, and books, one cannot then say that the person lives with me. A reproach which can touch Dr. Deckert least of all, is the reproach that he has not spoken the truth. Had it been Dr. Deckert's habit to avoid the truth, it would have been brought up against him at this trial on many occasions other than in this

one so trivial circumstance. As far as the love of one's neighbour is concerned, it must be admitted that this has nothing to do with scientific research such as Dr. Deckert practised in the question of the ritual murder.

Meyer explains the origin of the letter in this way: — He told to Dr. Deckert stories of his life, which the latter is supposed to have put to paper; Father Deckert then had them copied by Paulus Meyer's fiancée, and himself forged the signature. But why should he have committed this forgery, since its effect must immediately cease as soon as the publication took place? And to copy this letter Dr. Deckert is supposed to have employed Meyer's fiancée, that is, a person of whom he must certainly be aware she would repeat to Meyer anything confided to her. Meyer was, besides, very well informed on the polemics between Dr. Deckert and Dr. Bloch. We have already heard that he had read the very first article which appeared in the "Wochenschrift", and that therefore, he knew of the publication of the letter. It must be asked why Meyer did not protest against the publication? Not only did he not do this, but in the presence of various persons — Dr. Bickel, Vergani, and the Editor Inthal — he acknowledged the authorship of the letter. How can he, after all that has passed, come with the question — "How could I have written the letter, since I am of the opinion that ritual murder is not practised in this manner? This question he should answer himself! Paulus Meyer had not only written the well-known pamphlet "Wolves in Sheep's Clothing", but had also offered himself to an antisemitic paper to write articles which should prove the truth of the ritual murder accusation. As far as the defence of Meyer is concerned, in which he disputes the authorship of the signature attached to the letter, I must appeal to the Gentlemen of the Jury to compare it with the signature extant on the other documents of the trial. Meyer's learned Counsel has referred to the fact that the letter in question was composed, apparently, in Vienna. To this statement I must be permitted to remark that the expressions instanced by the learned Counsel are not specially Viennese, but rather those used abroad.

I now return to the second accusation against which I must protest, Gentlemen of the Jury. It is that Father Deckert rendered himself liable to punishment by causing the letter composed by Meyer to be printed. This refers to the fact that Father Deckert gave the letter to the Editor of the "Vaterland", the publication following. Now the learned Counsel believes that in such a case no other proof is needed to render himself liable to punishment. The matter is by no means as simple, however, as, in a case of this kind, there must exist malice prepense, in defamation of character the animus injuriandi. With reference to this Father Deckert has answered: — "I believed what was communicated to me." And Father Deckert is not one who goes from one meeting of agitators to another, or mixes in party strife, using questions about the Talmud or the ritual murder to awake political sentiment. He has taken his degree in theology, and dedicated himself to historical study tending chiefly to base, on scientific grounds, certain facts about the Talmud, and the question of the ritual murder in particular. He had arrived at the conclusion, based on his studies, that ritual murder exists. Now it seems that the learned Counsels are not indisposed to convert it into a reproach against my client, if such a possiblity be even mentioned. It is true, the case in point, of which today's proceedings are the result, did not actually occur; but surely it is strange that the bare thought of the possibility that religious fanaticism of this kind may exist should be rejected without examination! It is undoubtedly true that fanaticism occurs in every religion. I must remind you in this connection of the trials for witchcraft, which only came to an end when Christian men protested and energetically took their stand against them. It was through the famous Jesuit Father, Friedrich von Spee, who agitated against them in an epoch-making pamphlet written against witchcraft trials, that these same were abolished. He had administered the last sacrament in two hundred cases in each of which the trial ended in the death sentence for the unfortunate accused. But that the very expression of the possibility of the existence of an abuse like ritual murder should appear as such an offence, one

cannot admit. Before Father Deckert, there have been prominent scholars who also have scientifically attacked the question of the existence of ritual murder; and if the Attorney-General of Prussia has raised the accusation of ritual murder in Xanten, and if, moreover, the Attorney-General of Tisza Eszlar has raised such an accusation, then everyone must admit that it is a question that cannot be dismissed withow a thought. Now I ask you to put yourselves in the place of a scientific scholar such as Dr. Deckert is. Some one comes to him who says, "I have not only given careful study to those subjects which interest you so much — the Talmud, etc. but I have had personal experience of things like that and can bear witness to them." What is more natural than that Father Deckert should hand over to a newspaper these written experiences which have been offered to him? The man who introduced himself in this capacity was, as we have heard, recommended to Dr. Deckert from very reliable sources, — from Professor Rohling, and Dr. Bickell. I refer, in addition to that, to the fact that the letter of Rohling, which is contained among the trial papers, is a recommendation for Meyer, based on his (Rohling's) conviction and personal experience. As far as Dr. Bickell is concerned, I must specially emphasise that he seems to possess the confidence of all parties, even that of the learned Counsel for the Defence — a fact we can conclude from a remark of the latter today. It comes to this, then, that Mr. Meyer had been recommended to Father Deckert by a member of a party favourable to the Jews, and (if I may so express it), from a member of a party antagonistic to the Jews; and in both cases from sources calculated to secure Father Deckert's confidence. It has been urged further against my client that he came into possesion of this letter only against a certain sum of money, in order to further carry on the controversy in which he had got himself entangled. Now, in the course of today's proceedings, the contract has been shown which the two gentlemen signed. To the fact alone that a few hundred florins were agreed upon for a literary work, no-one can take exception. Besides this,

Father Deckert has today, in a very drastic manner, made clear his standpoint regarding the allegation just mentioned, by declaring: — "Had he, before the handing over of the letter, demanded of me even one Kreuzer, I should not have published it. I would have entered into no connection with Meyer at all"! And I beg you to consider another point: this contract was concluded on March 31st, and it was only after this date that Dr. Bloch's attack on Dr. Deckert appeared, i. e. on April 7th. The contract was therefore entered into at a time when there was absolutely no question of furnishing proofs against Dr. Bloch. The letter itself certainly came into being only at a later stage. When, now, the letter had been delivered, the standpoint of the press — the press of all parties — was somewhat strange. First came the "Österreichische Wochenschrift", which demanded maliciously of Dr. Deckert why the letter was still being held back, as the co-religionists of Rabbi Bloch demanded no such consideration. One should come out with it, and publish it! The "Sunday and Monday" on the other hand, asserted that Father Deckert was only boasting. No one would believe that he was in possession of such a letter. It is therefore quite correct — Father Deckert himself laid stress upon this-that he was now morally forced, and obliged to proceed with the publication. Had he not done so, it would have been said: "You have swindled! You have lied! You have alleged that you are in possession of proofs which, as a matter of fact, you do not posses at all"! From these my explanations the Gentlemen of the Jury will certainly have been convinced that Father Deckert, in publishing this letter, has acted only as he was forced to act.

I firmly believe that this trial has not proceeded from Ostrow, but has its origin otherwhere; and I believe I am not mistaken in my notion that the source of this trial is to be found in Vienna. This trial has been instituted with the intention behind it of saving and increasing the prestige and the rights of Jewry. This may be, in itself, an understandable purpose, but the plaintifs are not entitled to act on behalf of the rights of the Jewish Religious Community.

This is the calling of the Public Prosecutor; and he did not object to the issue of the paper in which the questionable letter was published. An attempt to secure the intervention of the Public Prosecutor in the matter was not successful. I deny the plaintiffs any right to protect the Jewish Community as such from attack. My client has been gravely misled in this matter; and we see, moreover, how just the person who has wormed himself into confidence, at the moment when it becomes a question of self-defence, simply turns against him, in spite of the fact that he, (my client), has shown him friendship, and allowed him the use of his own dwelling. In view of these facts, you will not be in doubt as to where the guilt lies. You will be convinced that it is not in the side of my client. (Bravo! Bravo!).

Dr. Pattai for Editor Doll.

Gentlemen of the Jury! This trial has taken on a strange colouring. If one be accustomed to act the part of Counsel in a court of law, experience teaches that one can usually form some picture of how the trial will proceed. In this trial, it was, from the first, quite otherwise. Since Paulus Meyer's arrest, he has had, of course, no contact whatever with the other accused. Moreover with my client he never has had any contact. From the study of the papers of the trial we learned that, in the preliminary cross-examination, he made a strangely reserved defence — really no defence at all! He refused all information. He only laid special stress on the fact that he was offered by Professor Bickell a thousand florins for the retraction of the letter. But he did not recant, and thus allowed it to appear that he was convinced of its truth. On other points he made no statement and one was therefore prepared for the strangest turns of events. I am no novice in the art of legal defence and have taken part in many trials; but I have never experienced anything in that of today. I refer to the defence of Paulus Meyer. It passes all understanding, how, after the refusal of all information during a period of four months, he should then act as he had done today. He relates how he conferred,

in the hours of the night. with Father Deckert, and how he had told to the latter experiences of his youth; that he had written down these strange names, and Dr. Deckert had used the knowledge of them to concoct a story of ritual murder, and embellish it. Then he went to the "Deutsches Volksblatt" with the purpose of furnishing it with articles on the same subject, and that, because the "Vaterland" was not smart enough for such things! It has been brought up against Herr Deckert that he acted with reserve towards a police agent who wanted to arrest Meyer. Then, from the same side, we hear preached that love of one's neighbours should be practised by a priest, and that, by the Counsel of a man who was himself a Jew, and who now asserts that the Jews killed Gentile children. He has stated this once before in a Leipzig paper; and he states this almost in the same words in the letter addressed to an antisemitic paper. His conscience, he states, is troubling him; he must publish it that the Jews have acted thus, in order to save others from perishing. And today the same man declares: "I have written neither this nor the pamphlet. The letter in the 'Vaterland' is falsely ascribed to me". And he pleads for his acquittal, and the consequent committal of him whom he has misled in the most incredible manner in spite of all the benefits he has received from him. I come now to the accusation itself, and there one can speak of the matter objectively, to a certain extent; and need not get excited. The efforts exerted on both sides are easily to be understood. Yet still, he who hears for the first time the bill of indictment must say himself that the question does not concern alone the plaintiffs mentioned therein, but, instead, the feeling must come to him of the presence of something exotic, of something which one does not expect. The final conclusion of the Counsel for the Plaintiffs was very simple: — "The persons exist, they have been accused; you have written the article, you have transmitted it, you have printed it. You are all guilty! You have brought no proof of the truth! "Of course there is no question of substantiating the truth. We could never even have attempted it. We had absolutely to rely on our source. But a certain feeling tells

us that the accusation — I am not speaking for the standpoint of the accused, since for them there was altogether no need for the trial! — need never have been made. But we must, of course, fashion our jurisdiction not according to feeling, but according to reason. Where, however, feeling gives to us a certain suggestion of something unusual, we must try to fathom it with our reason; and then we find that the accusation against my client, and I believe against D. Deckert too, is unfounded. What does § 487 say? "He who indicts another of a crime shall be punsihed for defamation of character". And, still more clearly § 488 say: "When there is no actual indictment of a crime, but an attempt to lower one in the estimation of others, so is this, also, a punishable offence." But the essential point is that the person has indeed been lowered in the estimation of other persons with whom he is actually in touch. Let me give you an example. Suppose, for instance, that, instead of this report of the ritual murder, the news had reached us that somewhere in far Russia the farmer Iwanoff had beaten and injured the farmer Iwanjeff, and afterward it appeared that not Iwanoff had injured Iwanieff but the reverse. Now imagine that Iwanoff should bring an action for libel here in Vienna before a jury. Every one here would say: — "There has been no defamation of character, because none in Vienna know Iwanoff and Iwanjeff. It is a matter of supreme indiference to us whether the first has beaten or otherwise injured the second, or the second, the first. These people have been in no way injured by the printing of that report in a Vienna paper". To be lowered in public opinion it is essential that the offending communication spread in circles not quite foreign to the persons in question; that is to say, among those who know the persons attacked. Only in such a case can the view of the Counsel for the Plaintiffs be allowed when he affirms that no other proof of intention to offend (by defamation of character) is necessary. I do not, for a moment, doubt, that it would need no further such proof if, for instance, the Rabbi of Vienna or Brunn had been named in like manner, these being persons from circles with which we are in contact,

or circles where our papers are read. If today in the "Neue Freie Presse" it says that the Rabbi of Vienna or Brünn has done this, I know that hundreds and thousands of persons will know who is meant. But in the case in point it would have been essential to punishable defamation of character that the "Vaterland" should be widely read in Russia, so that the readers of the paper would recognise, in the names mentioned, not empty names, but persons actually known to them. How far from justification this, I might almost say mechanical, view which the accusation takes is, is best shown by the fact that the case would never have been brought up, if the persons in question had not been first specifically informed. Had the question been of two farmers or unimportant business men, this law-suit would never have come into being; since this trial is concerned not so much with the persons who have come forward as plaintiffs, as it is an action brought by offended Jewry. This is not, however, as Dr. Porzer quite correctly explained, matter for a private lawsuit, and it ought to have given employment to the jury only had the Public Prosecutor made a case of it. The Public Prosecutor did not find the article incriminating because he said to himself: "No offence against the Jewish community was contained therein, since it deals only with the orthodox sect — the Chassidim in Russia. If, then, as is to be presumed, the Jews of Austria really feel themselves, before everything, Austrian, they will then only concern themselves with the Jewish community in Austria or in the countries in closest connection with her; and so will say "We have no part with the Chassidim in Russia". Possibly, too, this orthodox and notoriously superstitious sect has no connection at all with the Jewish community in this country. For the proof of the offence of defamation of character it is also necessary that the persons in question be distinctly designated. The law says "by name or by suitable sign". But by the expression "by name" is, of course, only meant that under these names one shall know and find the persons. Then, at once, comes Dr. Bloch, with an insertion in the paper in which he says that, according to a telegram from a high official in Petro-

grade, no town Ostrow exists in the whole of wide Russia. Only in Prussia is one, "where" writes Dr. Bloch, "for obvious reasons. Meyer cannot lay the scene of his murder story". In other newspapers, too, it was said, that Ostrow is absolutely not to be found. The "Vaterland" answered to this that in Ritter's Geographical Dictionarr'y three Ostrowos occur, which are to be found in Russia. The "Vaterland", did not, however, state, which town it was — a thing understandable! For the Vaterland did not know anything besides the fact that the letter had been received from Paulus Meyer. Then came the characteristic insertion from Dr. Bloch, in which he says that he only tried, by means of this telegram, "to provoke a statement explicit and binding for legal purposes from Messrs. Deckert and Meyer; to see on which of those three Russian towns of the name of Ostrow the gentlemen would decide. But this declaration was not forthcoming, nor was it contained in Deckert's last letter". Now of course it will be urged that Dr. Bloch is not a geography lecturer; but, gentlemen, he is one who is even more nearly connected with the district. He is Member of Parliament in Poland. We gave to this telegram no answer — a sure sign that in those circles where the "Vaterland" is read this defamation of character would never be regarded as such: since in the districts where the case might have occured, the "Vaterland" is not even in circulation. We have heard today that the "Vaterland" has but one single subscriber in Russia. The paper purports to be a paper for Austrians only. It is specifically the organ of the Austrian Roman Catholic Party. It has subscribers in Germany, more particulary in Southern Germany, possibly in France. But who in Russia is interested in specifically Catholic affairs here? Now a word on the names and persons. The President has examined the powers of attorney for the plaintiffs, and the same, if necessary, is done by the High Court. There occur, in the birth and baptism certificates, the most diverse names. One and he same person answers sometimes to four different appellations. In fact, in a document dealing with a certain girl, and dated 1862, it says "seventeen years of age, because, according to the year

of birth, 1847, she was then only 16 years of age". We, abroad, cannot be blamed if, in those districts, it is usual that one person answers to four or five names. The officials there have enough to do at the mustering and at the delivery of documents; and the persons concerned must also put up with difficulties when they come forward as plaintiffs. I repeat, therefore, that this charge has not been brought by private persons: but that it deals with a justification for the whole of Jewry. All that I have as yet said refers to all the three accused, and I almost regret this. But it is just as true that Paulus Meyer knew the persons, that he grew up among them; while in the case of the other two, the fact that they had absolutely no knowledge of circumstances prevailing there, is to be put in their favour. When Herr Doll says he did not know where this Ostrow was, that he had to rely for this on his informant, he gets so to the heart of the matter, and the argument can be disallowed only if justice be looked upon in the light of a mechanical contrivance which works according to fixed rules; while, as matter of fact, all jurisdiction should have constant touch with the threads of life. And with that I refer specially to my client. The charge says: "Good faith may be an extenuating circumstance in a charge of defamation of character, but it cannot protect from punishment". That is, to a certain extent, just, and has its support in § 490 of the Penal Code, where it states: "The accused must be able to vouch for the truth". But the law has, not without cause, added the qualifying word "falsely". If one adhere blindly to this principle, one would come to the clash with a hundred factors of life. How much in life, especially public life, depends on reports! The Press, as the Counsel for the Plaintiffs has so rightly stated, is really a reporting agency. One must make a distinction when dealing with a newspaper. If a newspaper (let us say the "Vaterland") bring, on its own authority, an article, declaring that it is in possession of facts proving the truth of its contents (related by itself), then the paper is responsible for that article. But it is quite another matter when the paper publishes a controversy, and says "This letter lies

before us", even adding to it "We draw no conclusions from it." We only reproduce it. The "Vaterland", after all, had only declared that the letter had been given to it, without giving any voucher for its contents. It gave the origin of the report, and the public was then in a position to judge of the reliability of this source. A quarrel had begun. Dr. Deckert appealed to the "Vaterland" saying: "Dr. Bloch has attacked me, and that in the offensive manner which, unfortunately, is often the case in the "Österreichische Wochenschrift". Good! Now comes Dr. Bloch with a correction, which, over-leaping the bounds of the Press-Law, begins a controversy. The "Vaterland" however, says "We will play the part of gentlemen, and accept the whole correction". In view of this Dr. Deckert must reply again and so the quarrel proceeds. In the course of it, the letter comes to be mentioned. The other demands the publication of it, and other newspapers write "Out with the letter"! And now, is this papper to say, "No! We are going to leave off!" Of course not! The letter must be published. Not a soul in the whole office has any idea of offending definite persons. But that a man shall be treated as a fool from the moment he expresses any opinion on the ritual-murder — on that Dr. Perzer has expressed himself! The question is still an open one, and will remain an open one as long as trials over it can be prosecuted. Dr. Deckert believes in the ritual-murder, and the paper could not possibly close its columns to him, since, to others, the same were open. If you take a purely formal standpoint, which places responsibility for every report, you must come into conflict with countless discords in life which cannot be harmonised. Really, on looking at it from that point of view, every report of a trial is the spreading of an offending report. Where shall we draw the line? In every political paper two thirds of the space is taken up with the discussion of the differences of the various political party-leaders, with us as with everyone else! Imagine, for example, that the "Vaterland" reports today that an English Member of Parlament, a supporter of Gladstone, is described by an opponent of home-rule at an

election meeting as a traitor. He could summon the paper. How many insults are hurled at election meetings? Would anyone think of bringing an action against the offender? Dr. Kopp has said: "If we give the Press a free hand, we shall get a system of press-bandits". I should like to reply to that: "I, too, am certainly an opponent of the abuse of the press, and should be sorry to bring upon myself the reproach that I would support any excesses — any abuse of the press. But the press depends on reports, and an abuse exists only when it interferes in private matters in which it has no concern, provoking a scandal over private individuals; or in the case when it brings punishable reports out of public life, and the responsible editor then declares, "I did not read that!" This "I did not read that!" we hear often enough in the court. We did not make use of that expedient. We did not try to hide behind the plea of "neglect of legitimate care", but we ask that the point of the matter be not stretched further than its nature warrants. It can only be expected that the editor shall attend to this: — that the paper shall not come into collision with the laws of the State, rendering itself liable to confiscation, and that what it reports shall be credible. In the case in point, this was supported by written vouchers. If an editor must first prosecute a cross-examination, and perhaps demand a notary's certificate and the hearing of witnesses, there would be no more news at all. And because of this, it has always been the custom that, when the editor has mentioned the name of the correspondent, the charge should be brought against him; especially when, on the part of the editor, malice prepense does not exist. On consciencious examination you will arrive at the conviction that, circumstances considered, it is not possible to say that Mr. Doll has not done all that he could and should have done, and I must ask you therefore to give a verdict in his favour.

Reply of Dr. Kopp.

Gentlemen of the Jury, We are here assembled since nine o'clock this morning. It is now a quarter past seven:

and conditions are such, as you will readily believe, that I cannot make to you my closing remarks with my full strength. At the same time I must make some replies to the many observations made with such extraordinary and practised versatility. For although almost everything which has been said will be expounded and illuminated by the instructions which the President will give you, I still cannot keep silence, in case that silence be mistaken for incapacity to answer. At the very beginning, everything has been made confusing in an extraordinary manner, and I must make the effort to bring you again on the straight road. Now, I stand before this task made even more difficult; for countless objections have been raised, and so many absolutely false or irrelevant facts brought forward, that it will cost me again much effort to deal wiht them.

It has been said that defamation of character must be accompanied by the animus injuriandi; that is to say, by malice prepense. I have already said that if I say of anyone that he has committed a murder, I need no further animus, no further malicious intention. Malice prepense is necessary to transgressions; but if anyone steals, the question is not asked whether he stole with malice prepense, but it is argued that the breaking of the law lies in the deed itself. And if anyone defames, the breaking of the law is likewise in the deed itself. What further inentions he may have had, is quite another matter. The intention of a man we do not judge when examining a deed! We judge the deed itself. If, for instance, someone sets a building on fire, not really to damage anyone, but because he is under arrest and wishes to escape it would not be urged that he had had no incendiary intention but that instead he wished simply to run away. And so here. Any historical scientific goal the gentlemen may have had is of no importance. They dare not reach that goal by methods which are defamatory and punishable. I am sorry to have to say that the remarks of the learned Counsel for the Defence on the scientific investigations of Dr. Deckert provoke a reply. They appeal to me as it often happens when one sees a bad play on the

stage. Facts are told about a man which give the impression that he is very clever; but when he really appears on the stage he says a few commonplaces, and one wonders why he is supposed to be so intellectual. Dr. Deckert has been spoken of as a historian. I have seen no proof of this! It can only be that that little book — I know of only the one on the so-called murder of little Simon of Trent — is supposed to be a historical work! Then, I must say, it is a very easy thing to write a historical work. You take a musty old book (laughter), and copy something out of it. In this way you can prove, too, that there have been people who have flown through the air on a broom-stick, and brought sickness on their neighbours. Anyone who has read anything about trials for witch-craft will know that thousand of the poor souls confessed things (under the friendly influence of torture, of course), which they themselves had made up. If one reads an account of such a trial it sounds really beautiful! Every care is, of course, exercised, that no injustice is done through the agency of the torture. We don't really believe in witchcraft because of it — but still, of course, one cannot be quite certain! (Laughter). It is possible that, through the way history is used today to make propaganda, that may come too. (Commotion).

But let us leave the history of historical research on the ritual murder, in favour of which even learned scholars are supposed to have spoken; although I, for my part, searched though I have, have been unable to find a single one who is really known. The matter goes further! If it be a question of a truly earnest historical work one would not mind a little extravagance, and shutting an eye to it — perhaps rightly. But is that which lies before us a scientific work? I don't think so! At any rate no one may insult living men or their descendents in the interests of science! You cannot use a scientific work as justification for that! "Yes" it will be answered, "but neither Father Deckert nor the 'Vaterland' have identified themselves with it." Father Deckert said: "There is an article for you"! and the Vaterland replied "Let us print it! But everything in the letter comes from

Meyer". I do not know whether there is any purpose in further characterising for the Gentlemen of the Jury this sophism; but I can prove, at once, that with those words everything is not said: that proof is at hand that Father Deckert did identify himself with the letter! In the first article from Dr. Deckert, appearing in the newspaper on May 5th it says: — "had not the study of official documents of the case of Simon of Trent completely convinced me that Jewish ritual murders have taken place, and that possibly among the Chassidim such deeds of blood are still taking place, this letter alone would give me full conviction that such ritual murders are today still perpetrated". That is a little stronger then historical research! (Laughter.)

That is more than objective criticism! Here the Reverend Father takes a side; for when he asserts that such things go on today because the letter says so, he does identify himself with it. He says in fact: — "I agree! I say it, too" He tries to make other people believe that it is the solid truth, for otherwise he cannot say: — "I have been convinced by it". This goes, therefore, beyond the limit of historical research.

Dr. Porzer laid stress upon the words "guilty" and "falsely". The person "guilty" of defamation of character, is, however, the person, who has attacked another's honour: nothing further need be done. You can abolish the word "guilty" only if you believe — which is here impossible — that the words have been said in a moment of mental aberration or irresponsibility for one's actions. In such cases, of course, no blame can be attached. But when that is not the case, then the person is guilty of his own action, if that action be an unjust one. Dr. Porzer seems to think that he only is liable to punishment who publishes or spreads something, knowing it to be untrue. He must be impregnated with the conviction. If he believes that it is true, he has not acted wrongly. On this point, however, I still seem to need legal teaching; and I must say it would be really wonderful if one had to prove to a person attacking another's honour that he had acted wrongly: that he had known he was committing

an offence. No! Criminal levity is punishable, too. If in this manner I do wrong, I must take punishment also.

Then follow other points, tho tenor of which is that you should correct the law. The jurors are urged not to concern themselves with the law, or to give to the law an other meaning. It is supposed that an essential accompaniment of defamation of character must be that when someone is offended the people shall be known, as otherwise they are not lowered in anyone's estimation; and so, of such people, one can say what one pleases; only where the people are known, one must not do this.

These theories, I believe, would frighten the Gentlemen of the Jury if they were seriously put into practice; for where is one to draw the line? In every large city a man disappears as a drop in the ocean, and there are, in Vienna, numberless people who hardly know even a few other people. You live in a house in Vienna, for instance, and do not even know the names of your neighbours. How far must one go, therefore, before a character defamation is punishable? Because the "Vaterland" is not read there? I do not know! Dr. Pattai has gone a little off the rails as far as the civil law is concerned. He has said: — "It has not been disputed that there is but one copy of the paper in Russia"... No! Thank God, we do not play like this in a criminal trial! Of course I have no means of knowing how many copies of the paper there are in Russia. I have no idea how many papers are in circulation there. According to this theory one need only print something in another country, the news will then be spread by the article in that country, and the real author goes scot-free. That would be a nice theory!

Something else has been brought forward, which seems to me a little hazy. Dr. Pattai has said there is something exotic here, something foreign; how is it that these persons come to bring an action? They are holding a breach for Jewry; but they have no right to do so. That is so! As little right as I! . . . But it is my right and my duty to come forward for these men who have here been insulted and degraded. What further effect this may have if it have further

consequences at all; if it remain unpunished: whither it tends — all this concerns me not at all. My duty is to act as Counsel for these people. It is not for me to discuss the question of ritual murder, nor to hold a breach for Jewry; but to act for those who have entrusted to me he safeguarding of their interests. It seems that it is said "These people have no honour at all. They did not wish to bring an action". Dr. Pattai is in error when he says that there are Chassidim only in Russia. Oh, no! There are Chassidim in Austria, in Hungary, and especially in Galicia, the Bukowina, and the adjacent lands. Everywhere are men to be found who are usually designated thus, but are, in their own church, simply what, in the Roman Catholic Church, are known as clericals or ultra-montanists. They have formed no new religion of their own, but are only zealots. They, also, have the right to defend themselves.

The documents of the notary have been subjected to a very strange criticism. Names have been discussed, and it even went so far that orthographic mistakes were mentioned. The Court has had no doubt on the matter. It has found that they have been drawn up with the utmost clearness and distinctness. An objection has even been raised against the fact that one man went to Warsaw, which is supposed to be at an immense distance from Tarlo. I do not know. It is of so little interest to me why he went there, that I can give absolutely no information on the point. But is it such a matter for suspicion that witnesses should assert their legal rights? It is apparently prescribed in the Russian laws dealing with notaries that they must make themselves acquainted with the legal rights of their clients.

This seems simply one of those legal flourishes which very seldom have any real importance. I will not concern myself with that, but will hurry on to the conclusion.

It is not my work to defend the fact that the Public Prosecutor did not confiscate the article. I may have my own opinion, but I have no right to criticise the Public Prosecution. I put that aside. I have only two more things to remark.

Articles by Dr. Bloch have been read to us, and I have only here heard that he published a telegram. Then he contradicted, etc. etc. Yes! But what has Dr. Bloch to do with us today? He is not the plaintiff; he is not the accused; he is not a witness; I have not called him as a witness, nor my opponents either. I do not know what Dr. Bloch has written, nor why he has written it. I have heard it read out, and if it had been of any importance, I would have asked that he should be called. But these attempts to introduce all manner of people who have nothing to do with the case, seems to be an attempt at diffusing a certain haze, to cloud the clear vision of the jury. If at the conclusion of Father Deckert's defence it has been repeatedly stated that he was morally forced to the publication, it is exactly as if someone who was in prison broke prison, and then said: — "I was obliged to knock everything to pieces in order to get out". I do not blame him for that; but he had got himself into that position! Look at the first paper — that of May 5th! It is the most interesting. The matter was made public for the first time in this paper. Up to that time no one had heard anything of this man; no one knew he was capable of telling Father Deckert such interesting things, or that he had been witness of such a pretty scene. The matter was made public for the first time in the May 5th issue; and even then it was said: "Further, the aforesaid baptized Jew has given me permission to publish this letter addressed to me". That is to say, he even then says: — "I have the letter and proof at hand. I am convinced that I may publish it. Be careful! I am quite capable of doing it!" And at the end: — "But no shouting down, only refutation. Or shall I do you the favour of publishing the letter earlier?" You see, he sneers! That happened to me personally once, on the occasion of a political election. My opponent said they had in hand a compromising letter about me. What could I do against it, but publicly demand: — "Produce it! Show it! Then we shall see!" I could not sing small, and let that pass. It is understandable that, in reply, it was possible said — I have not the paper to hand — "Very well! We shall see." Of course

after his saying "I have something that I can publish", he was obliged to publish the letter when it was demanded of him. But it was he who had placed himself in that position.

Gentlemen of the Jury! I bring my remarks to a close. I hope — perhaps it is a daring hope — that the simple truthful explanation with which I began my speech, has not yet vanished from your memory; and I hope that the objections raised, (some of which were certainly very able and ingenious), were not powerful enough to confuse the simple and plain truth which I laid before you.

I hope that you, according to the law, will administer your sacred office without hatred or favour, without like or dislike, as you have, under oath, affirmed. (Loud applause.) President "I cannot allow this, please. Do any of the accused wish to speak?

Meyer's Closing Speech.

Meyer. Highly Respected Court! Revered Jurors! It has today been laid to my charge that I am the author of the letter. Several questions have been put to me since, as, for instance, the question of the Counsel for the Plaintiffs as to how I could have kept silence if I were not the author of the letter; I ought simply to have forced the persons to retract it. I ask you now to call to mind, the times in which I found myself, where I found myself, and where the letter was printed. In the "Vaterland" which is pleased to accept such letters, and not in the Jewish Press. I stayed at that time with the Reverend Father Deckert. I suppose I ought to have got up and gone to the "Vaterland" and said, "You must contradict that!" What would the "Vaterland" have done then? Whenever Dr. Bloch wrote a correction it was at once sent to Dr. Deckert so that he could immediately get ready with his answer. If I had offered a correction to the „Vaterland" it would have gone immediately likewise to Father Deckert, and he would at once have pitched it away. What should I do? I was alone and helpless in this city. I had none to turn to. Who would give me advice? And then I was upset. The letter itself had so crushed me that I did not know what to do. I had no money.

if I had had sufficient means to move away with my belongings, I would have gone to another town, and contradicted, saying that the letter was false. But this was impossible here. No one would have accepted my contradiction.

The learned Counsel says further: — "We have seen how Meyer has behaved himself this afternoon. One should compare them man to man." I believe it! Why should you believe Meyer, who has been brought here from the cell, where he has languished for four months and become nervous in the highest degree, rather than Deckert, who has just come back from his summer holiday? And I am a Russian, too, and have no command of the German language, while Dr. Deckert is an educated German. How can I speak as beautifully, or lay before you the truth to which I now adhere (because I am really innocent!) so beautifully that you can understand me here as well as a German, who can order his ideas and everything?

Dr. Deckert's Counsel remarked further that one should give him more credence. Naturally, one mustn't reproach a Reverend Father! Now I ask: I came to Vienna to hand a letter to Father Deckert, out of pure disinterested love, and, ofcourse, out of hatred to Dr. Bloch: though I was not the one attacked at all in this „Oesterreichische Wochenschrift". Why should I go for Dr Bloch? Dr. Deckert says he was not my friend because he paid me. Now I ask, what madness or what love (which I never had to him) prompted me to give him the letter to be printed?

I affirm, besides, that I stand here an absolutely innocent man, and that it is my misfortune that I am not in a position to defend myself. In the first place, my Counsel was unknown to me until four days before the trial, so that I couldn't lay everything clearly before him, like the gentlemen who have had four months to do it in. Secondly, as I have said, I havn't command of the language.

Thirdly, with reference to the signature, I declare that Father Deckert often gave my fiancée things to copy out. Now they say, my fiancée refused to make a statement: and that that is a proof that she didn't want to tell what was not

true; but the fact is, my fiancée wrote a letter addressed here, in which she says: — "Owing to my illness and agitation I have come to the conclusion that it is better if I refuse to make a statement and excite you still more. But if you want me as a witness, I will be a witness". I thought that it was better she should not appear as witness; as I said, to myself: — "They won't believe her in any case!"

I again assert my innocence. If I am condemned, I am condemned unjustly, and I shall not be the first! Enough innocent persons have been condemned! I beg you, at least, not to commit me for a crime, but for an offence, and to take into account my four months' suffering owing to the cross-examination. If I had really meant to do wrong, it would have been cleverer if I had pocketed the 1000 florins, and gone off. They say I refused to make a statement. If the gentlemen had had the luck, in the morning's interval, to discover a good angel, who confessed that I had, myself, reported to him, how would it have been if I had made the thing clear at the preliminary cross — examination? Half a hundred such angels would have come! But I thought "What shall I say? I am helpless. I haven't a friend in the world. I will get out of it in the law courts."

Dr. Deckert and Doll decline to make a speech.

President's Summing-up.

Pres.: My task of summing up the result of the proceedings and emphasising the legal precepts which must be stated in order to explain the questions, is soon done. You are aware, gentlemen, that the results of the proceedings are, in part, contained in the papers of the trial. There is the incriminating article, the manuscript of the letter which is the basis of the article, and a number of documents which have today been brought before our notice. We have, further, the defence of the three accused, and certain evidence which you have heard as to the antecedents of these same. The defence of the accused is, briefly, that the first accused, (who in the course of the preliminary cross-examination refused to answer,) today

professes ignorance of the whole matter, and to the most pressing questions replies only that he had some knowledge of the letter (why he kept this back at first I do not know), and that he confesses the manuscript was written by his fiancée. As to how that came about, he has given expression to certain indefined vague suspicions; from which, however, I can form no fixed thesis. He has stated, further, that he did not give the letter to Father Deckert, neither did he entrust him with the publishing of the same. Father Deckert contradicts this and says: — "I published this letter for definite reasons. I was engaged in a controversy in the newspapers, and was compelled by circumstances to publish the letter. Paulus Meyer signed this letter, his fiancée wrote it, and I put it at the disposal of the Editor of the "Vaterland," for publication."

The accused editor says: — "Dr. Deckert gave this letter to the "Vaterland". I had no doubt that Paulus Meyer was the author of the letter. I had it printed." That is the gist of the defence of the three accused. How much of it is true, I cannot say. That, you must decide.

I now turn to the explanation of certain legal precepts, which today engross our attention. Defamation of character, as far as the private individual comes into question, is only punishable at the wish of the injured party, or, in the case where the reputation of a deceased person is attacked, the nearest relatives and these persons connected by marriage have the right to bring a legal action. If these persons come forward as plaintiffs, as in this case, the motives inciting them to the charge are of no bearing. It is no matter whether these persons would not have come forward had they not been incited to do so by other persons. It is possible, as in the case in point, that other persons have been offended by this article, and that these persons, feeling themselves offended as a whole, as a religious body, urge the plaintiffs to bring the charge. That is irrelevant for the decision of the trial. The points are that a charge has today been made, that we have proceeded with the trial, and that you must give your verdict.

As far as the incriminated defamation is concerned, § 487 of the Penal Code is the criterion; and it says, "defamation of character has been committed when one accuses another falsely of a crime". What then is the point of this? The "falseness" of the accusation of the crime. What is meant by falseness? "Falsely" means that the facts which have been asserted are not true. The word "falsely" then, must be taken objectively. If I declare that someone has committed a murder, it is an offence in the case when the murder has not really been committed. The word "guilty", used in connection with the question put before the jury "Is so and so guilty of having made a false accusation?" means: — "Did the person mentioned accuse with intent to injure? had he the intention to lower another in public esteem? or had he, at any rate, the consciousness that by means of this accusation he would injure the honour of another? This intent to injure which must be proved then, lies either in the action itself, or it can be elicited from the circumstances. A drastic example of this: —

Someone says: — "Take care! I will attack the honour of someone. He has committed a murder."

That is the intent to offend expressly defined. For a punishable character defamation, however, such definition is not even necessary. It is enough that one has acted with full consciousness that one is attacking the honour of another. If anyone declares that another has committed a murder, if he publish it, he need not have had the consciousness: "I will lower this person in others' esteem" He must have had the consciousness: — "If I say that, I shall affect his honour." Such an explanation you will find, also, in a decision of the Supreme Court, which likewise has only an explanatory purpose; and which says that, to incur punishment, according to § 487 because of the character defamation, it is not necessary that the sole and only object of the action be to undermine the honour of another: but it is sufficient that the doer of the deed acted in the consciousness that, through it, he would injure the honour of another in the manner described in the law parapraph in question.

We have further to deal with the assertion that such defamation of character is a crime if it occur in print, while otherwise it is an offence.

How does this really stand, with reference to liability to punishment? The offender is liable to punishment when the offence has been committed in print, and he cannot prove the truth of what he has stated. If it were not committed in print, or widely circulated writings, or pictorial representation, it would be punishable only if no circumstances can be urged showing that one has acted in good faith, believing the accusation to be true. What form did the offence take here? A printed form. The plaintiffs assert that the offence was committed by an untrue assertion. The task of the accused was, then, to prove that the assertion was true. Have they done this? I must leave that to your judgment.

I come now to deal, myself, with the various questions. The first question deals with Meyer, and asks whether he is guilty of having composed the letter and handed it over to Dr. Deckert for publication in a printed paper. What paragraph of the law is our criterion here? Our criterion is § 28 of the Press Law, according to which he is responsible for a punishable offence committed in print who in any way cooperates in the publishing or circulating of it; and in § 5 it states, further, that the general precepts of the Criminal Law must be here employed.

§ 7 of the Press Law says: II. Should a crime be committed by means of the contents of a printed paper, the author etc. of the periodical, with the responsible editor, together with all the persons who have co-operated in the publishing or spreading or circulating of the punishable matter in print should the same transgress § 1 FF, are liable to punishment.

§ 1. speaks of intent to injure. When Paulus Meyer composed this letter and gave it to Dr. Deckert, it must have been his intention, either to offend the persons accused therein of murder — to lower them in others' esteem; or he must, at any rate, have had the consciousness: — "If I compose this letter and circulate it by means of a newspaper, I am acting in a

manner which may injure the honour of these persons". In answering the first three questions, then, it will be first necessary to examine whether the objective liability to punishment exists.

Did the article appear in the "Vaterland"? Are the plaintiffs indicted of murder? Then you will come to the subject matter, and be clear on the point whether Paulus Meyer composed the letter, and gave it to Father Deckert for publication.

The second question deals with Dr. Deckert. In this case you will examine, after you have decided the first question, whether the objective fact is present. Is it true that Dr. Deckert, knowing the contents of this letter, handed it over to the Editor of the "Vaterland", or not?

Sentence will be passed according to your "Yes" or "No".

When dealing with the third question, you will likewise examine the evidence; and, when you have done so, will further examine whether it be true that Doll accepted the letter for publication in the "Vaterland", and caused it to be printed.

If you reject the first question dealing with Meyer, you enter into the possible question as to whether Meyer composed the letter, or only handed it over to Dr. Deckert, being aware of its contents, without, however, giving him power to publish it.

I believe, with this, to have touched on the chief legal points which come into consideration in this trial; and if I now hand over to you, besides, the papers of the trial, to help you in giving your verdict, I ask from you, that, taking into account how the various counsels have today spoken with such laudable restraint on a question that can arouse passion, i. e. the question of the ritual murder, you will show yourselves as dispassionate when considering your verdict. You will keep to what the law demands of you; that you fulfil its high requirements by acting the part of upright and free men, whose attribute it is to give expression to firmess of conviction only when that is based on the evidence given. In as far as you seek truth, you will find justice; and your verdict will be a just and a true one. (Loud applause.)

The Jury now retires. On its return, the Foreman gives the following verdict: —

Foreman of the Jury, Czaslowski.

The Jury has, on oath, and according to its conscience, given the following answers to the questions put to them:

Question I. (Is the accused Paulus Meyer guilty of having composed the letter, dated April 20th, 1893, and having given it to Father Deckert for publication, falsely, and in print, accusing, in number 129 of the daily Viennese newspaper "The Vaterland," of May 11th, 1893, on the third page and first column, under the address "His Reverence Father Joseph Deckert, Weinhaus, Wien", and ending in the third column with the words "to whom his estate belonged. P. M." the Rabbi Jehoshuah (Shye) Leib, deceased in the year 1873, the servant Moishe Rosenker alias Berliches, and Srul Frost alias Partzewar, as well as the estate-owner Shmul Wassertrum alias Tarler, of the crime of murder?

I. The Jury are in agreement: "Yes." Three of the jurors, however, are for the omission of the word "composed".

Question II. Is the accused, Joseph Deckert, guilty of having accused the above-mentioned persons of the crime of murder, by the handing over of the letter, described in question No 1, to the editor of the "Vaterland" for publication?

II. 10 votes "yes", 2 "no".

Question III. Is the accused, Franz Doll, guilty of having accused the above-mentioned persons contens of the letter described in question No. 1, he accepted it for the "Vaterland" and gave it to be printed.

III. 9 votes "yes", 3 "no" (Commotion).

The accused, who have been absent during the reading, now re-enter the court: and the Recorder, Dr. Zinsler, reads out the verdict of the Jury.

President: I ask the Counsel for the Plaintiffs to express himself on the matter of punishment.

Dr. Kopp: Since the object is attained in as far as my clients are concerned, I leave the sentence entirely to the High Court. I simply beg the law to take its course. I must ask at the same time — though this is a matter of course —, that the costs of the trial may be granted, and that the publishing of the verdict may follow, first in the "Vaterland", secondly in the "Neue Freie Presse", and thirdly in the "Neues Wiener Tagblatt".

Dr. Griez: On behalf of my client, I must leave the matter to the consideration of the High Court whether, in this case, as reason for alleviation of sentence § 46, c, Penal Code should not be employed. In this case, a strong extenuating reason lies in the long confinement endured since the arrest. He has been in prison already for four months, and I believe that this fact, together with the blameless character he has borne previously, will entitle him to the consideration of the court.

Dr. Porzer: I beg the High Court not only to give my client every consideration, but also to convert the punishment of arrest into a fine. With reference to the first point, I urge first my client's calling, and secondly, the fact that the trial has shown that he has been misled in a punishable manner. Thirdly, I refer to his hitherto absolutely blameless character. I beg you to take these factors into consideration.

Dr. Pattai: With reference to my client, I refer not only to his hitherto blameless character, but also to the fact that he has confessed (it would not have been such an easy matter to bring proof of it,) that he has been misled, especially as he received the letter from a second person. I must refer to his slight co-operation in the matter. His part, at best, only approaches neglect of proper precaution. Besides this, he has not only the editorship of the "Vaterland" on his shoulders, but also the printing of it, and the care of wife and child. Here, then, a mild punishment would in every way meet the case (since there exist no aggravating circumstances); and the option of a fine.

Meyer: I wish to ask that it may be taken into consideration that I have been so long under arrest that I have become even more unwell: and that this fearful thing has added to my

former complaint. I declare once more that I am absolutely innocent, and I beg you to at least punish me only for a minor offence.

Dr. Deckert and Doll decline to speak.

The Court retires, to consider the sentence.

(The trial closes at 10.15 p. m.)

Sentence.

Reg. No. 3274.

Prot. 38.446.

Accused:
Paulus Meyer and associates.
Delict 487 Penal code.

In the name of His Majesty the Emperor!

The R. J. Vienna High Court for Criminal Offences, under the presidency of Dr. Haller, Landesgerichtsrat, and in the presence of Dr. Stöger, Landesgerichtsrat, and Freiherr v. Dalwigh, Judge-assistant; also Dr. Zinsler, as Recorder in the private action brought by Jankiel Rabinowitz and his associates, by means of a charge made on August 3rd, 1893, G. 36.978 against:

Paulus Meyer, 30 years of age, born in Wlozlawik, Russian Poland, citizen of Wilna, Russia;

Dr. Joseph Deckert, 49 year of age, born in Drösing, Lower-Austria, citizen of Vienna, Catholic, single, parish priest of Weinhaus, 30 High Street. XVIII;

Franz Doll, 42 years of age, married, Editor of the "Vaterland" 17 Tigerstrasse XVIII;

has given judgement regarding the charge brought according to § 495 of the Penal Code, and according to order 38.446 of September 2nd, in the presence of Dr. Joseph Kopp, in the name of Jankel Rabinowitz and his associates, as plaintiffs against the accused *Paulus Meyer* in arrest, and the accused Dr. *Joseph Deckert*, and *Franz Doll*, and in the presence of the Counsels, Dr. Griez de Ronze, Dr. Porzer, and Dr. Pattai, at

the public hearing of the trial on September 15th, 1893, in accordance with the demand for committal, namely punishment according to law, made by the Counsel for the Plaintiffs, as well as for payment of the costs, and publication of the verdict in the "Neue Freie Presse", "Neues Wiener Tagblatt" and the "Vaterland"; since the jury has replied to the under-mentioned questions in the folowing manner:

Question 1st (Chief-question):

The Jury in agreement. Reply in the affirmative.

Three Jurors for the ommission of the word "composed".

Question 2nd (Chief-question):

Ten votes in the affirmative.

Two votes in the negative.

Question 3rd (Chief-question):

Nine votes in the affirmative.

Three votes in the negative.

Verdict.

Paulus Meyer, Dr. Ioseph Deckert, and Franz Doll, are guilty of defamation of character, according to § 487 and § 493 of the Penal Law, committed by an accusation of murder, made falsely and in print, against Rabbi Jehoshua (Shye) Leib, deceased in 1873. the servant Moishe Rosenker alias Beriches, and Srul Frost alias Partzewar, as well as the estate owner Shmul Wassertrum alias Tarler, in that: —

1st. Paulus Meyer. in Nr. 129 of the daily Vienna newspaper the "Vaterland", dated May 11th, 1893, on the third page and first column. beginning with the words "His Reverence Father Deckert, Weinhaus" and ending in the third column with the words "to which estate belonged. D. O." was the author of the letter, dated April 20th, 1893, which he gave to Father Deckert for publication, causing it to printed.

2nd. Dr. Joseph Deckert passed on the said letter to the "Vaterland" for publication, being fully aware of the contents, causing it to be printed.

3rd Franz Doll, being aware of the contents of the same letter, gave it to the "Vaterland" for publication, and this in full. without the accusation going so far as to come under § 209 of the Statute Book dealing with slander.

Under § 493 of the Penal Code, Paulus Meyer is, therefore, in accordance with § 266 of the Penal Code, sentenced to four months' imprisonment. Dr. Joseph Deckert, in accordance with § 261 and § 266, to a fine of 400 florins, to be paid to the Poor Fund of Vienna, and, in the case of non-payment, to two months' imprisonment; and Franz Doll, according to § 261 and § 266 of the Penal Code, to a fine of 200 florins, to be paid to the Poor Fund of Vienna, and in case of non-payment to one months' imprisoment.

According to § 389 of the Criminal Code, the three accused have to bear the costs of the trial and execution.

At the same time the surety of 90 florins paid by the periodical, the "Vaterland," falls, according to § 35 al. 2 of the Press Law, to the Poor Fund of Vienna. According to § 39, this sentence is to be published three days after the same becomes valid, at the expense of the condemned, in the Vienna daily newspapers "Neue Freie Presse", "Neues Wiener Tagblatt," and the "Vaterland," at the head of the same.

Grounds.

The Jurors having given an answer to those questions put to them containing all factors necessary to prove, in accordance with § 487 and § 493 of the Penal Code, the offence of defamation of character, the three accused had to be pronounced guilty of the offence.

In the meting out of punishment according to § 493 of the Penal Code, no aggravating circumstances came into consideration in the case of any of the accused. In the case fe Meyer it was considered as extenuating that, with the exception of a very slight sentence, his life had, so far, been blameless: and that his straightened pecuniary circumstances formed an inducement to his punishable action. In the case of Dr. Deckert, as extenuating circumstances were considered his comprehensive confession, his blameless life, and the fact that he acted under the influence of great excitment caused by the controversy which preceeded, and which was conducted in public. In the case of Franz Doll, were considered his blameless life, and the fact that he acted under the influence of an informant who appeared to him to be trustworthy. In the case of Paulus

Meyer § 266 of the Penal Code was applied, and, in consideration of the fact that he had been, for the purpose of cross-examination and in connection with his pending extradition, under detention for some time, he was sentenced to four months' imprisonment. In the case of Dr. Joseph Deckert and Franz Doll, § 261 and § 266 of the Penal Code were applied and the former sentenced to a fine of 400 florins or, in the case of non-payment, to two months' imprisonment: the latter, in consideration of his income and his family, to a fine of 200 florins or, in the case of non-payment, to one months' imprisonment. The remainder of the foregoing sentence is grounded on the paragraphs of the Penal Code already mentioned.

Vienna, September 15th. 1893.

The President.
Signed Dr. Haller.

The Recorder
Signed L. Zinsler

Compared with the original, and found correct, by the I. R. Vienna High Court for Criminal Offences.

September 20th, 1893.

Dutzmann.

Voices of the Press.

The "Neue Freie Presse" writes, on September 17th, 1893, at the conclusion of a leading article:

A pretty picture of times and morals has again been shown at the bar of the Vienna High Court. Justice has once again thrown a light into the kitchen where the drug for stupefying the society of our century —, the moral morphia which poisons whole strata of our contemporaries —, anti-semitism, is brewed. It is lucky that the terrible accusation and the men who spread it, could so quickly be exposed to the light of the law courts: or nameless evil might have been the result. The fact that, in this case, it was so easily and so quickly possible to give to the lie its hall-mark, serves only as a reminder that there are thousands of other lies which are not so simple. This case, however, arouses the hope that the picture of morals given to us by the antisemites, and shown up here with the trial as background, will not so quickly fade from the memory of our contemporaries. This much, even the least gifted will carry away from the trial — the knowledge that people with a conception like this of morality, duty, truth, and conviction, as shown in this criminal action, can make no claim to lead the masses. It is, besides, devoutly to be wished, that always, as in this

case, men of probity could be found, who would not shun the trouble of following up calumny and deceit through all their crooked paths to their last hiding places, and bring them where they can no longer creep away from the light, namely, to a court of justice.

Wiener Abendblatt, Sept. 16th, 1893.

A trial which stands in indissoluble connection with the worst appearances of our time, ended today with the sentence of the three accused. The rogue, Meyer, was not the chief person in this trial. His two allies — the man in priestly robe, and the representative of the Roman Catholic Press, played the chief roles. Father Deckert was careful not to say a word in reply, to uphold the truth of the despicable assertions of Meyer which he had made his own, and the man of the "Vaterland" made a declaration which one reads very often in the columns of this most perfidious of papers, which does not scruple, when it suits its purpose, to misquote passages from books, directing the same against the opposition papers, namely, the remark that it is impossible to prove the truth of every report; as if a fable of blood were a report, whose truth or untruth is quite irrelevant for a paper!

Wiener Tagblatt. Edited by Moriz Szeps. Sep. 16th, 1892. (Leading article.)

A well-known antisemitic agitator, who shames every hour the priestly robe he wears, had the intent to use a man — the scum of the earth — as the tool for casting suspicion on millions of innocent men. The two combined forces: the one under pretence of research, and the other to earn money to further eke out his miserable existence. The parson heard, with exquisite delight, the fairy tales dished up for him by the converted Jew; and the converted Jew declared that he himself had been present, when a Christian child was slaughtered. Of course, no one can believe that the parson believed such a story, but it was welcome material for his accusations, his calumnies, and his suspicions. One cannot even think that the parson of Weinhaus really credited this nobody, when he retailed his lies. It is impossible to believe that Father Deckert could even, for one moment, have thought that Meyer's statements were founded on truth; for Dr. Deckert had known Meyer's past, and the fact that he had been punished for vagrancy and begging; he must therefore have been aware that his associate was a rogue. The recommendation of Dr. Rohling in Prague, however, seems to have been, for Father Deckert, guarantee enough that the former Jew-missionary, Meyer, had spoken the truth, or rather, he seems to find in this enough excuse for giving Paulus Meyer his confidence. In this trial Rohling plays the chief part: though he does not appear before the judge, nor was he to be seen in the witness box. Rohling, who likes to envelop himself in the cloak of the scientist, is the chief sinner in this trial, the last word on which has by no means been said with the verdict. The important thing is that we have once more seen the whole of the antisemitic riff-raff together, from Rohling, down to Karl Paasch and Paulus

Meyer. This Karl Paasch, who, between his periods of arrest and stay in asylums, is dragged about Germany, has waged hatred and agitated in the „Staatsbürger-Zeitung" and in pamphlets, not only against the Jews, but against the highest dignitaries of the German Empire. Now, rightly, he finds himself under medical observation as to his mental condition. It was this Paasch who furnished for Rohling, the clergyman, the honour of Meyer's acquaintance; and it was Rohling who gave Father Deckert the pleasure of the recommendation of Paulus Meyer, and opportunity for the forging of a link between these beautiful souls, which, alas! has been rudely snapped in the law-courts.

It was beautiful to see how yesterday before the Jury, Paulus Meyer denied his signature, and declared that the letter in the Vaterland was written by his fiancee at Father Deckert's dictation: and it was interesting to see how Father Deckert asserted that Paulus Meyer had signed the letter written by Meyer's fiancee, with his own hand — as if the signature of this man, on any document, were of any value! So fought Paulus Meyer, the voluble, and the Reverend Priest of Weinhaus, over a signature which has not the least significance, since it is really a matter of absolute indifference whether Paulus Meyer signed the letter himself, or whether Father Deckert forged his signature. Certain it is, that it was Father Deckert who got Paulus Meyer to write the accusation of blood, and certain it is, besides, that Paulus Meyer, to be of service to his patron, and earn his sustenance of 100 florins a month, testified, to the lie with his own words. Father Deckert is worthy of Paulus Meyer, and Paulus Meyer is worthy of Father Deckert! Three of the Jury were of the opinion that Father Deckert had composed the letter. On the Jurors' bench, then, the verdict on the character of Father Deckert found expression — Father Deckert, who identifies himself with individuals like Paulus Meyer, in order, thereby, to satisfy his lust of inciting the mob!

The trial has ended with the sentence of all the accused; but of much more importance than the verdict are the facts that came out during the progress of the trial, facts which, rightly interpreted, may have a beneficial influence on public opinion. In was brought to light that a person in priest's robes allowed himself to conspire with one of the most miserable of individuals who ever trod the face of the earth, that a clergyman called to his assistance a convert who had been driven from all decent society, to furnish himself with alleged proof for suspicion and calumny! The facts give food for thought, not only on the means used by the antisemites, but also on how clearly is shown the lengths to which they will go to embitter public opinion, when even a clergyman lends himself to immoral, nay, criminal conduct, such as this. The so-called Jewish question has turned many heads: but so poisoned has public opinion not yet become but that even men of antisemitic principles should not, if they wish to retain the good opinion of their fellows, and their own self-respect, make use of such means as this. This, perhaps, will open the eyes of those who are wont to look on the antisemitic question as a purely academic one: and they

will see whither such a movement tends, the goal of which is force, and which uses force as its weapon. We know that antisemitism has reached into high places and we could quote dignitaries who speak of the antisemitic movement with a certain indulgence and approbation, though they would pale if the voice of reason spoke to them, and said that such a movement can lead but to plundering and incendiarism, and end in murder and death. May the trial just concluded be a warning to all who prosecute antisemitism either from motives of personal vanity, or being blinded by the "academic spirit"; and to those, too, who, according to their education, are used to regard everything as sport—and see in antisemitism, also, a cheap sport, made cheaper by the fact that it does not call for much efforts to train it; it does not need oats, and no expensive jockeys need be kept to ride it. This trial is a lesson to these high circles not to pander to the low instincts of the mob; for passion, one loosed, does not inquire into the origin of the victim, and will not, of a surety, stop at the Jews.

The semi-official Montagsrevue stated:

We frankly confess that the "Vaterland", in opening its columns to this letter, has seriously injured the whole of the Austrian Press, without respect of party: and has forfeited for itself the right to be considered as a paper for educated people. A so prominent organ of the public press, which, besides, purports to cater for a circle of readers for whom truth and honesty can still be only written with the point of the sword, dare not lend itself to a publication which bears clearly on its forehead the mark of malicious invention and basest calumny. Neither the desire for a scandal, nor the priestly robe of Father Deckert, are adequate covering for a thing like this!

The "Neues Wiener Tagblatt" Sept. 16th, 1893.

A Shepherd of Souls.

Yesterday's trial before the High Court gave one the impression that the century in which we live had suddenly sunk down, and, in its place, times had appeared which we know only from pictures given us by history. The voice of the accuser rings out from the far North-East, from Russia. Among the accused sits a priest, whose care of souls leaves him much time and inclination to occupy himself with "research" on the blood-ritual; and next to him, an abstruse existence which has understood to win for himself the sympathy of the Rohlings, by a religious conversion, and strange mental and spiritual tendencies. The charge against the accused is defamation of character of the plaintiffs by the accusation of a ritual deed of blood.

The striking feature of this trial which our readers will have followed, is the figure of this priest, whom we have already mentioned as one of the accused. Paulus Meyer, of course, stood there, too; but the confused ideas which played in this poor brain—who wishes to fathom these? All men are glad to shun such as this, except Father Deckert and company. But we are speaking of him, this priest of Weinhaus, of this man, who, in astounding ignorance of what the words scientific study and scientific conclusion really

mean, devotes his energy (as much of it as his shepherding seems to leave him as surplus) to bringing before the world, founded on the most confused evidence, this terrible accusation of the blood-ritual, as a proved fact. Father Deckert, since this trial, is a man to be pitied. We know that. The dilemma in which he finds himself, brought about by his own action, holds him in a vice. Every excuse he brings forward is a self-accusation. Turn where he may in his helplessness, there threatens, from all sides, the pitiless "either-or". Either Father Deckert did see through Paulus Meyer—in which case the work he wrote, on Paulus Meyer's representation, is an untruth, and Father Deckert's theological "research" put an end to for all time; or Father Deckert did not possess even the most elementary knowledge of men which can tell a Paulus Meyer at a glance; in which case one must ask how such a man can be given the shepherding of souls—an office which professes to direct the conscience, and which needs more knowledge of men than any other? Then, indeed, one must ask once more the question, how it comes that Father Deckert, who has so clearly shown that he has not the very least power of observation—how such a man dare lay claim to the title of "scientist"?

Although this pitiable man finds himself on the horns of the dilemma, "Either-or", we cannot help measuring by him alone the significance of this trial of yesterday.

For Dr. Deckert is not an original figure. So are all his associates! Vision blcared by fanaticism, dark existences and fantastically interpreted documents as evidence, ignorance of scientific method! — These are the methods they use, to work out the monstrous accusation of bloody ritual-murder! Only in one thing is Father Deckert far above his fellows. Rohling had, at least, his worthy confederate Brimanus, who, primed with limitless cunning, may possibly have deceived a man like Rohling, who was taking infinite pains to find witnesses. But yesterday? There stood a man who had only to speak one word to stifle all belief in him; and, when he began to speak at length, and exposed himself so blunderingly, so clumsily, in a manner which made even the President "nervous", then we were left no longer in doubt as to the intelligence with which we had to deal.

Nevertheless, this same man—this confused creature, who had broken away from one religious community, had been thrown from one doubtful situation into another, steps up one day to the Parish Priest of Weinhaus, presenting to him a recommendation from Rohling, and an offer to write against the Jews; and Dr. Deckert looks upon this man as a welcome witness of one of the most stupid plays of fancy (supposed to have been enacted in Russia) as a kind of imprimatur for his own, (Deckert's), views on the blood ritual. Yes! The Shepherd of Souls receives this man in his house, pays a stipend for the composition of ritual murder writings; he boozes with this talented author, whose letters his mistress must correct, through the late hours of the night, in agreeable converse about the "life of the Israelites"—with this man, on whom a Mr. Vergani (save the

mark!) turns his back with contempt! Yet Father Deckert has proudly expanded his chest, quoting paragraph XVII. of our State Laws: — "Science and its teaching is free". And how does Dr. Deckert understand this law? "Science is free": — that means, "we are free to assert that anything we please is true, with or without argument". Yes, indeed! The argument Paulus Meyer, sufficed fully the Parish Priest of Weinhaus to publish an article in which he speaks of the "facts" of the blood-ritual; fully sufficed to again raise such a terrible accusation, adopting the guise of a religious historian (sit venia verbo!).

And now? What? What did Father Deckert think at the moment when not only the excellent speech of Dr. Kopp and the shattering denunciation of Griez de Ronze hailed down upon him, but also when the trivial facts of the trial, besides, taught to him the threadbareness of his proofs? There is his pamphlet, based on the testimony of Paulus Meyer! There is Paulus Meyer, whose bad faith no one can any longer doubt. Will Father Deckert withdraw his pamphlet from the book-sellers, or does he wish to be the only man who believes in Paulus Meyer? There is, again, this terrible dilemma — "either-or". He cannot save himself, turn which way he may! Father Deckert is in a blind alley. He has found a logical grave, out of which no man can help him.

The beautiful memories which Father Deckert carries away with him from yesterday's trial into his further life, will, perhaps—we say "perhaps" — in future, spoil his taste for the business of ritual murder research, or at least induce him, when opportunity offers, to turn to an expert who may explain to him the first principles of scientific methods—especially that of bringing scientific proof. It will be to this drastic example of yesterday's trial to which the finger will point, whenever, in clerical circles, the inclination appears to sow discord, and rouse the feelings of the mob.

The success obtained brought me much recognition.

From the President of the Board of the Jewish Congregation in Prague.

Reverend Sir,

The Board of the Jewish Congregation in Prague have, at a meeting held on the 24th inst., decided, at the motion of the author Dr. S. Kohn, to express to you, in the name of the whole Community, the warmest thanks for your excellent, laborious, and successful efforts in disclosing the shameful intrigue, which has been exposed to the light in all its ugliness, at the hearing of the trial Meyer-Deckert.

To you, honoured Sir, it is mainly due, that a splendid victory for truth has been achieved, and that a libellous attack, aiming at the destruction of the whole of Jewry,

has been converted into the disclosure of the machinations of our enemies, — machinations shunning the light and deserving of severest punishment.

Please accept the assurance of our highest esteem

Yours very respectfully,

For the Board of the Jewish Congregation,

Dr. Arnold Rosenbacher.

Prague, September 27th, 1893.

His Reverence, Dr. J. S. Bloch, M. P., Vienna.

The Board of the Jewish Congregation in Lemberg addressed the following letter to me:

Revered Doctor,

We have followed for a long time, with feelings of sincere admiration and approval, your manful fight for the honour of our religion and our co-religionists.

The Deckert-Meyer trial, which has been heard before the Vienna High Court, gives us a special opportunity of expressing to you our heartfelt thanks.

Brave and fearless, and with an admirable knowledge of men and things, you understand how to take the field for truth and justice, at every opportunity, and to brand libellous calumnies, and bring them into daylight.

Let us hope to God that soon a lighter and better day will dawn around us, that libellous tongues will be silenced, and the misguided masses wake to the consciousness that they have been but pawns in a criminal game for selfish and unscrupulous men. But until this happy condition comes about, it is our sad necessity to defend, with every weapon at our disposal, our most sacred possession — our threatened civic honour. Your Reverence is our standard-bearer, standing in the fore-front of the fight, and we therefore believe it our sacred duty to salute you with all honour, and to express to you, in the name of Israel, and more particularly in the name of our Congregation, our heart-felt thanks.

May this poor expression of our feelings, honoured Sir, offer some slight recognition of your patriotic self-sacrific-

ing efforts and encourage you to fight on, till light and truth shall vanquish cunning and trickery!

With the expression of our highest esteem

we are, Reverend Sir,

for the Board of the Jewish Congregation in Lemberg

Samuel Horowitz, President.

Dr. Simon Schaff, Salomon Buber, Dr. Heinrich Gottlieb.

(Deacons.)

Lemberg, October 18th, 1893.

The fact that the work of agitation against the Jews to which he afterwards devoted himself as untiringly as before was indeed profitable, is clearly shown by the fact that Father Deckert, coming though he did of a far from wealthy family (1), was still able to leave at his decease which ensued at the end of September 1901, a considerable fortune, as we gather from the "Deutsches Volksblatt" and the "Arbeiter-Zeitung". He left stocks and shares to the value of 240.915 Kronen; a house in value 41.010 Kronen; cash to the amount of 492 Kronen; jewelry &c. to the value of 1761 Kronen; books to the value of 1000 Kronen; — in all, a total amount of 285.178 Kronen.

(Osterreichische Wochenschrift, 1901, Nr. 31.)

Professor Dr. Gustav Bickell died on January 15th, 1906. This prominent scholar, who was the author of many scientific works, and has been repeatedly styled the greatest Syrologist of the world, lived in great poverty. At his death a high degree of under-nourishment was discovered.

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[1]) He had two brothers, one of whom was sentenced for the appropriation of moneys entrusted to his care while the other suffered several times deportation by the police. (Österreichische Wochenschrift Nr. 28, 1893.)

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