A HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF TANGIER in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

by

M. MITCHELL SERELS

SEPHER-HERMON PRESS, INC.
New York 1991

A HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF TANGIER in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

by

M. MITCHELL SERELS

Digitized by Project Zikaron
Touro University-NY Libraries
www.zikaron.tourolib.org
2025

SEPHER-HERMON PRESS, INC.
New York 1991

Copyright © 1991 by M. Mitchel Serels
Published by Sepher-Hermon Press, Inc., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11219

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Serels, M. Mitchell.
A history of the Jews of Tangier in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries / by M. Mitchell Serels.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-87203-136-5 : $35.00
1. Jews-Morocco-Tangier-History. 2. Tangier (Morocco)-Ethnic relations. I. Title.
DS135.M85T367 1991

964' .2-dc20 91-18746
CIP

Digitized by Project Zikaron
Touro University-NY Libraries
www.zikaron.tourolib.org
2025

A HISTORY OF THE JEWS OF TANGIER

CONTENTS

Chapter 1. The Early History 1

Chapter 2. Growth and Development, 1800-1850 7

Chapter 3. The Development of the Junta 13

Chapter 4. International Concern, 1880-1899 66

Chapter 5. Economic Depression, 1900-1919 76

Chapter 6. Preparing for the Internationalization of Tangier 97

Chapter 7. Impact of the Statutes of Tangier 107

Chapter 8. 1930 until the Start of World War II 137

Chapter 9. The War Years 155

Chapter 10. Epilogue 175

Notes 183

Biographies of Important Tangierian Jews 253

Bibliography 297

Index 309

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is an outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation presented to the Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies at New York University. The inspiration for this study came from three noble sons of Tangier: My father, Abraham Serels; my father-in-law, Salomon Bendayan; and a gentleman concerned about retaining the heritage of Tangier, Abraham Pinto. To them, this work is dedicated.

I thank Dr. Nathan Winter of New York University for his tireless efforts at refining this work in preparation of the dissertation. I also express my gratitude to the members of the committee Dr. Philip Hosay and Dr. Milton Arfa as well as to Dr. Robert Chazan, chairman of the department, for their assistance and guidance.

Special thanks are extended to Mrs. Deborah E. Albelda who spent endless hours editing the manuscript, as well as to her family: David, her husband, and her children Rami and Vered who allowed her the time necessary for this magnificent achievement.

Gratitude is also expressed herein to Abraham Azancot, president of the Jewish Community of Tangier, who, in his friendship and loyalty to my father-in-law, allowed me to review the minutes of the Junta of Tangier. Special thanks are also extended to Philip Abensur of Paris for providing me with the missing volume of the minutes.

It is through the support and encouragement of Norman Benzaquen and James J. Pinto and the estate of Abraham Pinto, that this volume now appears. Appreciation is also expressed herein to the members and committee of the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation for their generosity and confidence. Recognition is also taken of the efforts of Ami Sibony and John Stern to foster the development of this work. Special thanks are extended to the Haham, Dr. Solomon Gaon and to Dr. Herbert C. Dobrinsky.

Most of all, appreciation is tendered to the members of my family who have had the patience and understanding to allow me to take the time from their lives in order to fulfill the demands of this work: my wife,

Ruth, and our children, Alain J. Serels, Steven S. Serels and Diana S. Serels; my mother, Dorothy Serels-Soloff, and her husband, Israel Soloff; my sister, Bess, and her husband, Dr. Isadore P. Gutwein, and her children, Andrew, Jeremy and Jonathan; and to Isaac Nahon.

I also wish to express my appreciation to my dear friends whose assistance made this volume a reality:

Dr. Abraham S. and Jose Coltof
Henry and Leah Klapholz
Dr. Oscar and Vida Lebwohl
Emma Mars
Dr. Michael and Joyce Wechsler
Kenneth L. and Beatrice G. Werden

I specifically express my appreciation to my dear friend and president of Magen David Sephardic Congregation of New Rochelle-Scarsdale, Jack B. Dweck, for his generous support and loyal friendship.

Finally, to the people of Tangier, I express my deepest admiration.

CHAPTER ONE

The Early History

Tangier, because of its strategic location, has often been coveted by various European powers. For the ancient Greeks, Tangier played a role in their mythology.[1] For the Phoenicians, Tangier was a trading post. For the ancient Romans, Tangier served as the capital of the province of Mauritania. Subsequently, the city was conquered by the Byzantines, Visigoths and the Arabs. As the northernmost city in Morocco, Tangier served as a junction between Africa and Europe, for invaders and travelers alike.

In 1492, many Jews fleeing Spain stopped at nearby *Wadi el-Yehud* (Arabic: Gulley of the Jews) on their way to other destinations in Morocco. A small group of Jews already lived in the city. The Portuguese conquests of 1458 had converted many of the mosques and Moslem shrines into Christian places of worship. The Moslems considered these acts to have defiled the city.[2] The death of Portuguese King Sebastian in the battle field near Tangier on 4 August 1538 is commemorated by Tangierian Jewry[3] as *Purim de los Cristianos*, a special feast day. With the death of King Sebastian, the crown of Portugal was united with that of Spain and Tangier came under Spanish rule. The separation of Portugal and Spain in 1643 caused Tangier to revert to Portuguese rule, although the Jews would have preferred to remain under Spanish administration.[4]

In 1662, Portugal gave Tangier to England as part of the wedding dowry of Catherine of Braganza to King Charles I. The Jewish community then numbered only 51. Very little is known of these early Jewish settlers, who came from Tetuan, other than that they worked for the governing forces as interpreters and middlemen. The English garrison introduced their language and religion into the city. During the British occupation, the Jews were frequently expelled from the city on suspicion of espionage.[5] However, the garrison needed the Jews in order to obtain provisions

from the Arabs who surrounded the city. Salomon Pariente, a Jew, served as the official translator for the British governor for the entire period of the British occupation, 1662-1684. In 1682, James Pinto, another Jew, worked for the governor's office.[6] Finally, in 1684, the British, unable to finance the garrison, withdrew from Tangier and abandoned the city to Moslem rule. Many Europeans remained in Tangier. The Arab ruler, entitled Basha, invited Arabs from the Rif Mountains as well as Jews from Tetuan and Meknes to repopulate the city. The administration of the religious affairs of Tangier was located in neighboring Tetuan. The Moslems were under the jurisdiction of the Khalifa of Tetuan. The Jews were under the jurisdiction of the Tetuan *Bet Din* (Hebrew: rabbinical tribunal) and the *Dayan* (Hebrew: rabbinical judge, but often used to refer to the chief rabbi).

The years of European occupation had left their imprint on Tangier. There were churches. Many Europeans settled in the city and they spoke a babble of languages. There were also foreign dignitaries and diplomats. The Sultan of Morocco felt the need to confine the foreign embassies to Tangier, an already defiled city, rather than to allow these Christians into the imperial capital.

The Jewish community consequently grew slowly under Arab rule. In 1725, Abraham Benamor became an important Jewish merchant. Originally from Meknes, Benamor organized the community of 150 under the religious leadership of Rabbi Judah Hadida.[7] In 1734, Abraham Benider, originally from Tetuan, helped redeem British captives held by Arab pirates.[8] In 1744, Moses Benmaman of Meknes, treasurer for the Sultan, encouraged Jewish merchants from Sale and Tetuan to move to Tangier by exempting them from some taxes. Benmaman was assassinated because of his attempt to develop the Jewish community in Tangier through tax exemptions. His son-in-law, Jacob Delouya, who followed him, continued this policy. The leadership of the community then fell to Rabbi Aaron Toledano, originally from Meknes, the eldest of four rabbinical brothers.[9] In 1744, the Basha imprisoned the three Jewish religious leaders of the town—Rabbi Judah Hadida, Rabbi Isaac Cohen and the *shohet* (ritual slaughterer), Solomon Cohen—in a jurisdictional dispute concerning the inspection of the carcass of an animal.[10] The dispute reached the Rabbinical Court of Tetuan which juridically governed the community in Tangier. The justices ruled in favor of the *shohet*.[11]

The community continued to prosper. Samuel Auday, the son of Rabbi Yahya Auday is listed in 1753 as a man of wealth.[12] A physician, Etouiel Ben el-Oulid (Bengualid) is mentioned in 1758 as a property owner.[13]

In 1789, an English delegation arrived under William Lempiere. The

Basha had been ordered by the Sultan to provide the diplomat with a tent, mules and an interpreter so that he might continue his journey to Mogador and present his credentials. The Basha was unable to find an English-Arabic interpreter. The Basha then sent a messenger to the synagogues requesting a person who understood both languages. Since some of the Jews traded with Gibraltar, providing food to the British garrison there, it was most likely that he would find one, from among the Jews, who could speak English. One such Jew was found whose wife and children had permanently settled in Tangier while he traded in Gibraltar. When this Jew responded positively to the inquiry requesting one who spoke English, he was forcibly removed from the synagogue and sent directly to the British diplomat. The Jew was accompanied by three or four Arabs to insure his cooperation and was forced to join the entourage of the English delegate. The women in the family, alarmed at the Jew's sudden disappearance, ran to the British consul's residence begging that he be released. The consul assured the women of his personal protection. The women would be cared for and the man would be released with no financial charges. The consul stated that, once in Mogador, the Jew would be relieved of his duties as soon as another interpreter could be found. The consul promised to protect the Jew from harm and insult and to pay him, if he cooperated. The women, placated, went home; the Jew was sent to Mogador as an interpreter and apparently returned home safely under British protection.[14]

Spain did not follow through with the peace agreement with Morocco and was at war again in 1791, when they bombarded the city. The Moslems responded by declaring a *Jihad* (holy war) against the Spanish North African enclave of Ceuta. The Spanish sent a flotilla to lift the siege of Ceuta by bombarding Tangier. Considerable damage was done to the Kasbah and to the ramparts.[15] Yeshaya Benamar of Fez and Gibraltar was the supervisor for the building of the new pier.[16] Sultan Mulai Yazid required that the Jews of Tangier sell all their household goods to pay for the war and the added protection needed by Tangier.[17]

At the time of this instability and strife in Tangier, the Sultan of Morocco, in 1778, became the first ruler to recognize the independence of the newly federated government called the United States of America. He sent a letter of greeting to General, now President, George Washington. The brief letter, in the style of a Royal Moroccan *Dahir* (decree), was written in Arabic. The American president turned to Isaac Pinto (1721-1791), a Moroccan Jew from Tangier living in New York City, requesting that he translate the letter and his response to the King of Morocco. The endearing words of the American president deeply touched

the Moroccan ruler. Consequently, in 1784, he allowed the Americans to purchase a plot of land in Tangier as their first permanent mission abroad. That mission exists today as the oldest piece of foreign property held by the American government.[18]

Jacob Attali, a businessman of Tunisian origin, was a protege of the Sultan Muhammed. In 1791, Sultan el-Yasid took over the throne. Attali lost his protector and was beheaded for his assistance to the previous sultan. Attali's brother escaped execution by converting to Islam.[19]

Isaac Pinto, called Azi Haqo, was Chief of Customs in Tangier. This position was an important one for a Jew who held *dhimmi* (lower class) status. Among the various groups, the Jews were literate, polyglot and trustworthy. When Isaac Pinto died, in 1792, the sultan confiscated all his belongings. Pinto's son was forced to sell his home in Tangier.[20] Abraham Garzon was appointed Chief of Customs replacing Isaac Pinto.[21]

In the same year, 1792, the European consuls met to discuss the sanitary conditions of the city. The Jewish community participated as an independent entity. The Spanish, French and other European communities of Tangier were also represented with their respective consuls. The participation in the Sanitary Commission gave the Jewish community special status.

The eighteenth century came to a close with a new appreciation of the importance and commercial value of Tangier. The Jewish community too began to appreciate its own contribution. The community consisted of approximately two hundred families.[22] They were headed by Chief Rabbi Moses Toledano, assisted by his two sons, Abraham and Joseph. Rabbi Abraham Toledano succeeded his father as Chief Rabbi and Moses Cohen became the chief *Shohet*. Unfortunately, a disagreement over the acceptability of a ritually slaughtered cow developed between the two religious leaders. Rabbi Cohen's family was among the original settlers of Tangier from Tetuan. The Toledanos had the support of other Jews, who like them, had migrated from Meknes.[23] The disagreement divided the community along lines of their origins, Meknes or Tetuan.

Until 1798, Tangier was under Tetuan rabbinic jurisdiction. The Jews of Tetuan openly sided with the native Tangierians. Rabbis from other Moroccan cities sided with the Toledano family. Still other rabbis appreciated that Tangier, by its growth, had achieved independence from the Tetuan rabbinate. Although the conflict remained active from 1798 until 1806, the decision of Toledano was accepted, leading to the rabbinical independence of the Tangierian Jewish community.

In 1798, as a consequence of the dispute, the community reached an agreement entitled *Askama*, written in Judeo-Spanish. The *Askama* was

translated into Judeo-Arabic and sent to the Jewish communities throughout Morocco. The *Askama* reads:

> Truly prior to this time the city had very few residents and needed but one cow slaughtered weekly. The ritual slaughterers would take as their payment, the head of the cow. The ritual slaughterers were then the Chief Rabbi Moses Toledano, of blessed memory, and Rabbi Solomon Cohen, of blessed memory. They received this amount because of the great public service they performed. When the Chief Rabbi died, his son Rabbi Abraham Toledano took his place and year after year continued this burdensome task. The public burden grew too great for Rabbi Abraham Toledano and he could no longer tolerate the demands of the community to adjudicate as rabbinical judge and hear each case. They then appointed Rabbi Moses Cohen to be the ritual slaughterer as well as Rabbi Joseph Toledano, the brother of the chief rabbi. They would perform the inspection of the animal and if there was any question then the Chief Rabbi would inspect. The two *Shohetim* would divide the pay in half. This held true even when the Jewish population of the city expanded. Rabbi Moses Cohen shared his payment with his father Rabbi Solomon Cohen, until the elder's death in the summer. We therefore gather together as members of this commmunity to put in order our internal affairs. The foundation of our community is based upon the teaching of Rabbi Abraham Toledano who spends a great deal of time in teaching the students of the Yeshiba, day and night. He is our rabbinical judge and authority. He has no other income. We are prepared to pay him and he has rejected the payment in order to remain perpetually objective. We therefore agree to take upon ourselves and our descendents in an inviolate agreement, that Rabbi Moses Cohen and Rabbi Joseph Toledano will share one half of the head of the animal in equal parts, and that the other half will go the Chief Rabbi. If the *Shohetim* do not agree to this arrangement, then we shall appoint others. We assume this upon ourselves and our descendents in a vow than can never be broken except by the agreement of one hundred rabbis. This is befitting our community, today Tuesday, 25 Heshvan 5558 (November, 1798) signed in Tangier by the householders and witnessed by Rabbi Mordechai Laredo and Rabbi Isaac Abecassis.[24]

The sixty-eight signatures represent nearly one-third of the households. The rabbis of Tetuan objected to this declaration of independence by the Tangierian community as did the Rabbinical Court of Fez. Siding with the Jews of Tangier were the Rabbinical Court of Rabat, Meknes and other Moroccan cities. It is not surprising that the Meknes rabbinate agreed, as the Toledano family was originally from there. It is equally not surprising that the Rabbinical Court of Tetuan objected to this breech of their discipline and control.[25]

The *Askama* was sent to all the communities in Morocco despite opposition of those supporting Rabbi Moses Cohen. Support for the *Askama* came from various Moroccan Jewish communities who believed that the

majority of householders had signed the document, although this was not accurate. The decision of the Jewish Community of Tetuan to accept this document and thereby establish the independence of the Jews of Tangier from Tetuan jurisdiction was signed by the *Bet Din* of Tetuan which included Menahem Nahon, Moses Levi and Moses Abensur. However, acceptance by the Rabbinical Court of Tetuan of Tangierian communal independence was not officially signed and confirmed until 1806.[26]

The Toledano family was thereafter entitled to their portion of the head of the slaughtered cow, an honor the family enjoyed for many years.

The battle for the head of a cow led to the recognition of the legitimate rights of Tangierian Jewry as an independent religious community in a major city rather than continuing to be considered a small subservient village. This recognition attracted other Jews from neighboring areas, including Tetuan, to move to Tangier, adding significantly to the growing Jewish presence.

The homes of the Jews during this period also display a sense of permanence. The doors were arched in the particular Moorish style. Fez porcelain was on the floors. There were red tiles and broad bricks which could not be worn down with time. There was very little furniture except for some divan type sofas.[27]

The Jews are described as wearing blue gaberdine, tied around their waists, slippers, no socks, and on occasion, barefooted. They wore small skullcaps and their hair was combed onto their foreheads and cut straight across. Their noses were hooked so that they resembled one another, as if they were from one family. The women were plump and pretty.[28]

The old cemetery was established in the fifteenth century during the Portuguese occupation. At the end of the eighteenth century, it was no longer in use. Narrow passages and the molestations by the local population made the approach to the older cemetery difficult. Abraham Serulla, the interpreter for the Danish Consulate, received permission from the Sultan to establish a second cemetery in the ruins of the old Portuguese fortifications and in the area occupied by carpenters and metal-workers, on Calle Portugal.[29]

CHAPTER TWO

Growth and Development, 1800-1850

The presence of European settlers and diplomats and the relative success of the port of Tangier attracted the migration of Jews and others into the city. In 1803, Moses Benchimol moved to Tangier and began to serve as an interpreter for the French legation.[1] In 1804, Aaron Tapiero opened a clothes emporium, although the Jewish population remained small, numbering only 800 individuals.[2] The Habous (property registry) of 1815 noted the land holdings of Menahem Abecassis and of Joseph Beriro.[3] In 1818, Isaac Abensur was instrumental in the control of one of the frequent outbreaks of plague in Tangier brought by returning Moslem pilgrims. His son, Aaron, was rewarded with British citizenship.[4] In 1819, Moshe Benasuli was appointed Chief of Customs for the Port of Tangier.[5] In 1820, Judah Benoliel was instrumental in rebuilding of the two existing synagogues in Tangier which had been destroyed by the Basha after he was called to intervene in a fight between two Jews.[6] Meir Cohen Ben Maqnin became Chief of Customs for the Port of Tangier in 1826. The following year, Maqnin was appointed the Moroccan Ambassador to Britain by Sultan Moulay Abd ur-Rahman.[7] In 1833, Rabbi Moshe Bengio succeeded his father-in-law, Chief Rabbi Abraham Toledano, as spiritual head of the Jewish community of Tangier.[8] This marked the transfer of religious leadership from the Meknes-born Toledanos to the Tangier-born Bengios. By this time the population of Tangier had reached 7500.[9]

One of the heroic figures of the Jews of Tangier was born in the early part of the century. The story, which occurred in 1834, is unusual in that the main character is a woman.[10] Her name at birth was Sol Hachuel.[11]

Sol was the younger of two children of Haim and Simha Hachuel.[12] At the age of 17, Sol was said to be a beautiful young woman.[13] The young girl resented being kept at home by her parents.[14] A neighbor named

Tahra de Mesoodi, planned to have Sol converted to the Islamic faith.[15] It is considered a Koranic principle to convert infidels, a particularly important feature in the Malikite tradition of the Moors.[16] Tahra denounced Sol to the Basha, Arbi Esiudo.[17] This denunciation included a falsified claim of Sol's conversion and subsequent reversion which spelled the doom for the Jewish girl.[18] Tahra had made a direct proposal to Sol to convert.[19] Sol rejected this advance "terrible propuesta me haceis, vecina (a terrible proposal you make to me, neighbor)."[20] The Basha Arbi Esiudo had Sol brought before him on charges that she actually wished to convert.[21] Based solely upon the testimony of Tahra, Sol was charged.[22] The court of Tangier consisted of the Basha sitting at the gate of the palace, accompanied by secretaries and military personnel charged with police duties. The accused had to remain in a kneeling position before the Basha.[23] Sol stated that she had never desired conversion. "Os han engannado Senor, contesto la joven Hebrea, yo jamais pronouncie semejantes palabras (Thou has condemned me my lord, answered the Jewish maiden, I can only pronounce my words)."[24]

Then for the first of three times, Sol pronounced the line which was to become her epitaph—*Hebrea naci y Hebrea quero morir* (A Hebrew I was born and a Hebrew I shall die).[25] The Basha in an attempt to resolve the case, enticed Sol with 1) protection from parental coercion, 2) wealth in the forms of silk and gold, 3) happiness, 4) threats of death for having converted and then relapsed, and 5) bribery.[26] Thus begins the first of two polemical discussions that Sol maintains with her captors.

Sol answers that first, she laughs at the anger of the prophet in that he cannot overcome the weakness of a female.[27] Secondly, the Jews have suffered because of their sins and not because Judaism is in any way inferior to Islam.[28]

Sol was detained incommunicado in a dungeon, lacking light, with an iron collar around her neck, her hands and feet chained. Only through bribery could she secure modest favors from the jailer.[29]

The distraught parents searched for some means to obtain her release. In a pattern to become usual for Moroccan Jewry, the Hachuels appealed to a European diplomat for security.[30] The Spanish vice-consul, Don Jose Rico, took an active role in trying to obtain the release of Sol but was unsuccessful.[31]

The Basha required that Sol be sent to Fez to permit the Sultan to deal with this problem. The Basha also required that the parents pay $40.00 for Sol's journey to the imperial capital at Fez and the fee for execution. Don Jose Rico gave the impovished Haim Hachuel the money without requesting interest, thereby allowing him to avoid 500 blows of

the bastinado for non-payment.[32] A Jew at this time had to pay even for his own death.

Within the palace compound to which Sol was conveyed, the second polemic took place.[33] The participants were the Jewish girl and the wife of the Emperor's son. Sol argued philosophically for the rejection of conversion by stating that it is natural to maintain one's belief. To convert therefore would be unnatural. The princess retorted that nothing is outside nature, not even the use of force. Sol countered that a domesticated lion is nonetheless a lion. The roots of the tree determine the nature of the tree. One's rearing determines one's belief. Religion is imprinted on the soul by nature, she said. The princess answered that Sol was contending that all religions are equal, therefore to substitute one for another was permitted. Sol responded that she had not stated that, but simply that each person was educated in their own faith to no one's fault. The princess rejected Sol's argument. The young girl said that both Jews and Moslems seek Him but by different paths thereby avoiding a blasphemous statement.[34]

The Sultan decided that the Cadi should prosecute and judge the case thus making it a personal religious matter.[35] The Jewish community made every effort to save her life.[36] The Hahamim (Jewish sages) were summoned by the Cadi. They were told by the Sultan that if Sol did not convert, she would be beheaded and the Jewish community would also be endangered.[37] The Hahamim tried to induce Sol to a pretense of conversion as a means of saving herself and the entire community. Sol, however, rejected this proposal, accepting death as her fate. The Hahamim reponded with a five point argument:[38]

1. The law requires that after God, we must respect the king.
2. The king has offered the Jewish community asylum in Morocco, therefore he deserves our respect.
3. God tolerates and pardons some evils which exist in the world.
4. The remainder of the Jewish community will be persecuted, and some will probably be murdered if she does not convert or at least make a pretense.
5. The rabbis acting as a tribunal gave Sol a rabbinical dispensation for any apparent conversion.

Sol was unmoved by the arguments of the rabbis and formulated her own response:[39]

1. The king in order to be respected should not violate the precepts of God.
2. God will protect her, her family and people, as He always has.
3. Glory is gained through acts of virtue, which include martyrdom for

one's faith.

4. The Arabs will be filled with shame and not venture again to try to forcibly convert Jews.

Sol refused even a pretense of conversion and was ordered by the Sultan to be publicly beheaded in one of the squares in Fez. As the day of the execution approached Sol reacted in typical Jewish fashion to persecution—prayer and fasting.[40] The execution was held on market day with masses of Arabs occupying the Soco (major market) of Fez.[41] Sol was dragged to the execution site although she was willing to walk there. The executioner brandished his sword two or three times over the head of Sol. Sol asked to be allowed to wash her hands and to recite the Shema prayer, which Jews pronounce before death. The Sultan had hoped to prevent an attack on the Jews and the arousal of Moslem fanaticism which might turn against him. He had instructed the execution to go slowly and perhaps at the last moment the girl would accept conversion thereby ending the drama. The executioner, upon the order of the Sultan wounded Sol on her neck rather than severing it. Upon seeing her own blood, Sol spoke her last words: pues, muriendo como muero inocente, el Dio de Abraham vengara mi muerte (I am dying as an innocent. The God of Abraham will avenge my death).[42] With that, Sol was beheaded for her adherence to her beliefs and religion. The Jews of Fez, who were very impressed by the sincerity of the Tangierian girl, paid to have not only her corpse and head collected for burial but also the blood-stained earth, as is customary in Jewish law. She was buried in the Jewish cemetery of Fez after being wrapped in linen cloth.[43] Later Sol Hachuel was given the appellation Hasadiqa—the saintly. Her grave is venerated by Jews and Moslems. As fate would have it, many Moslem women pray at the grave of Sol Hasadiqa to be blessed with such a daughter.

The story of Sol Hasadiqa reflects the uneasy status of the Jews as Dhimmi, outsiders to the Moslem faith and second class citizens. All activities were subjected to scrutiny. The Jews had four responses to their lack of political rights and security. First, bribery; second, prayer and fasting; third, appeal for foreign intervention and protection[44]; fourth, silent resignation to the consequences.

But on a broader scale, the incident of martyrdom of Sol Hachuel reflects directly on confrontation between the ruling authorities and the Jewish denizens. Anti-Jewish activity is customarily reflected in two ways: the Sultan in the role of protector, and the Arab masses in the role of persecutors. In a reversal of this pattern, Sultan Abd ur-Rahman II had his Cadi sign the death decree. It is clearly indicated that it was the ruler who had prepared and orchestrated the execution. Never in the entire episode were witnesses called, nor was testimony taken.

Expansion of the Jewish Community

The period was a perilous one for the Moroccan government. France had occupied Algeria in 1830 and the Moroccans were concerned for their own future. Until 1830, Morocco had no land borders with Christian countries. All relations between Morocco and the non-Moslem states were through sea ports of entry. These relations were administered by the office of the Wazir el-Bakr (Minister of the Sea). With the French sharing a land border, the foreign affairs of a frightened Morocco were administered by a Sultan-appointed official, the Naib, who was based in Tangier.[45] The occupation of a Moslem country by a European Christian country brought fear to a people who remembered former occupations. Limiting diplomatic legations to Tangier, which had a Jewish population at the time of 2000, was calculated to keep the foreign infidels from influencing life in Fez, the capital.[46] This meant that Tangier would be the port of access of the Europeans to Morocco. Based on this knowledge, in 1840, Moses Pariente opened the financial establishment Banque Pariente in Tangier.[47] The Jewish community grew stronger and became more attractive because of the concentration and limitation of the Europeans to Tangier. In 1842, the shipwreck of Sieur Marius Rey brought a large number of Jews to participate in the sale of the salvaged goods.[48] The large number of recorded Jewish participants in the sale indicates the degree to which the community had begun to enlarge and prosper.

The Battle of Islay

The French hoped to extend their influence over the entire southern coast of the Mediterranean. In 1844, a brief war began between France and Morocco when the French refused to pay tribute to the Sultan. The French under the Prince de Joinville sent a fleet of six ships, the Suffern, the Jemmapes, the Argus, the Rubis, the Triton and the Belle-poule, to the port of Tangier. The ships arrived at Tangier on 6 August 1844. The French first demanded that the city be handed over to their administration. The demand and the sight of the French fleet off the harbor sent a panic through the population. A Tangierian Jew, David Azancot, represented France in the negotiations, just prior to the bombardment.[49]

After the Naib refused to hand the city over as the price of sparing its citizens, the French commenced their bombardment. There were fifteen neutral foreign ships which witnessed the bombardment: two British and Spanish squadrons; one each from the United States, Denmark, Sweden and Sardinia. Edward Drummond Hay, the British Ambassador in Tangier, was able to prevent the Danish, Swedish and Spanish navies from entering the fray. However, he was unsuccessful in deterring the French.[50]

Bombs fell everywhere. Miraculously, those that fell upon the Jewish section of the city failed to explode and no one of the community was injured. Many, too, had left their homes in an effort to flee the battle zone. Equally miraculous, those Jews who had fled were not molested in any manner by the neighboring hostile Moslem population. The bombardment by the French fleet on 6 August 1844 and the miraculous salvation of the entire community from the hands of the French and the Moroccans is commemorated by the Jews in a special Purim celebration, customary for marking the salvation of a Jewish community from destruction. A special scroll was written and is to this day recited, entitled Megila de las Bombas (scroll of the bombs). The day was thereafter celebrated with great joy and the giving of alms and gifts to the children and poor. Purim de las Bombas is the second of the uniquely Tangierian Jewish celebrations, the first being the Purim de los Cristianos.[51]

The European powers utilized the Jews as highly praised interpreters and negotiators. In 1849, the maltreatment of French protege Abraham Bensadon, who refused to remove his shoes in front of the Mosque as was required of native Jews, almost led to a declaration of war against Morocco by the French minister in Tangier, M. de Chasteau.[52] The same year, David Ashriqui negotiated the treaty between Britain and Morocco.[53] In 1850, Moses A. Benchimol interpreted for the French minister, de Chasteau, before the Sultan of Morocco. For his efforts, Benchimol was rewarded in 1863 with perpetual protection for himself and his family.[54]

CHAPTER THREE

The Development of the Junta

The Jewish community at this time was headed by a Chief Rabbi as the religious authority and a *Sheikh el-Yehud* (leader of the Jews), as lay leader. The role of the chief rabbi was to hear religious cases and disputes and adjudicate according to Halakha (Jewish law). The major role of the *Sheikh el-Yehud* was the collection of the tax paid to the Basha. The tax was called the *Djizia*. Although the position of *Sheikh el-Yehud* was honorary and hereditary, it did carry with it a salary. When the *Sheikh el-Yehud* paid the tax, he received the traditional and compulsory slap in the face. The administration of the community was based upon agreement between the Chief Rabbi, the *Sheikh el-Yehud*, and several notables prominent by their standing in the community and their wealth. They were selected by the Chief Rabbi and the *Sheikh el-Yehud* for advice.[1]

In 1853, Chief Rabbi Moses Bengio died and was succeeded by his son, Mordehai. The Jewish community now numbered approximately 2600. Bengio realized the importance of the involvement of more than just a handful of individuals on an ad hoc basis. Consequently, Bengio requested certain individuals to meet on 9 May 1853 in order to elect an executive, hold regular meetings, and most importantly, to collect the *Djizia* tax. Bengio was not yet prepared to open the selection process to universal suffrage. Only these notables would vote for the executive. Upon convening, the group identified themselves in their first recorded minutes, the First Governing Junta of the Jewish Community of Tangier. Those selected were Haim Benchimol (an interpreter for the French Consulate), Isaac Nahon (a banker whose capital was derived from the wax industry), Pinhas Assayag and Isaac Laredo (journalists), Salomon Nahon (a banker), Abraham Laredo, Elias Serfaty, Reuben Nahmias, Ayush Benasuli (a prominent landowner listed in 1853), Moses Anidjar, and Joseph Amara. This first meeting dealt with two important items. First, was the election of an executive of the Junta which would lead the entire

Jewish community. Among themselves, these hand-picked members elected, by a simple majority, an executive board called *La Mesa* (the table). Haim Benchimol was elected president; Isaac Nahon, vice-president; Pinhas Assayag and Isaac Laredo, secretaries; and Salomon Nahon, treasurer. Isaac Laredo, the *Sheikh el-Yehud,* pointed out that the *Djizia* needed to be paid. But first there was a suggestion that a delegation be sent to the Basha to discuss with him the recent death of a Jew from a kick he had received from an Arab. In true oriental fashion, the Basha would have to be given gifts before he would hear the complaints of the Jews. A forthcoming holiday provided the natural setting for such a meeting. In this guise, the gifts would not appear to be bribes. It was decided that the delegation would consist of Abraham Laredo and Pinhas Assayag. The Junta adjourned.[2]

The most important task was fund raising to pay the *Djizia,* to act as auditors, tax-collectors, and bankers to insure that the proper sum was presented in a timely fashion to the Basha. The deficit of the *Djizia* payment was made up from a few wealthy communal leaders. The Junta selected the delegation to accompany the *Sheikh el-Yehud* to bring the *Djizia* to the Basha and be mocked and slapped in the face when he presented the funds.[3]

The humiliation and injustice which became a daily part of life for a Jewish subject of the Moroccan crown could be escaped only by the Jew who was a foreign subject or, at minimum, by a Jew who was under the protection of a foreign consul or government. Such a Jew could shed the traditional Jewish gaberdine and wear European garb thereby appearing to be a European and protect his person while on the street. The Tangerian Jew especially desired European protection because of the presence of the foreign consuls and the large colonies of Europeans residing in the city. Many Jews sought employment in the consulates as interpreters. Many Moroccan Jews were surnamed Trodjman, translator.

Unfortunately, the initial experiment of having a Junta did not succeed. Having performed one task, they ceased to function. Seven years passed before another effort was made to reconvene. During this period, Bengio led the community himself. Bengio's view of communal leadership was apparently shaped by the development of the Consistoire Israelite Centrale de Paris and the British Board of Jewish Deputies.[4] On Monday, 13 November 1860 (6 Marheshvan 5620), the first of the formal minutes of the new Junta record the decision Chief Rabbi Mordehai Bengio gave for reinstituting the governing Junta of the Jewish community.[5] The reasons for the reinstitution were given as follows:

1. Because the affairs of this community have been neglected.

2. To become like our brother European communities.
3. To establish governing regulations for the community.[6]

To this purpose, the rabbi selected the *Yehidim* (notables) to form a Junta again and elect an executive board. The meeting took place in the Rabbi Abraham Toledano Synagogue. Those selected by the rabbi to participate were: Messod Abecassis, Aaron Abensur, Joseph Ashriqui, Judah Assayag, Judah Azancot, Moses Nahon, Moses Pariente, David Sicsu, Jacob Toledano, and Joseph Toledano. These ten men formed the reconstituted Junta. They elected Joseph Toledano second president of the Junta; Moses Pariente, vice president and Aaron Abensur, secretary. These three men with the aid of the Chief Rabbi formed the executive. The term of office was to be for one year.[7]

Chief Rabbi Bengio also formulated a constitution to regulate the activities of the executive and the Junta. This constitution was entitled *"Reglas establisidas"* (Established Regulations) and served as rules for an orderly administration of the community's affairs and governance by the democratic Junta. The regulations are as follows:

1. The members of this Junta are to serve for a one year term. Every member of the Junta has the right to resign. The remaining (members of the Junta) can name those to fill the vacated places.
2. In the case of the absence of the president and vice-president, the members present at that time will determine who shall act as president and vice-president.
3. The four *Parnasim* (Wardens) of the religious societies which serve the *Kahal* (community) can participate in meetings. They include the Society for the Poor *(Aniyim)*, Messod Abecassis; Society for Sick Visitation *(Bikur Holim)*, Joseph Ashriqui; Burial Society *(Hebra de Guemellut Hasadim)*, Rabbi Joseph Toledano; Wayfarers Society *(Obrim ve Shabim)*, Rabbi Jacob Toledano.
4. The Junta is required to meet every *Rosh Hodesh* (beginning of the new month) regardless of whether there are affairs to consider or not. If there is an extraordinary cause they may meet earlier than the established time.
5. A quorum will be at least five members including the president or vice-president. Anything passed with less then five members present will not be enforceable.
6. If there is no unanimity, then a simple majority of votes will determine the outcome. The president can vote as one of the members of the Junta. In the case of a tie, the presiding officer shall vote to break the tie as the privilege of the presidency.
7. El Senor Haham Mordehai Bengio is invited to all meetings of the council and can participate in them.
8. The donations to the agent of the *Kollel* (institute of higher Talmudic learning) and those for the poor shall be overseen by the Junta governing

what becomes of these accounts.

9. In the meeting of the Junta and in the period between the meetings of the Junta, when a subscription is offered, they shall not discuss the amount that each will pay as part of the subscription.

10. No member of the Junta has permission to publicly communicate, for any reason, any of the decisions of the Junta. Therefore it is not appropriate for any member to communicate his opinion. *Ve sod Hashem Lereav* (Divine secrets are for those who fear Him).

11. The Junta shall keep a book to record all the minutes agreed to in session. All that was agreed to shall be registered and maintained. In this manner, our affairs and decisions will be in order and enforced.

12. The Junta will have a meeting room with chairs, tables, etc. and files for the notes and books of the Junta.[8]

This constitution provided for the orderly administration of the Junta. However, it did not provide for a system of suffrage outside the Junta nor did it adequately define who could appoint or elect the Junta. That power remained with the Chief Rabbi.

The meetings were often plagued by absenteeism. The major item on the agenda was the *Djizia*. There were also requests for funds from various charities. A subcommittee of Abensur and Ashriqui was formed to deal with the *Djizia*. The tax had not been paid in two years because of the Spanish-Moroccan War of 1859-1860.[9] The Jews had apparently hoped that the war would lead to a Spanish victory and the subsequent negation of the hated poll tax. However, the city of Tangier had remained under Arab control. David Sicsu and Joseph Ashriqui were delegated to speak to the Basha Caid Abbas Amkishit concerning the *Djizia* which had not been paid.[10] In keeping with traditon in Morocco, the Jewish delegation had first to present gifts to the Basha. The presents this time included:10 plunim of sugar, 3 pounds of tea, 2 short lengths of cloth, and one silk kerchief. The gifts had been presented by Sicsu and Ashriqui who had been accompanied by four others: Messod Benassayag, Rabbi Pinhas Toledano, Jacob Ashriqui, and Isaac Sicsu, the *Sheikh el-Yehud*. The Jewish delegation petitioned the Basha to use his influence with the Sultan to excuse the community from the *Djizia* because of the previous military difficulties. Unfortunately, said the Basha, the tax had to be paid.[11]

The following month the Junta had another meeting concerning the *Djizia*. A special committee was formed to collect the *Djizia* from the Jews. The sum agreed upon was 1600 ducats to be collected at a rate of 20 ducats per person capable of paying.[12] One month later they had raised all but 300 ducats, with a 100 napolean gift for the Basha. Joseph Toledano was nominated to deliver the *Djizia* under the customary treatment. The

committee was able to delay payment for two months, thus allowing the full sum to be collected.[13]

A constant problem was the availability, reliability and price of kosher meat. On a previous occasion, the communal dispute which ultimately concluded with the independence of Tangier's Jewish commmunity, dealt with the ritual slaughterers.[14] Much of the community's funding came from the sale of kosher meat since a tax was added onto the price of kosher meat by the community for its own revenues.[15] The process for slaughtering, preparing and delivering the meat to the butchers was regulated together as was the licensing of the *Shohetim*. The place of the slaughter, the matadero was also a concern for health reasons.[16] Since all Jews ate only kosher meat, price changes affected the entire community. The greatest concern was the cost of the meat, particularly immediately prior to Jewish holy days. Initially, Sr. Jovan, a Christian butcher, sold kosher meat. The meat was of poor quality and high in price.[17] In addition, the Jewish community had to appoint a religious supervisor since the meat was under non-Jewish control in the butcher shop and could therefore be considered non-kosher unless there was a permanent Jewish supervisor.[18] In November of 1860, Moses Nahmias was appointed to review the prices charged for meat and to institute a fine of 10 ducats for anyone trying to avoid compliance with the meat-tax regulations.[19] In December, Moses Nahmias proposed a reform to provide meat to the sick. However, there were constant problems between the Junta and the supervisor on one hand and the growing number of Jewish butchers among the immigrant Jews. Difficulties arose in the spring of 1861 with demands for greater compensation by Moses Nahmias.[20] In May 1861, the butcher Rahamim Benlisha complained about the attitude and activities of the butchers' supervisor.[21]

The Junta was able to raise funds from the following voluntary sources in addition to the meat-tax:

1. *Vayebarekh David* - During the daily morning service, it was customary for all present in the synagogue at the time of the recitation of this prayer to place a few coins in an alms-box that was passed among the congregants.[22]
2. *Nedabot* - (Hebrew: Voluntary offerings), personal pledges of charity usually offered by a congregant when he was honored by being called to the Torah on the Sabbath or festivals and which were redeemed during the week.[23]
3. Subscription - Individuals solicited funds from friends, relatives and acquaintances for charities not within the confines of the community or the communal organization. Some solicitations had the approval of the

Junta. The Junta attempted to centralize control of private solicitations and thereby ameliorate the demand for Junta funding of these charities.
4. Legacies - Individuals who had no children or heirs often willed funds or property to the community or to a specific welfare society.

The administration of these funds was initially left to the social welfare societies called *Hebrot*. Chief Rabbi Bengio urged the Junta to review the financial records of each society. This review led to strong disagreement and eventually to an open dispute with Joseph Ashriqui, head of the *Hebrat Bikur Holim* (The Sick Visitation Society, later the Hospital Fund).[24] Each society, particularly *Hebra de Guemellut Hasadim* (Burial Society) and the Hospital Fund, wanted their fiscal independence from the Junta. In December of 1861, a hospital food budget was presented to the Junta.[25]

Joseph Ashriqui, *Parnas* of the Hospital Fund asked for the help of Moses Ashriqui to secure the necessary funding. On a positive note the Rothschild family sent a physician to service the hospital.[26]

Messod Abecassis, warden of the Poor Fund read the will of Haim Jacob Benseloum, who left a legacy to the Junta to distribute to these societies. Nearly a month later the Junta decided on the division of the funding. Fifty per cent would go to the Poor Fund, 25% to the Hospital Fund, and the remaining 25% to the Wayfarers Society, *Obrim ve Shabim*. In return for the funds, the Junta ordered that the account books of each society be audited every three months.[27] Private welfare cases were also discussed and the Junta agreed to a special dowry request for five orphan girls.

The four societies presented their books to the Junta.[28] The Junta appointed the bankers Moses Nahon and Moses Pariente to the board of the Hospital Fund. The Junta found that regular contributions were down. Individuals were approached for donations to provide sufficient funding on an ad hoc basis. It was decided that each week two different members of the Junta would be chosen to be responsible for the collection of pledges.[29]

During the Spanish-Moroccan War of 1859-60, many Jewish families fled their homes for Tetuan and Gibraltar, leaving all their wordly goods behind. As they started to return and resettle, the Junta was faced with the growing and immediate problems of housing, feeding and clothing these now impoverished people in addition to other Jewish refugees from neighboring areas.[30] On 24 December 1860, another society was added under the community welfare system, *Malbish Arumim* (Society to Clothe the Needy).[31]

It was the responsibility of the *Parnas* of the Poor Fund to provide bread weekly before the Sabbath, called *Pan de la Jaluca* (bread dole) as

well as Matza for the Passover holiday. The large demand for funds for Matza for Passover 1861 and bread for Shabuoth of that year attest to the generally low economic status of a large number of Tangierian Jews.[32] In July, 1861, five petitions were submitted requesting a supplement to the charitable distribution.[33] During Sukkot of 1861, a special subscription amongst the Junta members raised 85 ducats for the emergency needs of the Poor Fund.[34]

In December of 1860, the Chief Rabbi complained in a letter to the Junta, that he too suffered from insufficient income. Consequently, the Junta agreed to increase Bengio's salary by 4 ducats monthly for the months of Tishrei (High Holy Days), Nissan (Passover), Adar (Purim), and Siwan (Shabuot), the months in which the major holidays occurred. In Tishrei and Nissan the Chief Rabbi would receive 40 ducats per month; in Adar and Siwan 30 ducats per month. For the other eight months, Bengio would receive 26 ducats per month. His salary therefore was 348 ducats annually.[35]

The president of the Junta was given an expense account from the communal funds, *Kupa de la Kahal,* in order to rent office space, buy furniture and maintain the communal office.[36]

A letter of thanks from the Jewish community in Tetuan for the aid given by the Tangierian Jews during the Spanish-Moroccan War was read in the Junta meeting in October, 1861.[37] The letter also indicates that the Jews of Tetuan did not have a communal organization nor a unified representation to the local authorities.

Letters were exchanged with Albert Cohen of the Consistoire Israelite Central in Paris and with Sir Moses Montefiore in London. One of the earliest activities of the Junta was to inform Montefiore of its formation[38], for which they won words of praise.[39]

Education

In November of 1861, the Junta requested an investigative report on the schooling of its Jewish children.[40] The Junta reviewed the school, often called the *Talmud Tora de los Aniim* (Religious school for the Poor), since the children came from homes where the parents, for the most part, could not pay tuition.[41] The previous May 1861, the Junta was advised of a grant of £80 to be allotted annually by the Moroccan Aid Society of London to be used for the salary of an English language teacher on the staff of the Tangier Jewish School. Albert Cohen of Paris also promised a French teacher.[42] In Tetuan, an Alliance Israelite Universelle (AIU) school was initiated in 1860 and opened 16 December 1862. The schools of the Alliance were maintained through the financing of Sir Moses Mon-

tefiore, Salomon Munk and Adolphe Cremieux. The support was a Jewish expression of the white man's burden shared by the major imperial powers, France and Britain. In order to ameliorate the poverty and cultural backwardness of Afro-Asian Jewry, the Western European Jews would educate these Jews in French language, the lingua franca of the day, and French culture.[43] The opening of the school in Tetuan made the Tangier Junta focus on its school.

In the Tangier School of 1862, the two teachers were Rabbi Joshua Toledano and Rabbi Mordechai Laredo. Some of the students lacked *Sisit* (fringe garments). Some had no *Tephilin*. The observations and recommendation were as follows:[44]

1. Two rooms in one locale. Each room housed thirty children. One teacher taught Bible.
2. The monthly salary was 18 ducats raised to 27 ducats.
3. The wardens of the school were to determine tuition and tuition education scholarships.
4. The teachers were to be responsible for the cleanliness of their rooms.
5. Children were to be provided with meals daily.
6. Two scholars, Chief Rabbi Mordechai Bengio and Rabbi Jacob Toledano, were appointed to be overseers of the school. They were obligated every *Rosh Hodesh* (new moon) to examine the students. The educational process was to be reviewed in six months.
7. All accords and school regulations were to be announced in the synagogues.
8. School subsidies were to be raised by donation on *Lag Baomer*, Purim and *Hoshana Raba*.[45]

The Junta decided that Tangier needed an institution of higher Jewish learning, a Yeshiba. This Talmudical academy would prepare rabbis and scholars while providing an opportunity for laymen to study traditional Talmudic texts. The Junta rented a house from Benchimol and obtained major private funding to advance this program. Judah Assayag was selected to be the *Parnas de la Yeshiba* (warden of the Yeshiba Fund). Moses Benchimol, dedicated to the projected Yeshiba would serve as co-warden. Individuals of the community were asked to pledge an annual donation in order to secure the funds necessary to meet the Yeshiba's expenses. A monthly stipend was to be paid to each scholar to sit, study the Talmud, and to teach whoever would walk into the Yeshiba. The scholars were: Chief Rabbi Mordechai Bengio (4 napoleons), Abraham Garzon (3), Moses Toledano (4), Eliahu Elmaleh (6), Samuel Pimienta (4), Moses Bengio (4) for a total of 25 napoleons monthly.[46]

The Transition of Power

By the meeting of 14 October 1861, one year had passed since the establishment of the Junta and its term had ended. The election of officers was from among the members of the Junta. Judah Azancot was elected the new, and third, president of the Junta. Moses Pariente was elected vice-president, a position he would long hold. Menahem Abecassis was elected secretary. Menahem Nahon and Moses Benchimol were added by Chief Rabbi Bengio, in keeping with his prerogative. The other members of this Junta were Rabbi Joseph Toledano, Messod Abecassis, Judah Assayag, Rabbi Jacob Toledano, David Sicsu, Joseph Ashriqui and Aaron Abensur. The Junta comprised thirteen members. Rabbi Jacob Toledano, who had been secretary, was elevated to honorary secretary and Salomon Laredo was employed at a salary of $2 monthly to keep the records of the Junta. However, there was a declining interest in the Junta as its novelty wore off and the community's problems continued to mount. Attendance at meetings dropped dramatically and Azancot began to urge for an expanded leadership or the removal of members who consistently failed to attend.[47]

At the January 1862 meeting, the Junta expressed its concern not only for the poor of Tangier but for their coreligionists in neighboring Tetuan. They decided to write to the American Consul in order to seek assistance ameliorating the situation of the Jews in Tetuan which had deteriorated with the withdrawal of Spanish troops from that city about a year earlier.[48]

Ritual Slaughterers

The problem of the *Shohetim* arose once again and occupied three months of meetings. There was concern that the *Shohetim* were not properly inspecting the brains and the kidneys of slaughtered cattle as they were obligated to do by Jewish law.[49] These discussions occupied three months of meetings. The Chief Rabbi was called in. The *Shohetim* wrote a petition signed by Rabbi Samuel Toledano, Messod Cohen, Majlouf Toledano and Joseph Toledano, claiming they were being harassed.[50] In July, 1862, the Junta dealt with the sale of non-kosher meat fraudulently labelled kosher. The Junta sent a proclamation to all the synagogues banning dealing in *Nebela*, non-kosher meat. Anyone opposed to the ban would be reprimanded by the Chief Rabbi.[51]

Abraham Marrache and Mimon Marrache objected to the insinuation that they were selling *Nebela*. The Chief Rabbi was insistent and issued a public statement. The Junta summoned the two Marraches and charged them with selling *Nebela*. The Chief Rabbi demanded that they be whip-

ped and fined. The Junta was uncertain that the fine could be obtained. The matter was dropped.[52]

External Affairs

Great concern was expressed by the Junta for the Jewish communities in neighboring cities. The Jewish community of Elkasr Kebir reported that on 5 May 1862, Arabs broke into and desecrated the synagogues. The community sent 17 Torah scrolls with 34 men, one to accompany each scroll and one to carry the scroll, to Tangier to put the Torah scrolls under the protection of Rabbi Bengio.[53] In Tetuan, several poor Jewish girls were induced to convert to Christianity. Their parents desperately tried to get them back from the Church. The Junta agreed to approach the Spanish minister to intervene.[54]

The Holy Land and the welfare of the Jewish communities there were of great concern to the Jewish community in Tangier. Donations were made to Jerusalem in the form of the *Nedaba de los Jasidim* (Donation for the Hassidim), as well as donations to Rabbi Israel Elyakim of Hebron and his *Kollel*.[55]

The year 1862 ended with the Junta expressing satisfaction with the work they had completed. Moses Nahon assumed interim chairmanship as the fourth president.[56] The death of Judith, Lady Montefiore on Rosh Hashana was marked by a letter of condolence and appreciation to Sir Moses for all the support and assistance he had given to Jews in various places. The *Dayan* agreed to deliver a sermon on the Sabbath in her memory and to write in Hebrew to Sir Moses.[57]

The *Parnas* of the Poor Fund, Messod Abecassis, began to take a more active interest in the Junta. As a result of an agreement with Esther, the widow of Haim Benseloum of Lisbon, the Poor Fund inherited 1000 ducats from Haim's estate. Abecassis reported that some individuals did not redeem their pledges made on Sukkot.[58]

Reform of the Junta

In 1862, the Junta began to be concerned with self-reform. The one year presidency of Azancot was characterized by absenteeism, lack of broad participation by Junta members and the lack of the necessary quorum to accomplish the business facing the community. There was no attempt to liberalize the election process nor to issue a call for universal suffrage. There was however the realization that control had slipped into the hands of a few individuals because of disinterest by the majority of the council members. In order to increase participation and make more people responsible for communal affairs, the board members agreed to rotate the presidency every month. One president would be succeeded

by his vice president and so forth until there would have been a new president for every month of the year. They agreed also to expand the name of the Junta in keeping with a growing awareness of their relationship with representatives of the European nations. The Junta would now be called *Junta Governativa de la Congregacion Hebrea de Tanger* (Governing Board of the Hebrew Congregation of Tangier). By lot, the order of the rotating presidency was determined: Aaron Abensur, Moses Pariente, Messod Abecassis, David Sicsu, Menahem Nahon, Joseph Toledano, Judah Assayag, Moses Benchimol, Jacob Toledano, Joseph Ashriqui, Moses Nahon, and Judah Azancot. Salomon Laredo would continue on as secretary.[59]

The Two Month Presidency of Aaron Abensur

Aaron Abensur, a banker and British subject, readily accepted his mandate as the fourth permanent president. He reviewed the political and economic situation of the Jewish community in Tetuan. He audited the school budget which was in great deficit and needed major funding. He organized the members of the Junta into teams of two to serve for six weeks who were empowered to collect outstanding debts to the school, generally unpaid tuition. He arranged for Sasson Azancot to slaughter cattle for export to Gibraltar to increase revenue by expanding markets for kosher meat produced in Tangier. Abensur dealt with the personal financial crisis of the yeshivero (a Judeo-Spanish term for a student/teacher at the Yeshiba) Abraham Garzon.[60]

Unfortunately, the financial crisis continued. Tangier suffered a recession and the effects were widespread. In December 1862, the *Parnas* of the Burial Society reported that the society lacked the funds to continue its work. The society would need permanent sources of funding and an organized system to collect funds. The Junta agreed to hold a public solicitation of funds on the fifteenth of Tebet and the fifteenth of Tammuz every year specifically for the Burial Society. Messod Abecassis opened the drive with a gift of 10 ducats and reminded the others of the urgent need for clothing for the poor as well. 25 ducats were donated.[61]

Only two months into the new reform of the Junta to the rotation of presidency, it became apparent that the system just would not work. There was a built-in lack of continuity and therefore diminished responsibility. The chaos resulting from the rotation had severely affected the fund raising efforts at a time when the general economy had stagnated. Judah Assayag felt compelled to resign as warden of the School Fund because of the budget deficit.[62]

Isaac Sicsu, the aging *Sheikh el-Yehud,* reported to the Junta that the Moslem authorities planned to react to the economic crisis by expelling

those Jewish families who were in very bad economic straits. The Junta agreed to meet with the various foreign ministers stationed in Tangier in order to negate the proposed action of the local authorities and to protect poor Jews from expulsion.[63] Some members of the Junta were reluctant to discuss these matters with the foreign consuls because they feared the authorities might contemplate a community-wide expulsion or it would belie the feelings of security of the Tangierian community. Nonetheless the foreign representatives were contacted. It was later reported to the Junta that the foreign consuls were prepared to be helpful and prevent the expulsion of poor Jews from Tangier. However, the consuls limited their help only to Tangierian-born poor Jews who could claim a birth right to remain. The Junta could do nothing to further prevent the expulsion of the foreign-born Jews, which was eventually carried out in the spring of 1863.[64]

During this period, the independent charitable organizations, started through the generosity of various private individuals, were formed without the consent of the Junta and the *Parnasim* of the other charitable funds. A particular disagreement developed with Salomon Abuzaglo (or Buzaglo). He founded the *Hebrat Hesed Ve Emet* (Society of Righteousness and Truth), a society for comforting mourners which in some ways duplicated the services of the more established Burial Society, *Guemellut Hasadim*. On 19 May 1863 and 2 August 1863, the Junta summoned Abuzaglo to appear before it. When Abuzaglo refused, the Junta sent Joseph Ashriqui to Abuzaglo to speak to him and arrange some kind of compromise.[65] But the members of the society were unhappy with the wording of the invitation to Salomon Abuzaglo. Subsequently, the Junta chose to exercise its authority by by-passing Abuzaglo and invited key members of the society to meet with the Junta. Abuzaglo then agreed to attend. The Junta began its investigation with reading the letters of invitation and the minutes of the meeting concerning the bookkeeping practices of the society. Moses Pariente asked Abuzaglo why he had not conformed to the request of the Junta. The Junta asked Abuzaglo whether he was or was not a *Pakeed* (official) of the society. Abuzaglo answered that he was not a *Pakeed* of the society but rather just a member of the society as was the Chief Rabbi. The Junta then publicly read the letter to Abuzaglo. They contradicted Abuzaglo by insisting that he was an officer and was responsible for the distribution of societal funds. Abuzaglo answered that he had no objection to the statement. Some people refer to him as the *Pakeed*. Others refer to him as the warden. Abuzaglo stated that he was unable to conform to all the requests of the Junta. The Junta announced that it would legislate regulations applicable to the society that would insure their own position of authority over all societies. The Junta again invited members of the

Hebra to a council meeting. The members of the society responded and attempted to clarify their situation by stating:

1. The members of the *Hebra* support the Junta and will submit a signed letter to that effect.
2. The activities of the society will be limited in scope to *Mismeret de Abelim* (death watch) and *Nahum Abelim* (comfort for mourning). The society will also be allowed to accompany brides to their wedding and provide for families who are unable to obtain funds from the Poor Society.
3. The members of the society will offer their accounts for scrutiny by the Junta.
4. Members of the society will open a synagogue to be called *El Bet Kenesset de la Hebrea de Hesed Ve Emet*.
5. Funds collected by members of this society will be used for this society only.
6. The Junta would allow the reorganization of the current society into a stronger organization.

Abuzaglo was effectively undercut by the direct negotiations of the Junta with the members of the society.

Another society was formed called *Hebrat Simhat Hatanim* (Society for the Rejoicing of the Bride and Groom), to enliven the wedding and to help the newly-weds set up their homes.

Isaac Sicsu, the *Sheikh el-Yehud* and secular head and traditional communal representative of the Sephardic community, had received a salary derived from the meat-tax. The elected president of the Junta presented a threat to his authority, since the president of the Junta had much real administrative power. The *Sheikh el-Yehud's* position was replaced by the president of the Junta although the rank of the *Sheikh el-Yehud* was not abolished. The Junta viewed the president as the communal leader. The *Sheikh* questioned the right of the Junta to control the meat-tax. Control of the taxation process meant ultimate communal power in the hands of the Junta rather than the *Sheikh*. Sicsu refused to surrender to the authority of the Junta. A delegation went to the home of the Basha to discuss the matter with the proper local authorities. The recognition by the Basha would mean the acceptance of that person or group as the authority of the Jewish community. The meeting consisted of the Basha, his second, the *Sheikh el-Yehud* and five members of the Junta. The Junta was represented by Messod Abecassis, Moses Pariente, Joseph Toledano, Moses Nahon and Menahem Nahon. Both sides presented their respective positions. The *Sheikh* stated that he held the traditional position which had been sanctioned by previous Bashas. The Junta argued that Sicsu was an employee of the Junta, paid through the meat-tax, and bound by the regulations of the Junta. Sicsu was being paid 5 onza per head of cattle slaughtered. The Basha agreed with the Junta.[66] This decision undermined

the importance of the *Sheikh*. The position deteriorated thereafter, becoming chiefly honorific. The Basha had recognized the president of the Junta as the legitimate head of the Jewish Community of Tangier. With this decision, the major internal opposition to the Junta ended.

The Jewish community in Arzila, a neighboring city, turned to the Junta in Tangier in August of 1863 for advice on the appropriate means to establish a community council as the Tangierians had established. The Junta drew up articles to serve as a constitution and had several leading community figures of Arzila sign the document. The areas of concern covered in the articles included the payment of the *Djizia* tax, communal internal affairs, and relationships with the local authorities.[67]

In the meantime, one of the major goals of the Junta, to have a quality school, was not met. While the Alliance Israelite had opened a school in Tetuan, the Tangierian school floundered. The Junta estimated that the start-up funding would be $900 as there were between 80 and 100 poor children which the school would have to teach.[68] Again the Junta turned to Rabbi Joseph Toledano and Moses Nahon to supervise the reorganization of the school. *Rosh Hodesh* (new month) Kislev (December 1863) was the projected date for the opening of the new and improved school.[69] In the interim, Toledano and Nahon were expected to find a suitable locale and prepare it for a school, employ *melamdim* and teachers (male or female), enroll the children of the poor and determine tuition fees on an individual basis.[70] The parents were advised by synagogue announcement to contact either Toledano or Nahon if they wanted to enroll their children. All registration was to be completed within two weeks to allow two months for the adequate preparation of the staff and facility. Toledano and Nahon accepted the responsibility provided that their obligation ended one month after the school opened. On 17 October 1863, Moses Nahon, as acting principal, projected a budget of £350 and the immediate allocation of £100 start-up money. The Junta felt that they must reject the Board of Deputies annual offer of £80 as insufficient.[71]

However, the opening of the school was postponed because of two major events which occupied the Junta's attention and prevented the Junta from fully utilizing its energies for education. First, a major dispute developed with Judah Assayag over control of the funds of a society that he had founded. Assayag claimed French citizenship on the basis of his birth in Oran, Algeria, which had fallen to the French. As a French citizen, he claimed exemption from the authority of the Junta. The Junta wrote to the French minister to upstage Assayag and bring all Jews, even those with foreign protection, under their jurisdiction. Failing to gain French support for their argument, they wrote to the consul a second time. Aaron Abensur, a British subject visited with the British consul, Sir John Hay

Drummond Hay, seeking to obtain his advice and intercession with the Sultan against possible French support for Assayag. The Junta was successful with the result that foreign Jews were also under the jurisdiction of the Junta, even though they were not under the jurisdiction of the Sultan.

The Safi Affair

On 30 July 1863, Senor Montilla, the *recaudador* (tax-collector) in Safi, died suddenly after a brief illness of three to five days. The Spanish vice-consul, suspecting foul play had Montilla's Jewish servant arrested, a fourteen-year-old named Jacob ben Yuda Accan, a native of Mogador. The charges were murder. Accan was bastinadoed.[72] The Spanish vice-consul promised Accan leniency in response to a detailed implication of other Jews. Accan, under torture, named Eliahou Lalouche who in turn was tortured in an even more gruesome manner. Accan and Lalouche recanted their confessions only to be lashed once again. The men incriminated two other Jews, Maklouf Aflalo and Saido.[73]

Accan had stolen a pistol and a watch during the illness of Senor Montilla. Lalouche, married, the father of two, and the sole supporter of his blind father, was accused of conspiracy in the death of Montilla. At one point a pregnant woman who had sold milk to Montilla was also arrested but later released. The families of the accused demonstrated in front of the mosque for their release, to no avail. When Lalouche escaped briefly, his family was imprisoned and lashed. The French vice-consul, Gambaro, acting on behalf of the British consul Carstensen who was out of town, handed the escapee over to the Spanish vice-consul. The Spanish official pressed the Cadi of Safi to sentence Lalouche to death. Cadi Mohammed ben Abdeljalek seemed reluctant. The Spanish minister pressing the case was Merry y Colon.[74] The Chief Rabbi of Safi, Rabbi Saadia Rebboh, visited Accan in prison.[75] Rabbi Rebboh revealed that Accan had been compelled to confess. The Chief Rabbi appealed to the Cadi with the plea "Does the law of the *Ulama* of Morocco decree death to all Jews?" The Cadi was under pressure from Merry y Colon who had sent a message to the Sultan demanding the death penalty. When Accan and Lalouche were to be executed, the Moroccan minister in Tangier reported that these Jews were to be executed by the order of the Sultan in accordance with the decree of the *Ulama*.

On 14 September, Accan was beheaded in Safi without the benefit of a trial. Rabbi Rebboh was not permitted to attend to the boy nor to help him recite the *Shema*.

Lalouche was sent to Tangier at the request of Merry y Colon and publicly executed on 13 September 1863 without the benefit of a trial. Lalouche protested his innocence until the very end. He died reciting the traditional Shema prayer. Maklouf Aflalo and Saido were also executed

without the benefit of a trial.[76] The Moroccan rulers enforced the *Dhimmi* status, even as the Jews of Tangier were evolving into a more cosmopolitan population. The role of Merry y Colon became clearer in a later but related event. Several months later, two young Tangierian Jews, Elkaim and Benarosh, accidently splashed mud on the Spanish minister's Moslem servant. When the Moslem threatened them with punishment, they taunted him by saying "Are you going to kill us as you did the Safi Jews?" One of the Jews was immediately bastinadoed and both were imprisoned, at the demand of the servant of the Spanish official.[77] When Merry y Colon heard the details of the incident, he had both Jews returned to the scene and given several hundred lashes. Merry y Colon insisted that these Jews not be released until they changed from the European clothing they were wearing into the more traditional Moroccan Jewish garb. Apparently, he was personally prejudiced against the Europeanization of the Jews.[78]

David Serusi of Safi wrote to Moses Pariente, the vice-president of the Junta, to intervene on behalf of these Jews. The Junta, wanting to be certain of the details, investigated the case and found that Lalouche had a claim to British citizenship. They had good relations with Sir John Hay Drummond Hay, who was well liked by the Jews, and they did not want to jeopardize those relationships for a case already lost. They also chose not to reveal that Lalouche had not been given British protection by Drummond Hay. Moses Pariente, as acting president at the session of 19 September 1863, after Rosh Hashana, began the meeting with a discussion of the "repulsive and contemptible event which happened on Sunday 13 September past. A Jew from Safi was publicly executed in the Soco by order of His Majesty the Sultan, who was asked to do so by the Spanish Minister for the accusation of committing a crime. The accused served the Spanish recaudador in Safi. A second Jew was executed in Safi for the same crime. Two others were imprisoned in that same city."[79] The Junta decided not to allow this outrage to pass in silence. They agreed to seek assistance by presenting the case to their European brethren, the British Board of Deputies of the Jews in London, to the Alliance Israelite Universelle in Paris, and to the Consistoire Central de Paris. Three weeks later they received response from Sir Moses Montefiore. He deplored the circumstances and referred it to the British government requesting assistance for those who remained imprisoned.[80] Letters were received from Albert Cohen of Paris in which the Baron de Rothschild wrote to the foreign minister.[81]

One critic of the Junta wrote "Do not depend on the gentlemen of the Junta. They do not posses the energy or unanimity so much required. They are full of dread lest they should come into collision with one or the other government."[82] However, the record reveals a willingness of the

Junta to act even in uncertain times. The Junta had yet to learn its own strength and to have sufficient self-confidence.

The British minister Sir John Drummond Hay disliked Merry y Colon and once wrote that Senor Merry would require the entire Jewish population as a sacrifice. It was through the efforts of Sir Moses Montefiore when he visited Morocco that Elkaim and Benarosh were finally released in November 1863. Sir Moses was also able to obtain a reconciliation between Drummond Hay and Merry y Colon.

These events, which precipitated greater contact between the Junta and the foreign consuls, gave the Junta a sense of its own importance. The Junta was the formal representative of the Jews as the consuls represented their own nationals. Thus the Jews of Tangier, through the Junta, were able to deal successfully with the diplomatic corps as an autonomous entity. The special relationship which individuals had with the embassies either through personal friendships between local Jews and the consuls or because of the employment of Jews by the various legations, enhanced the sense of importance Tangierian Jews had from the rest of Moroccan Jewry. Many Jews in Tangier held foreign passports or were able to obtain protege status. As proteges of the foreign missions these Jews were protected by the foreign powers. They were exempt from many restrictions placed upon native Jews including the wearing of a black gaberdine *djelaba* (native hooded cloak) which publicly marked the Jew. This possibility of protection or citizenship gave the Tangierian Jews an added sense of their own international importance even though the majority remained Moroccan subjects. The Tangierian Jews could extend their international connections by contacting not only the local foreign representatives but the vice-consuls located in other Moroccan cities to help local Jews. In this manner, the Tangierian community began to feel a responsibility for the welfare of other Moroccan Jews while serving as the foreign relations liaison for all Moroccan Jewry. Consequently, in September 1863 when there were difficulties in the town of Mazagan between the *Khalifa* of Mazagan and the Jews of that city, the Jews complained to the Junta of Tangier about the harassment and insults heaped upon them. The Tangierian Jewish community wrote to Carlos Mortia, vice-consul of both Italy and Portugal as well as to Alfred Redman, the American vice-consul for an investigation of the events, thereby embarassing the authorities in Mazagan into improving the situation.[83]

Because of the Safi affair and his contacts with the Tangierian Junta, Sir Moses Montefiore decided to visit Morocco, in 1864. He was immediately successful, even before coming, in obtaining the release of two of the Jewish prisoners from the Safi affair. As a result of his visit, Montefiore obtained a Royal *Dahir* granting protection to the Jewish subjects

of the Sultan.[84] In March 1864, the copy of the *Dahir* received by the Basha of Tangier was read publicly. Local authorities reacted negatively to the *Dahir*. The Basha of Tangier and the Khalifa of Tetuan marked the occasion on the *Id de Ramadan* (the date marking the end of the month long daytime fasting) to demand the *Djizia* and presents from the Jews.[85]

The reaction of the local authorities towards the *Dahir* did not affect the newly acquired self-confidence of the Junta. They arranged for Jewish delegations to pay courtesy calls on various foreign legations particularly Portugal and Italy. They added two new members to the Junta, Messod Benassayag and Haim Bendelac, who had connection with the Netherland consulate. This raised the Junta membership to thirteen. The Junta raised funds for additional synagogues since there was an increase in the Jewish population. With a contribution of £300 from Sir Moses Montefiore, they began to plan for a girls school which would teach Spanish, Hebrew writing, and sewing. Dr. Hodgkins, the personal physician who accompanied Montefiore to Morocco, observed the Jews. He found that they wore a blue gaberdine. Many of them were laborers but some were wealthy. The women were under no restraint at parties. They wore eye make-up and black nail polish. Their dresses were rich and decorated with emeralds and jewels.[86]

Democratic Reforms

The members of the Junta agreed among themselves to increase their accessibility to the general Jewish community. The following reforms were undertaken:

1. The *Actas* (minutes) of the Junta were to be open to anyone who wished to review the activities of the Junta.
2. The *Sala de la Junta* (board room) was also to be opened once monthly, on *Rosh Hodesh,* to allow the general public to review the activities of the Junta.
3. All board members were to attend all board meetings which would be held every Thursday evening at the sounding of the *Magreb* (the Islamic call for evening prayers). A fine of five *duros fuertes* (ducats) per calendar year would be levied on anyone who was absent from meetings.
4. Meetings were to have set agendas and the entire session would be limited to two hours duration.
5. Members were prohibited from resigning during the first year of their appointment. Resignation would be acceptable only if submitted in writing.
6. The thirteen member board would not be allowed to add additional members.[87]

These reforms were scheduled to take effect beginning the *Rosh Hodesh Nisan*. The reforms were signed by ten Junta members. The purpose of

these reforms was the public scrutiny of the activities of the Junta and the enactment of a fine for the failure to obtain a quorum. The Junta presented the new regulations together with a copy of the Royal *Dahir* obtained by Sir Moses Montefiore to the Basha.[88] Faced with both a strong centralized governing board of the Jewish community and royal support, the Basha agreed to comply with the contents of the *Dahir*.

To insure public safety of the Jews, the Junta established a Committee on Public Order (vigilencia) under the control of the Junta with the authority to maintain the public good. The committee had four members—two from the Junta (Menahem Nahon and Haim Bendelac) amd two from the community at large (Moses Ashriqui and Raphael Benattar).[89] Isaac Sicsu headed the committee in his role as *Sheikh el-Yehud*. The committee list was sent to the Basha, to all the synagogues and to the diplomatic corps. The Junta would now protect the Jews or at least attempt to do so.[90]

In Tetuan, the local board was not as successful or forceful as the Junta of Tangier. The ruler of Tetuan summoned the Tetuani Junta and twenty other Jews and reported that he had a letter from the Sultan which gave him the right to jail them, whip them and take money from them as before. The Junta reported that this would be contrary to the Royal *Dahir* of the Sultan obtained by Montefiore. They asked the governor therefore to retract what he had said. On the following day the Basha summoned the Tetuani Junta and apologized, promising future security for the Jews. The Tangierian Jews, upon learning of the change in attitude, felt that they had helped to ease the tensions in Tetuan by their discussions with foreign consuls.[91]

Resolution of the Assayag Conflict

By now, the Tangierian Junta had consolidated its power within the community and external to it. The only dissent involved Judah Assayag and the *Rodeph Sedaqa va Hesed* Society (seekers of righteousness and charity). Assayag claimed that as an Algerian he was entitled to French protection from the Moslem and Jewish authorities.[92] A compromise was eventually worked out by Joseph Ashriqui. Half the income of this society would go to the proposed school for poor girls. The other half would be given to the *Moher Betulot* Fund (dowry endowment). Assayag was to collect the half-shekel Purim charitable contribution in his synagogue, the Assayag Synagogue. The funds would be given to the *Parnas* of the Poor Fund. The Junta agreed to the compromise and Assayag was reinstated as a Junta member. The Junta, in a display of its authority, appointed Assayag to be the director of the *Rodeph Sedaqa Va Hesed* Society, the very same society which Assayag had independently created. In this manner, the Junta allowed Assayag to head the society while demonstrating that only they could legalize such communal initiatives.

Internal dissent ended with Assayag's compliance.[93] However, thirty subscribers of the society objected to the agreement because the funds had not been collected for the purposes specified in the agreement.[94] The objections were denied. The Junta had exerted its power.

Consular Recognition of the Junta

The foreign consulates also recognized the authority of the Junta in Jewish affairs. In April 1864, the French legate referred a dispute to the Junta between M. Sarmon and Shemtob Cohen concerning a *Hazaqa* (squatter's rights) held by Sarmon.[95] Both parties finally agreed to let the Junta rather than the French minister decide the case.[96] The Junta began a diligent investigation. A house had been bought by Shemtob Cohen from Isaac Gabbai. But Sarmon, who had the supporting testimony of Abraham Garzon, had a lien against the house. Garzon told the Junta that the widow of Isaac Gabbai had borrowed 21 ducats for thirty years to the benefit of her orphaned daughter. The Junta castigated Shemtob Cohen for going to the French legate. Judah Assayag, sensitive to the similarities with his case, reacted to castigation by resigning in sympathy with Shemtob Cohen. This new friction threatened to destroy the Junta. The remaining members asked the *Dayan* to intercede to preserve the Junta. The Chief Rabbi invited Cohen to serve on the Junta. He refused the honor but allowed the case to be dropped. The *Dayan* had successfully defused the incident.[97]

Internal Affairs

With the authority of the Junta now confirmed by the Sultan in his *Dahir*, by the Basha in his actions, by the diplomatic corps and by the general Jewish community, the board was able to turn to affairs which continued to plague the community. The conduct of the *Shohetim* required review. A delegation of *Shohetim*, Rabbis Samuel Toledano, Messod Cohen and Majlouf Toledano, said that the Customs Authority of Gibraltar, which imported meat for its Jewish community directly from Tangier, prohibited the inspection of the kidneys as demanded by the Tangierian Jewish regulations. The regulations agreed to by the *Shohetim* and the Junta required the slaughterers to check the brains and the kidneys as well as the lungs when cattle were slaughtered. They could not, they stated, assume the responsibility for checking the kidneys because of variations in the customs laws. The Junta allowed for an exemption of animals slaughtered for export to Gibraltar.[98]

The butcher shops had to be put in order as well. In July 1862, an accord was reached with the butchers who were organized into a guild. This guild of kosher butchers included Abraham Laredo, Joseph Bengio, Rahamin Benlichoa, Judah Pinto, Messod Arruah, Salomon Cazes, David

Azulai and Joseph (Yusuf) Malka.[99] The butchers would pay one onza to the *Sheikh el-Yehud* as part of the traditional meat tax distribution. One butcher would represent the guild before the Junta and convey to the rest of the butchers the decisions of the Junta.[100]

The communal school opened on 9 March 1864 at a ceremony which included Moses Nahon and the British consul, Mr. Reade. The opening was delayed to allow for the arrival of Prof. Bernard Levy of Paris as a teacher. His appointment had been arranged through the Alliance Israelite Universelle. Daily prayers were established at the school and two Torah scrolls were placed in its chapel. The school board consisted of Moses Nahon as president, Rabbi Jacob Toledano as vice-president and Mordechai Laredo as secretary. The understanding was that the school board would report monthly to the Junta.[101]

In September 1864, with the school in session, M. Levy, the French teacher found that the Jews had no birth records other than the records of individual *Mohelim,* the ritual circumcisers. The *Mohel* would keep a private record of the circumcisions which he had personally performed. The *Mohel* was requested to keep records of all circumcisions, which allowed for documentation of the birth of males but not females.[102] The school therefore was unable to place individuals in specific grades when they enrolled, for many did not know their birth date. The school was under British protection since the initial seed money for the school came from a grant by the British Board of Deputies. At the suggestion of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, based in Paris, the French extended their protection as well. The French however did recognize that the Jewish school in Tangier was under British protection as well as their own.[103] However, parents continued to fail to make tuition payments. Consequently, the Junta had to assign the donations made in the synagogues on the major holidays, for use by the school. The school payroll was often not met and the teachers wanted not only their salaries but also increments since the salaries were so minimal.

External Affairs

The supervision of the school board had to wait, however, for the successful action of the Junta in national and international arbitration led individuals, societies and other communities to appeal to it for assistance. Cases which previously would have been adjudicated in the rabbinical tribunal were now submitted to the Junta. Appeals for salaries, raises, increments in stipends and subsidies crowded the agenda. Every letter received attention from the Junta. Potential converts from Algeria, who sought refuge in Tangier, were given financial assistance and intercession with the French minister for protection from Moslem law.[104]

The communal deficit continued to mount.[105] 302 napoleons debt remained from the visit of Montefiore.[106] Some of the notables made personal pledges to defray the expenses of the visit. The total pledged came to only 277 napoleons, short by 25. Judah Azancot who, while a member of the board, had pledged the other 25 napoleons, was no longer a member of the board, and felt no obligation to pay the debt. A delegation of two prominent members of the Junta was sent to speak to Azancot. He continued to refuse to pay. Azancot offered to redeem his pledge by making a donation to the Poor Fund, but not to the Junta.[107] The Poor Fund always needed assistance. The Junta then agreed to cover the remainder of the expenses themselves.

Other communal responsibilities needed attention. Because the municipal matadero was not the property of the Jewish community, there was often a mix of kosher and non-kosher meat products. The *Shohetim* agreed to slaughter only in the communal matadero. A committee was formed of Joseph Ashriqui and Rabbi Joseph Toledano who were empowered to buy and prepare a site for a new matadero. The expense of this venture would be shared equally by the Poor Fund and the Hospital Fund, which procured meat for distribution. The butchers agreed not to sell non-kosher meat to Jews and to sell non-kosher meat only to gentiles who agreed not resell it to the Jewish poor. There would be a fine of 25 ducats to the Poor Fund for any violation. All meat would be delivered directly from the matadero to the butcher with a *Shomer* (a watchman) accompanying every delivery. If a *Shomer* did not accompany any delivery, the meat would be deemed *Nebela* but must be paid for. Anyone who sold meat without the payment of the *Tabahot* would face a fine of 10 ducats.[108] The most pressing problem continued to be the reliability of the kosher meat supply. Menahem Nahon and Haim Bendelac submitted to the Junta a claim against the butchers Rahamim and Levy who were selling meat without the appropriately affixed rabbinical seal. The butchers were fined ten ducats for the poor and 3 onzas (1 ducat = 10 onzas) for the *Amatezin*, the Moor in charge of the meat processing. The Junta warned that the failure of the butchers to pay the fine would cause the perpetrators to be sent to jail.[109]

Rabbi Joseph Toledano reported that the Society for Wayfarers needed funds for Eliyahu, the grandson of Rabbi Haim Diwan. Mrs. Jacob Basrour of Oran needed funds to ransom her two daughters from their Arab captors. Funds were raised in the Junta by its members.[110] Rabbi Moses Toledano was also helped on his way to settle in Israel. He had made an excellent impression during his visit to Tangier. The migrating rabbi asked no help yet he was offered assistance.[111]

In July 1864, The Junta was asked to investigate the sudden disappearance of two Jewish merchants from Elkasr Kebir. David Gozal made his appeal personally to the Junta. His two sons, Yahya (age 30, married with two sons) and Abraham (age 22) had travelled to areas around Elkasr Kebir to peddle. They had slept Tuesday night in the home of an Arab named Ariwas Tlini of the Majada tribe. Tlini owed them 500 ducats. When they left, they took a short cut and they were attacked by Jalil Meslasi, with six others including Tlini. All seven were later arrested by Haj Ali, the mayor of Larache. There was no further investigation nor action taken. The father requested that the Junta find out if his sons were still alive. The Junta agreed to speak to the Spanish, Italian and British legations as well as the Moroccan minister in Tangier, Mohammed Bargash.[112]

Just as Gozal had asked the Tangierian Junta to intercede with local and foreign legations, the Chief Rabbi of Mogador asked the Junta to intercede with foreign Jewish boards to protect the Jews of Mogador. Joseph Yaish Amselem was sentenced by the Khalifa of Khasa, Si Li Husan, to so many canings that he died. When the Jews took his body for burial the Khalifa decided to desecrate the corpse with repeated canings. The Junta of Tangier wrote to the British Board of Deputies (London), to the Alliance Israelite Universelle (Paris), to the Conseilo di Ebraicos en Italia (Farano) and the Council of Delegates of American Hebrews (New York City). The Junta also wrote to the local governor and asked for an indemnity of 2000 ducats for the family.

Letters arrived from other Moroccan Jewish communities. *Dayan* Moses Attia and Board President Isaac Benzacar of Safi wrote about the imprisonment of two Jews. Letters arrived from Azenmour concerning the beating of Ohayon. In response to each appeal for intercession, the Junta spoke to the English, American, Spanish and Moroccan diplomatic legations.[113]

Hospital Reorganization

The British consul Thomas Reade was concerned with the lack of adequate hospital space. The Jewish hospital met in Holland House and functioned by the decree of the Sultan rather than by standardized regulations. This facility served as a rudimentary Jewish hospital, the only one of its kind in Morocco at the time. Joseph Ashriqui, *Parnas* of the Hospital Fund *Bikur Holim*, recommended to the Junta that the hospital be reorganized with the following conditions:

1. The hospital shall accept all patients for either medical or nutritional care as well as use its services for home care at the discretion of the *Parnas* of the Hospital Fund and the *Parnas* of the Poor Fund.
2. The hospital shall be responsible for beds, linen, etc.

3. The hospital will need to hire a doctor, preferably French.[114] If a French doctor is not available, or too expensive, then they may hire a Spanish doctor.
4. The *Parnas* of the hospital fund shall open a special account.
5. No one can be employed by the hospital without the approval of the *Parnas*.
6. The hospital is to be fiscally responsible to the Junta and the *Parnas* is charged with reporting the accounts to the Junta.
7. Donations pledged at the Torah reading are to be paid directly to the *Parnas* of the Hospital Fund.
8. Any stranger who is ill, regardless of religion, is to be admitted to the hospital.
9. One thousand francs is the estimated cost of starting the hospital. The Junta authorized these funds in order to expand the hospital services by finding an appropriate location rather than their current facility. This was the facility which would become the first Jewish hospital.
10. Two members of the Junta are to visit the hospital every month and are to submit a report to the Junta.[115]

The Junta members held regular meetings with the European, American and Moroccan diplomats to discuss events in the lives of Moroccan Jewry. The Jews of Tangier developed a superior attitude toward the local Arabs because of their relationship to the foreign legations. The Jews of neighboring Elkasr Kebir wrote to the Junta asking that the Tangerians Jews act more kindly towards the Arabs because of the consequences for Jews in other cities.

Financial problems again developed in December 1864 when the Basha demanded the payment of the *Djizia*. The uncertainties of the period affected the government fiscal needs which relied heavily on Jewish money to pay for the troops which kept it in power and its other municipal needs. The funds, derived from the tax on slaughtered animals, were held by Rabbi Jacob Toledano, for fourteen months, to the sum of 10,437¼ onzas with which to pay the *Djizia*. Toledano had used $130 to buy the land for the Yeshiba de Talmud Tora, the balance in the account was to pay the Djizia.[116]

These demands for finances required the Junta to produce a budget for the first time since its inception four years earlier. The budgetary meeting of December 1864, four days before Hanuka, was by invitation only. Five members attended: Messod Abecassis, Moses Pariente, Rabbi Joseph Toledano, Rabbi Jacob Toledano and Moses Nahon. The available funds were reported as 12,505¼ onzas to include the following:[117]

Expenses for the *Sheikh* for 14 months at $70	2450
Correspondence of the Junta 7 months at $2 and 5 months at $4	1190
Salary of assistant to the Junta	464½
Rent for the Board Room at 4½ napoleons	2085½

Gifts to the Basha on three occasions	3783¾
Complimentary gift to the Basha	218
Wedding gift to the Basha	28
Salomon Laredo's office expenses	145¾
Talib (learned Arab scribe) for translations	274¾
M. Sarmon for French translations	385
Presidential expenditures by Messod Abecassis	400
Paper and envelopes	10 nap
Talib for Arabic translations for Abecassis	3.13
Postage	5.2 nap
Expenses for Salomon Asbot 13.13	1080½
	12,505½

Messod Abecassis, Moses Nahon, Moses Pariente, and Haim Bendelac, met with the Basha and paid the *Djizia* of 10,000 onzas. They had given the Caid Mohammed ben Abdelkarim Bodari 1000 onzas, Khalifa Si Abdelmalek 200 onzas, the scribe 50 onzas, Massuri 25 onzas, Maghzania 68 onzas.[118] They had to pay an exchange rate fee to the Basha of 228¼. A total of 11,581½ onzas were paid at the time of the Djizia. This money was obtained from the meat tax *(Tabahot)* held by Jacob Toledano. Toledano reported the fiscal situation from the *Tabahot* funds as follows:

Income from meat tax	22,942½
Surplus from previous year	1,144¼
Total income	24,086¾
Operational expenditures	12,505½
Djizia and related cash gifts	11,581½
Total expenditures	24,086

There was an obvious need to have some financial reorganization.[119]

Financial Arrangements with the AIU

The negative fiscal situation of the Junta created a problem in the communal school finances. Parents were unable or unwilling to pay the tuition. This created a fiscal crisis prompting the authorities to threaten to dismiss children from classes. Teachers were also underpaid and overworked. The Junta agreed to give a 6 franc end of the year bonus to M. Levy for his dedicated service to the school. The community funds were exhausted by the need. Consequently, on 19 December 1864, when the AIU offered 500f as an annual subvention for the school for three years, the Junta gratefully agreed. The funds were to be used to rent a house from B. Allegrie & Co. (the first Latin words in the Acta, page 128). The rental of a facility came at an appropriate moment, as the existing facility

was sorely taxed. The Junta agreed to rent three houses which belonged to Joseph Ashriqui on the Calle de las esnogas: one where the Junta offices were located, another next door, in the house occupied by Prof. Levy and the third behind that occupied by M. Clarambeau. The Junta rented the facilities at a rate of 24 napoleons per month with a two year lease.[120]

In order to finance the school which was quickly draining community funds, the Junta scrutinized the major source of money—the meat tax. The Junta found that 200 tax free animals were being slaughtered for two Moslem butchers, el-Chali and Ozima. This practice was stopped. Judah Toledano and Reuben Bengio were to be paid as *Tabahot* collectors for the Junta at a fee of 180 onzas per month.[121] In this manner, the Junta hoped for a more accurate tax collection.

But funds were greatly needed and only a small amount was realized from the scrutiny of the meat tax procedures. The Society for Clothing the Needy decided to give priority to orphans and widows, and then to poor families in need. However, all social welfare societies developed mounting deficits.

The Actas show an hiatus of four months until July of 1865 before the next meeting. The Junta once again changed its name becoming the Elected Board of the Israelite Congregation of Tangier. The term "Elected" was used to reflect a more sophisticated and more democratic approach. But the agenda dealt with the same problems, the school and its deficit. Apparently, during the hiatus, Bernard Levy began to disregard the Junta as the supervisory body over the school. Since the school had British protection and Levy was a French subject, the Junta sent a delegation consisting of Moses Pariente and Moses Nahon to see Sir John Hay Drummond Hay and have him convey to Levy the authority of the Junta as the supervisory body of the school and that Levy was therefore subject to their regulations. If Levy was not prepared to accept the position of the Junta then he would be dismissed. Levy attended the meeting with Drummond who sided with the Junta. Levy signed the accord arranged by Drummond, with the Junta on 14 August 1865 with some slight changes.[122] The daily administration of the school was cumbersome because the superintendent of the school, Rabbi Jacob Toledano, brought every incident to the attention of the board. These were not only academic problems but also fiscal difficulties. The majority of the parents failed to pay even a modest sum of 4-5 ducats per month.[123] The Junta always had to subsidize the school.

The grave economic depression being experienced in Tangier in 1865 forced many manual laborers and poor into dire financial straits. In late August, the Chief Rabbi asked the Junta to lessen the meat tax in order to ease the burden on the poor.[124] Less tax revenue meant less income

and reduced welfare payments. The Junta appealed to its members from wealthy families and to the bankers for additional funds and obtained 200 ducats, 50 of which were immediately spent. The number of poor people continued to grow. In November 1865, the Basha, feeling the economic depression affecting his cash flow, demanded the immediate payment of the *Djizia*. But the Junta, at the request of the Chief Rabbi and in order to lessen the burden on the poor and insure proper nutrition, had lowered the meat tax to 5 onzas for the community treasury. Only 2029 head of cattle were slaughtered at this lower rate. The income was therefore greatly reduced to 10,145 onzas, while expenditures continued to mount. The response to the demand for payment of the *Djizia* would bankrupt the community. The general economic deterioration of Morocco brought greater populations of migrant Jews to Tangier which had a reputation as an affluent community and one filled with opportunity. The population swelled to 2600. The social welfare projects of the community were well known. Therefore even greater demand was put on the limited funds of the Wayfarers' Society, which began to operate with a large deficit.

Wayfarers' Society

General expenses	467
Three gifts to the Basha	3502
Deficit from previous year	1144¼
Total expenditure	5113¼
Deficit of Wayfarers' Society	1378½
Deficit of School Fund	4189½
Total accumulating deficit	5568[125]

The Basha refused to believe the financial weakness of the Jewish community of Tangier, claiming it was an excuse for failure to pay the *Djizia*. He wrote to the Chief Rabbi warning that if the *Djizia* was not be paid there would be trouble.[126] Chief Rabbi Bengio responded three days later by calling an emergency meeting. The school budget and the *Djizia* could not both be paid from available funds. But since the tax had to be paid, the school might have to be closed. Each parent, it was determined, must pay 2 ducats monthly as a minimum tuition.[127] An additional session was called to deal with the lowered meat tax which was generating insufficient funds. The accounts were being kept by Messod Benassayag. Besides agreeing to audit each society annually, the Junta was desperate for funds to pay the *Djizia*. A special finance committee was established by members of the Junta and included non-members: Rabbi Jacob Toledano (who kept the *Djizia* account), Moses Pariente (vice-president of the Junta), Moses Nahon (banker), Moses Bendayan, Habib Toledano, Messod Benassayag (Junta member), Judah Bengio, Judah Nahon, David Azulai, Shemtob

Cohen, Mimon Delmar, Rabbi Isaac Toledano, and Joseph Laredo. The assembled members of the community signed a taxation accord by which they guaranteed the necessary funds.[128]

The first to be audited, in the search for funds to pay the *Djizia*, was the *Parnas* of the Poor Fund, Messod Abecassis, who was also Junta President. The Poor Fund had a surplus of 1387½ onzas, a fact which made everyone happy.[129]

Joseph Ashriqui, *Parnas* of the Hospital Fund, said that he would report the following day. However, when Ashriqui did report the accounts were incomplete. The physician at the hospital, Millard, was being paid $140-150, but it was truly uncertain exactly what salary he received. The committee put off its discussion. Ashriqui tendered his resignation in the meantime.[130] Four days later the Junta received the accounts of the Wayfarers Society and the School Board, both submitted by Jacob Toledano. The Wayfarers Society had a surplus of 978¼ onzas which could be transferred to the School Fund. They had $200 towards the *Djizia* with a deficit of 430 napoleons. The Junta agreed that the donations collected at the daily prayers, *Vayebarekh David*, would be used to supplement the Hospital Fund.[131] The Junta also decided to pay some communal workers' salaries through solicitations rather than budgetary allotment. Moses Bendayan, Haim Bendelac and Rabbi Isaac Toledano were to assume responsibility for the funding of these individuals. Isaac Sicsu objected to the reduced *Tabahot* and the lessened disbursements, which would affect his salary as *Sheikh*. Sicsu went over the head of the Junta to complain to the Basha. When the Junta became aware of what Sicsu did, it became outraged. A Jewish delegation spoke to the Basha concerning Sicsu and the general finances. The delegation consisted of Messod Abecassis, Menahem Nahon, Rabbi Jospeh Toledano, Haim Bendelac, Moses Pariente and Messod Benassayag.[132] However, no direct action was taken against Sicsu. The Junta, in an effort to divert the Basha, suggested to the Basha that a cleaner city and port would stimulate trade and commerce as well as tourism and thereby enhance the economic situation of the entire population. Despite the economic strain, the vital services of the community continued to be provided. A dispensary opened at the hospital, staffed by Salomon David Benchimol who had previously worked at the dispensary of Moses Benchimol. He was continued at a salary of $8 per month.[133]

The *Djizia* was paid and the Basha was satisfied, although the treasury was emptied. The other functionaries also were paid:

Djizia to the Basha and Caid	11,000
Khalifa	200
Scribe and others	200

Jewish scribe	20
Total paid at rendering of the *Djizia*	11,420[134]

The subscribers to the Society for the Aid to Studying Scholars *(Talmedai Hahamim shel Bet Hamidrash)* wanted a 30% reduction in their pledges because of the economic situation. Yahya Benassayag and Moses Benchimol were placed in charge of the Fund. The Junta sensed that each *Parnas* did need and should have an assistant. Reuben Bengio, the son of the Chief Rabbi, was then appointed assistant *Parnas* of the Poor Fund. Rabbi Isaac Toledano of the school board was appointed the assistant *Parnas* of the Hospital Fund.[135]

Judah Assayag, of the *Rodeph Sedaqa va Hesed* Society, reported that the society had a deficit of 283½ onzas which they could not pay without a 50 ducat monthly subvension from the Junta. The Junta agreed to the request but with the following stipulations:

1. An audit of the society's books
2. Maintenance of fiscal responsibility
3. The society must create a budget and operate within its limits.[136]

In their search for funds, the Junta began to audit the finances of the synagogues. Synagogues were generally private enterprises opened by an individual or family which maintained the facility. There were no membership dues, boards, sisterhoods. The owner-patron could determine who would be allowed the privilege of reading from the Torah or leading the service. Donations were given at the Torah reading, generally for *Meor Haner* (light for the synagogue), which was deemed a great honor. Community announcements were made in the synagogue. Funds collected at the *Veyebarekh David* were given to the community treasury. Independent solicitation also took place. Joseph Ashriqui, whose resignation from the Junta had been refused, was placed in charge of the Shearith Joseph Synagogue which had a surplus of 961 onzas that the Junta appropriated to pay the hospital debt. However, the lack of additional funds and the need for fiscal responsibility did not deter the Junta from undertaking new projects and additional expenses. Since the majority of the members of the Junta were independently wealthy, they were accustomed to spending without worrying. Since they were also communally involved, these leaders spent the funds on communal affairs. They utilized the funds earmarked to pay the hospital's debt in opening a new pharmacy in the hospital and a dispensary for the poor which also sold medicines to the general public. The profits of this pharmacy were earmarked to pay the hospital's debt. In addition to funds from the *Vayebarekh David* collection, a new collection was instituted, at *Uba LeZion*, the end of daily morning prayers.[137] Two individuals in each synagogue were appointed to be respon-

sible to collect the funds and bring them to the *Parnas* of the Hospital Fund.[138]

Collectors of Hospital Funds by Synagogue

Name of Synagogue	Collectors
Abraham Toledano Syn.	Isaac Toledano & Samuel Bengio
Rebbi Yahya Syn.	Abraham Toledano & Habib Toledano
Messod Cohen Syn.	Abraham Benchimol & Joseph Messod Cohen
Joseph Laredo Syn.	Messod Benarosh & Joseph Hadida
Joseph Ashriqui Syn.	Moses Friha & Jacob Bengio
Judah Assayag Syn.	Raphael Assayag & Joseph Laredo
Benseloum Syn.	Jacob Azancot & Joseph Magnes
Minyan at the School	Mordechai Laredo

Hoping for a surplus, the Junta required that all excess funds be delivered to the Chief Rabbi for safe keeping. The salary of the Chief Rabbi was augmented, doubling the payment to 8 napoleons monthly. Funds were found for the penitent, David Benlolo, who wanted to return to Judaism.[139]

The basic funds for the Junta's projects were still being obtained from the notables. A general collection was made for the *Talmedai Hahamim de la Yeshiba* (Yeshiba scholars) with funds coming from many on a three month subscription.[140] Major funds were raised from the same people once again.

The Wayfarers' Society also faced economic hardship. As a port city, Tangier saw many Jews who received assistance pass through the area. There was the constant flow of the curious who were expecting greater economic oppportunity. Every *shaliah* (emissary) from the Holy Land came to Tangier seeking donations. In January 1866, the *Parnas* of the Wayfarers' Society resigned as the debts mounted and there appeared to be no new sources of income. The Junta elected Joseph Laredo as *Parnas* and attempted to reorganize the charitable institution. For the first time, regulations were formulated to allow for the proper fulfillment of the Biblical commandment of *Hajnasat Orahim* (welcoming strangers).[141] The regulations were as follows:

1. A home hospitality host will receive guests for one week only, to feed and to provide shelter if possible. Then the guest must be moved to another household.
2. The maximum expenditure on any one guest is limited to 4 napoleons. Two hundred onzas can be spent if the guest is a *Dayan* or *Talmid Haham Rashoom* (registered scholar).
3. If a host cannot acccept the guest, the host must pay 30 onzas to the society's fund and the guest passed to the next person.
4. The hosts were to be selected by lottery with a record kept in a registry.

5. Isaac Toledano and Moses Bendayan would be responsible for the society's accounts.[142]

The accounts of the society were reviewed. Rabbi Isaac Toledano had 78.2.8 on hand. However, Messod Abecassis had advanced the society 4.9.0 for David Benlolo. These funds had to be paid back. The Society had owed the Chief Rabbi for reimbursement for various expenses. Therefore the new *Parnas* was given 61.9.8. Four months after reorganization, the society was still not solvent.[143]

French Financing of the School

Because of the financial crunch, the Junta turned increasingly to French Jewish organizations for assistance, either to the AIU for funding for the school or to the Baron de Rothschild for funding for the hospital. The AIU agreed to give a total of 500f for the school, 200f for the salary of Levy the teacher, and 300f for school subsidies. A committee was formed to support the works of the AIU in Tangier. The Baron de Rothschild Fund agreed to a 200f subsidy for the year 1866. Nonetheless, in May the secretary of the school board, Mordechai Laredo, resigned because of the fiscal difficulties.[144] He was feeling the pressure from the salary demands of *Melamdim* (religious teachers) and secular teachers on one hand, and the failure of the parents to pay their tuition on the other. Messod Benassyag and Menahem Nahon agreed to collect funds and personally advanced 100 ducats to cover the current expenses. Levy was successful as a teacher in that he inspired two students to want to go to Paris to study to become teachers.[145]

The Price of Meat

In July 1866, some community members complained about the price of meat, a constant source of aggravation made worse by the general economic depression. The Junta investigated and came to the following conclusions:

1. There was no lack of meat in the butcher shops.
2. The *Tasmir* (kosher insignia) has successfully prevented the mixing of kosher and non-kosher meats.
3. The weights used in the butcher shops were accurate.
4. Fines of 10 ducats should be levied for violations of the regulations. A fine of 15 ducats should be imposed for application of the *Tasmir*.
5. Two inspectors should be appointed to supervise the butcher shops.[146]

The kosher meat system was working although there remained the need for a new matadero. The uneasy peace between the community and the butchers was broken when Joseph Malka a migrant from Fez, and a butcher in Tangier, failed, on the eve of the seventh day of Passover, to donate

meat to the poor as was the custom. Several other butchers it appears also failed to observe this particular custom.[147]

Rabbinic Scholars

The Junta reviewed the situation of the rabbinic scholars who spent the day studying in the Yeshiba of Tangier at communal expense. The Junta found that the rabbis in the *Bet Midrash* (study hall) were studying little and teaching less. The Junta then recommended that:

1. The rabbis should study five hours daily in the summer and four hours daily in the winter.
2. The rabbis be obligated to study with whomever comes to the *Bet Midrash* to learn.[148]

Moses Benchimol was the *Parnas* of the society's fund and he indicated that most subscribers to the fund for the scholars had not paid their subscriptions. After pleas by Chief Rabbi Bengio to protect the scholars from economic hardship, the Junta awarded a modest sum to keep the rabbis studying. Moses Bendelac agreed to help in securing the necessary subscriptions.[149] Again, the solution was short-termed.

The Junta spent the next four months in discussions relating to raising money to pay the *Djizia* and related expenses. In order to raise the necessary funds, the Junta cut the welfare subsidy *Heluq* and had to raise the meat-tax to 10 onzas per head of cattle.[150]

Although Joseph Ashriqui had had a reconciliation with the board, and had made considerable personal contributions, the Junta remained unhappy with his performance as head of the Hospital Committee. In February 1866, the committee found that the infirm, housebound welfare recipients were not getting enough meat. This constituted a violation of Article 1 of the regulations of the Hospital Fund. To assist in this matter and yet not offend Ashriqui, the Junta appointed Haim Benchimol to be *Parnas* for the housebound, aged and infirm and allowed Ashriqui to remain in charge of the hospital. Ashriqui did not agree with this arrangement.[151] Three days later the Junta removed Ashriqui as the *Parnas*. Two months later, the account records were handed over by Ashriqui and audited by the Junta.[152]

Medicine for one year	12,616 ½ onzas
Dispensary costs	5,313
Dispensary	3,764
Pharmacist	3,544
Total	25,257½

Income

Sale of medicines	9,647½ onzas
Poor fund subsidy	3,869

Income from nursery	1,071
From Shearith Joseph Syn.	3,119½
Rothschild donation	1,360
Donation from unidentified lord	350
Wet nurse	116½
Interest earned	1,470
Surplus (owed to Joseph Ashriqui)	4,254½
	25,257½[153]

The accounts left 1810 onzas in the treasury. The following week Ashriqui had no time to take care of the inventory of the dispensary and to provide Benchimol with the inventory. Benchimol agreed to do the inventory if Ashriqui would consent to the idea and in this manner prevent a delayed transition.[154] It became apparent that Joseph Ashriqui had been heavily subsidizing the hospital from his personal funds. Funds were also collected at the Shearith Joseph where he was the patron. He also lent money from his own pocket to the fund to keep it viable.

The depression continued to negatively affect a substantial portion of the population. Even wheat for flour became expensive. The Chief Rabbi and President Messod Abecassis wanted major changes made in the way wheat was sold in the public *Fondak* and to have guards provided for the produce. Funds were unavailable for both the 1867 *Djizia* payment and to insure that food was available for the general Jewish population. Consequently the Junta was required to significantly reduce or eliminate funding for other projects. In August, the Junta refused a request by the Chief Rabbi for $500 to aid him in the marriage of his daughter. The *Parnas* of the Wayfarers' Society had his request for additional funds tabled.[155]

Finally, in frustration because of the fiscal crisis and declining attendance at Junta meetings, President Messod Abecassis resigned although he still attended the sessions of the Junta. The Junta held a secret written ballot counted by the Chief Rabbi on 24 September 1867. Abecassis was reelected president with Moses Pariente as vice president.[156] The election was a vote of confidence for Abecassis.

A further consequence of the declining economy was the inability of the Junta to continue supporting the school in the same manner. A few measures were considered:

1. The location of the school was moved to an upper floor of the Laredo Synagogue.
2. Joseph Abouzaglo was appointed to collect tuition from deliquent parents.
3. The staff was to be reduced by firing Moses Haim Nahon, a teacher. His work was to be assumed by Prof. Levy. With 188 students in the

school, they could not let Nahon go.[157] When the teacher, Prof. Levy, asked, in 1868, to take two months leave without pay in order to be married, the board readily agreed since this would cut expenses from the school budget.

4. The Junta decided to register property transactions and to charge 5 onzas for each real estate document so registered. Funds so raised were dedicated to support of the school.[158]

Registration of Property

The property registration tax for Jewish real estate transactions was designed by the Junta to be a progressive tax. The tax would come from the rich for the benefit of the poor. In June 1868, regulations for the implementation of the tax as previously agreed were established by the Junta to include mortgages, property sales, liens and subdivisions. The Junta would therefore become more of an autonomous government of the 3500 Jews in Tangier as these procedures were normally the responsibility of a municipality. The Arab local government had already begun to abandon governmental supervision. The Junta regulations were as follows:

1. The Chief Rabbi will keep a registry of properties, legalize all documents, keep records of sellers, buyers and witnesses for a fee of 5 onzas per document.
2. Each *Shtar de Mikhirat Qarqa* (real estate sales document), *Shtar Matana* (documentation of real gift), *Shtar Haluqa* (documentation of subdivision), *Shtar Mishqenot* (lien), would require the signature of two scribes or at least one scribe and one general witness.
3. All documents shall be permitted to be registered.
4. All documents must be registered within thirty days after execution or forfeit the right to be registered.
5. If there is a failure to register and another document is registered relating to the same parcel of land, the registered document shall have precedence.
6. Those who could not have registered their document must bring proof as to why they were deterred from registering.
7. Anyone may inquire of the Chief Rabbi about any parcel of land and its status.
8. One may request the removal of his property from the registry.[159]

However, funds were not adequately generated in this manner. Funds continued to be paid into the Junta's account from the meat-tax. The economic crisis of 1868 raised the question of the *Djizia* payment which had to rely totally on funds from the meat-tax.[160]

Many families could not survive even on the weekly *Heluq* dole. Messod Benassayag, Moses Nahon and Aaron Abensur agreed to donate the sum of 50 ducats from their own funds to meet the needs of the Poor Fund. Benassayag as community treasurer presented his account of the *Tabahot*

funds. Income from 3843½ heads of cattle was 47,725½ onzas and the donation of *Vayebarekh David* totaled 1,514½ onzas for a total of 49,239½ onzas. However, in the current account there was a balance of only 883 onzas. The *Parnas de Anyim* Messod Abecassis reported an income of 64, 625 onzas and a dole of 65,413 onzas for a net deficit of 788 onzas.[161] The hospital had a deficit in its funding of 3672½ onzas which the Junta ordered to be paid through general funds even though it lacked the resources. A public subscription raised 28,719½ onzas. The public dole for two months was 21,582 onzas. The distribution of 141 *Alceles* (external cloth wrap) cost 8,475½ for a total expenditure of 30,057½ onzas, which left the Poor Fund with a deficit of 1338½ onzas. There were at the time 300 poor families.[162] As Passover approached, the expenses to provide for their needs was great. In one year, 100 families had been added to the Jewish dole. The price of wheat rose making the production of Matza more expensive.

With increased poverty came a perceived moral decline. The president of the Junta, the Chief Rabbi and the *Sheikh* expressed concern over the lowering of moral standards. *Jikjikas* (craps) was the gambling game the boys preferred to play.[163] They also began to drink a sweetened form of anisette called *al-Halawa*. Joseph Pilo, Isaac Abecassis, Joseph Bensoussan and Issachar Bendrihen, the guild of *al-Halawa* brewers, agreed to sell the liquor but not drink it.[164] The Junta decided that any youth caught playing craps and drinking would be brought to the Chief Rabbi for moral lessons.[165]

The Junta members became increasingly frustrated by the continual fiscal crises and stayed away from the meetings. Those who did attend became disheartened. From July 1868 until October 1870, the Junta met only five times. The school continued to function at an ever increasing deficit. The Junta had to rely on increased foreign aid for the school, namely from the French AIU. The school became the focus of interest of the foreign legations particularly Spain, which governed adjacent areas, Great Britain, which founded the school and subsidized the English teachers and France which, through AIU, was now subsidizing the school. The school budget was as allocated as follows:

Income		Expenditures	
Tuition	2000f	English Teacher	1200f
AIU	1000f	4 *Melamdim*	2100f
Central Committee	1200f	Maintenance	1200f
Kahal Kadoch	600f	Women Helpers	240f
Parents	2700f	French Teacher	3000f
Total Income	7500f	Total Expenses	7740f[166]

The number of poor families among the Jews of Tangier passed the 300 mark although the *Heluq* was able to provide adequately for only 140 families. The Tangierian native poor began to complain that the city had attracted many foreign Jewish poor and that there was not enough charity to go around. These foreign Jewish poor were attracted to Tangier because of its welfare system and the general poverty throughout Morocco. The Junta invited many non-members to attend the meeting of 11 May 1870. The notables gave of their own money for the poor but support for the efforts of the Junta seemed to be waning.[167]

Revolution of September 1870

With the increased poverty of the Jewish community and the inability of the Junta to adequately assist, popular support for the Junta diminished. Its morale seemed broken and its ability to solve problems of the community seemed to dissipate. With fewer and fewer meetings, the Junta seemed aimless and unable to find suitable solutions to the mounting fiscal and social problems. At a meeting in September of 1870, Chief Rabbi Bengio, who had started the Junta a decade before, once again seized power. Bengio demanded a four year projection of income and an increase in the allotment for the public dole. In the meantime, he would function as the head of the community. In November of 1870, the Chief Rabbi held a general meeting in the Toledano Synagogue with 48 individuals in attendance. The Chief Rabbi had originally called a meeting in the Shearith Joseph Synagogue. Popular objections were raised about the Junta and its effectiveness. Those assembled wanted a popular election by the 48 notable heads of families of the members of the Junta. In a vote on reorganization, 10 voted as opposed and 38 voted in favor in this first general election. The Chief Rabbi formulated new regulations covering a more popular Junta.

1. The Junta would consist of 12 members.
2. Nominations would be submitted to the Chief Rabbi.
3. Election would be by secret written ballot to be counted by the Chief Rabbi.
4. The term of office for the Junta would be three years.
5. There would be a general election meeting.[168]

A vote by these notables was held the next day. The reforms were more democratic. The notables and the *Dayan* attended. The twelve who received the most votes were elected to the Junta. They were Aaron Abensur (32), Moses Pariente, Isaac S. Nahon, Moses Nahon, Haim Benchimol (31 each); Moses Benchimol (29); Haim Bendelac (27); Menahem Abecassis (24); Judah Nahon, Moses Friha, Joseph Friha (23 each); Shemtob Cohen (21). The regime of Messod Abecassis had ended. Not reelected were

Joseph Toledano, Jacob Toledano, David Sicsu, Messod Benassayag and Joseph Ashriqui.[169]

Five days later the new Junta met to elect the executive committee. Aaron Abensur could not attend because he was sick but sent his proxy. The Chief Rabbi resigned as interim president, once again turning over the communal leadership in the spirit of democratic reform. The new officers were:

President: Moses Nahon
Vice-president: Moses Pariente (incumbent)
Secretary: Isaac Nahon

The quorum was raised to seven and the meetings scheduled for every *Rosh Hodesh*. The executive wanted the Junta to sit for three years to allow enough time for continuity of programs and stability of leadership. The coup by the Chief Rabbi was now complete.[170] The Junta could focus on the three most pressing community problems.

1. School - The educational system required greater supervision. Moses Ashriqui was appointed to take the place of Menahem Abecassis. If the Junta was to carry the great burden of the school's deficit, then the school had to function properly.
2. Poverty - The Poor Fund needed to find new sources of income and to eliminate waste. Welfare reform required a reduced budget which was more effective. The *Parnas* of the Poor Fund, former Junta president Messod Abecassis, was the only one not turn over the books for inspection. Bitter over his removal as president, Abecassis went to the Basha to complain about the reorganization. Labelled a *Malshin* (informer) by the Junta, his allocation for the Poor Fund from the Junta was cut off. Benassayag arbitrated a successful agreement between Abecassis and the Junta. The former president returned to the Junta as a member under the authority of the Junta.
3. *Djizia* - With no available funds, the Junta established a special committee to collect funds from every Jew in Tangier in order to pay the Basha. The committee consisted of Mimon Delmar, Salomon Abuzaglo, Haim Hadida, Isaac Garzon, Joseph A. Nahon. Funds were collected in the following manner: 21 notables paid full, 8 paid three-quarters, 22 paid one half, 11 paid one third, 20 paid one quarter, 42 paid one tenth, and 34 paid one twentieth. This reflects that there were 158 tax households of which one third were able to pay 50% of the apportioned tax rate or more.[171] At the same time, there were more than three hundred households on the dole.

Restructuring of the Junta

Procedures for the Junta were clarified in order to make it more effective. Every *Rosh Hodesh* the sessions would be held in rooms in the Assayag

Synagogue. New *Parnasim* were selected for the various charitable societies: Messod Abecassis would continue with the Poor Fund; Joseph Laredo - Hospital Fund; Joseph Toledano - Burial Society; Salomon Abuzaglo - *Hesed ve Emet* Society, and Joshua Toledano with the School Fund. The Junta agreed that all *Actas* be signed by the president. In order to streamline the charitable donation for the Holy Land, a new society was founded entitled *Hesed Yebane,* (righteousness shall He build).[172] Shemtob Cohen was appointed to head this society. The books of the Poor Fund revealed a deficit, the worst year being 1868; an improvement in 1869 and a 13% increased deficit in 1870. Many more problems continued to arise and require the Junta's attention. Its original target problems were often deferred. Salomon Benchimol needed funding for the dispensary; the need for a new matadero; Moses Kadosh needed boat passage to his family in Mogador; Joseph Laredo, Mimon Delmar, Salomon Abuzaglo, and Salomon Nahmias proposed the Junta offer free medicine for the poor, a limited socialized medicine program for the Jewish community.[173]

In January 1871, the *Djizia* was paid by Moses Pariente.[174] The duro (ducat) was now worth 38 onzas and the Basha refused to accept the ducat at a value of 32 ½ onzas. The community funds showed a decline in 1868 (72,962 ½ onzas), a slight rise in 1869 (78,964 ½ onzas) and a great decline in 1870 (71,118 onzas). The decline was a result of the devaluation of currency in addition to the reduced revenues of the previous year. There was a decreased demand for kosher meat because of the price increase.[175]

The council reviewed the expenditures in order to find the means of financing the community projects and taxes.[176]

1868

Debt service	6680 onzas
School budget	4200
Council secretary (14 ducats monthly)	840
Wayfarers' Society	5100
Sheikh Isaac Sicsu (175 monthly)	2100
Ayush Salama	420
Rental of Council Hall	851
Rabbi Jacob Toledano	219⅓
Rabbi Mordechai Bengio	226½
3 Gifts to Basha	2745½
Cost of bond for a Jew in Jail	110
Paid to Messod Benitah	240
Hospital deficit covered	9360⅓
Pharmacy	3662½
Total Expenditures for Council	36,755½

Poor Fund subsidy from meat-tax	22,522½
Matadero operating costs	15,015
Operating costs from meat-tax	37,537½
Total expenditure for 1868	74,293 onzas

1869

Debt service	6680 onzas
School deficit	5000
Sheikh Isaac Sicsu	2100
Ayush Salama	420
Wayfarers' Society deficit	4238
Secretary	140
2 gifts to the Basha	1975½
Pharmacy	6781½
Hospital deficit	5458¼
Rental of Council Hall	900
Messod Benitah (butchers guild)	240
A divorce decree paid for by council	120
Rent for the Yeshiba	818½
Exchange rate	142
Total expenditure for the council	35,014
Poor Fund from Meat-tax	24,682½
Matadero operating expenses	16,455
Operating costs from meat-tax	41,137½
Total operating expenses for 1869	76,152 onzas

1870

Debt service	7200 onzas
Sheikh Moses Anidjar (175 monthly)	2275[177]
Wayfarers' society deficit	5500
Ayush Salama	455
School deficit	4578½
Yeshiba and its rental	1082
Foreign exchange rate	74
3 gifts to Basha	3185½
Pharmacy	5410½
Hospital deficit	5233½
Rent for council hall	988
Messod Benitah	260
Joshua Toledano (school)	190

Salomon Laredo	75
Helped out three women	37
Total council expenditures	36,544½
Poor Fund subsidy	22,167
Matadero expenses	14,778
Operating costs from meat-tax	36,945
Total expenses for 1870	73,489½

Total expenditures for the three years were 223,933½ onzas.[178] With the approaching payment of the tax, a long list of 149 eligible tax payers and their respective assessments were compiled under the guidance of Rabbi Jacob Bengio, the son of the Chief Rabbi.[179]

Funds for the *Djizia* were collected and paid to the Basha. The customary 1100 onzas as payments to the Khalifa, the soldiers, the gatekeeper, and the general treasury were also made. The Basha charged the Jews a fee for the exchange rate for the napoleons. The expense of the *Sheikh el-Yehud,* Moses Anidjar, who had succeeded Isaac Sicsu, was also included in this traditional disbursing of communal funds.[180] The community noted that the House of Rothschild had contributed 200f annually from 1869 to 1871 generally for the only Jewish hospital in Morocco.[181]

In an attempt to gain control of the economic situation, the Nahon administration turned to a review of the hospital deficit. Joseph Laredo allowed Moses Ashriqui to present the accounts of the community hospital and a detailed inventory of the dispensary run by Salomon Benchimol.[182]

Prof. Bernard Levy announced that he would leave the school in the beginning of the school year. Moses Haim Nahon, the teacher who was to be dismissed earlier because of the financial situation, was asked to replace Levy in teaching and administration. Nahon submitted a bill for a 25 ducats raise for his added duties. The Junta wanted the AIU to pay the bill as the French organization had for Levy, but the Paris based group agreed to pay only after Levy left and his replacement, a certain Mr. Hirsch, was actually teaching.[183]

Kosher Meat

The sale of kosher meat continued to be problematic. Chief Rabbi Bengio reported, in April of 1871, on the condition of the matadero and the butcher shops. The boys who worked in the slaughter house were found to have taken pieces off the killed animal for sale before the *Bedeqa* (kashruth inspection) and therefore before the animal was designated kosher. The meat of the slaughtered animals was also sold wholesale and then retailed as kosher regardless of the results of the final kashruth

designation. Some of the meat therefore was not kosher. On the intermediary days of Passover, Mordechai Pinto sold non-kosher meat as if it was kosher. Even a greater violation was that the meat was certified as kosher for Passover. The board castigated him but was unable to punish him because of the concluding holy days of Passover. After Passover, he was suspended for one month. Junta President Nahon raised the question of the slaughter of fowl. Salomon Nahon reported an incident in which he had sent his boy with a chicken to be slaughtered in order to feed his sick wife. Passover had just concluded. The boy went to Rabbi Samuel Toledano who told the boy that he did not slaughter at night. This statement was in keeping with the regulations governing the ritual slaughter. The boy then went to the home of Rabbi Jacob Bengio and waited until the rabbi returned home. Bengio asked the boy if he had the customary fee for slaughtering. The boy stated that he had no money with him. Bengio told the boy to go home and fetch the fee before he would slaughter the fowl. Instead, the boy went to the home of Rabbi Jacob Levy, who slaughtered the chicken for him, without payment. The Junta called for Rabbi Jacob Bengio and confronted him. Bengio apologized. They suspended his license to slaughter for one month and publically pronounced the ban in the synagogues.

The Junta established regulations governing the requests for slaughter of fowl and had the Chief Rabbi meet with the *Shohetim* of fowl—Rabbis Samuel Toledano, Abraham S. Toledano, Shemtob Benolilel, Joseph Bengio and Jacob Levy. The following regulations were enacted by the Junta governing the slaughter of fowl:

1. The *Shohetim* must slaughter for whomever comes to them, day or night.
2. The fee cannot be more than 2 convios.
3. At night, after *el-Isha* (the late call to mosque), the slaughterer cannot demand immediate payment.
4. Anyone caught violating these regulations faces a fine, for a first offense, of 10 ducats. The second offense carries a fine of 10 ducats and a three month suspension of his license.[184]

The Junta then called in Mordechai Cazes to report on violations in the slaughter house and inspection of cattle. Once again the Junta tried to regulate the kosher meat industry. The regulations were shortlived for there developed problems with the matadero only three months later.[185]

Revenues and Income

The general account of the Junta was still not in order. In retrospect, the Junta was able to determine expenditures and income. The Junta was never able to make projections of income and revenues. They could not make reasonable budgetary allocations in advance. Once again the coffers

were nearly empty. Benitah had not sent out school bills and tuition remained uncollected. The Junta president became angry, an emotion not encountered before in the *Actas*. The emotional outburst stemmed from frustration. The Junta treasurer, Messod Benassayag, took the brunt of the attack on the accounting system personally, and resigned as treasurer. Although the Junta usually rejected resignations and negotiated a compromise or arbitrated a settlement, this time the Junta accepted the resignation. At Chief Rabbi Bengio's suggestion, Isaac Nahon, the Junta secretary, became the treasurer. Mimon Delmar became the secretary.[186]

The hospital and the school continued to be the biggest loss items in the budget. Nevertheless, the Junta was committed to these communal projects. Joseph Laredo reported a large deficit for the Wayfarers' Society that he could not meet. The voluntary home hospitality system was not working. He suggested that 40-50 *Yehidim* be selected by lottery to provide hospitality for eight days for each visiting scholar. The Junta was not in the mood for new regulations or compromises but rather concerned with a fiscally balanced budget and greater individual responsibility and would not consider Laredo's new idea. He resigned in frustration and was replaced by Moses Friha as *Parnas* of the Wayfarers' Fund.[187]

Aaron Abensur brought a message from the British minister complaining of a Hebrew youth of the community who had acted disrespectfully towards him. This was a serious accusation. The school was under the protection of the British minister. The *Sheikh*, Moses Anidjar, had the young man punished. The Chief Rabbi was also instructed to speak on behalf of good manners in the various synagogues. Abensur had a more direct interest in this case, for he was a British subject.[188] His family had obtained British citizenship by helping their compatriots during a plague epidemic many decades before. The incident caused the Junta to turn its attention once again to the school which had been such a great drain on funding and did not seem to teach the children manners. The school by now had an enrollment of 324 students, one-third of whom were too poor to pay anything. The number of migrant Jews had increased and the Junta felt the financial burden of educating these children. The Junta decided to charge a flat fee of $1 per month per child of migrant Jews. Rabbi Joshua Toledano was allowed to continue as principal of the school. But the school was overcrowded and there was general chaos in the classrooms. There were five *Melamdim* each of whom taught all morning. Some also had afternoon sessions. They were paid extremely poorly and supervised large overcrowded classes.

Teacher's name	# students AM	# students PM	Total
Mordechai Laredo	27	39	66
Moses Toledano	17	—	17
Moses Tapiero	33	42	75
Moses Cohen	9	73	82
Mordechai Amar	84	—	84
		Total	324[189]

The Junta objected to the harsh punishment some of the teachers meted out to the students and criticized the teachers' lack of manners.[190] The aloof attitude of Bernard Levy whose planned departure dragged on did not endear him to the Junta in these discussions. The Junta struck a compromise. Levy would accept the jurisdiction of the Junta except in the area of pedagogical methodology.[191] The Chief Rabbi and vice-president Pariente visited the school and tested various students in Rabbi Moses Tapiero's class on *Parasha* (the weekly Torah portion). The students did poorly. The two inspectors felt that it was not the fault of the *Melamdim* but rather that many students could not read Hebrew properly. They suggested that the students spend more time practicing reading. Isaac Nahon, the secretary, suggested that among the parents there were too few businessmen, only ten or twelve, in a position to serve as a financial base for the school. Therefore, the Junta would constantly be required to allocate funds to meet the school deficit.[192] The Junta raised the meat-tax and increased the portion ear-marked for education.[193]

In February of 1872, there was a death surrounded by unusual circumstances. The wife of Jacob Levy died in childbirth. On Thursday evening, at 8:30, Jacob Benseloum of the Burial Society was called by Jacob Levy. The midwife had done all that she could but the woman lay dying. The midwife called Levy to summon the doctor who came immediately. Dr. Schmidl, the Austrian Jewish physician who served the community, testified that after he did all that he could he asked that his assistant be called. Then various members of the Burial Society were called after the wife died. It would seem that Benseloum, for some unknown reason, looked under the sheet and viewed Mrs. Levy as she lay dead and unclad. Benseloum was disqualified by the Junta from serving on the Burial Society for his flagrant transgression of the laws of modesty and the possibility that he had violated the mandate of the Burial Society to do nothing to hasten death and to maintain the respect towards the body at all times. He was replaced by Abraham Cazes.[194]

Messod Abecassis resigned as treasurer of the Junta and as *Parnas* of the Poor Fund, a position he had held for thirty years. The Junta agreed to send a delegation consisting of Joseph Toledano, Aaron Abensur, and

Moses Pariente to his home to have Abecassis withdraw his resignation. They agreed that if the delegation could not persuade him to do so, then the whole Junta would visit with him.[195] The delegation went to the home of Abecassis but he would not meet with them, at first. Finally, the delegation did succeed in meeting with Abecassis but he was non-commital about withdrawing his resignation. Eight days later, Abecassis sent a letter via his son, Haim Abecassis, to Reuben Bengio for the Chief Rabbi, stating that he could not withdraw his resignation as his family would not allow him to do so. The Junta reluctantly named a new *Parnas* of the Poor Fund, Jacob Seruya and an assistant, Abraham Laredo.[196]

Still concerned with the welfare of Jews everywhere, the Tangierians responded favorably to the call in March of 1872 for funds for Persian Jews who were facing starvation and needed emergency relief.[197] The Junta had received a detailed letter from AIU headquarters in Paris requesting urgent donations. Although the economic situation was not good in Tangier, these Jews responded to the call to help other Jews in worse situations. Haim Benchimol and Joseph Friha were appointed to collect donations.[198]

The general treasury continued to suffer and other problems were developing. Poor vigilance by the supervisors during the baking of the Passover Matza required that the batch be redone and therefore there was a needless increase in the price of Matza. The treasury suffered as well because of the decrease in the exportation of kosher meat, particularly to Gibraltar.[199] The deficit was running ahead of schedule. Property which had been given by Rachel de Bensousan was sold and the funds used to meet the Yeshiba's deficit budget.[200] Collections had to be made through direct solicitation appeal or through appeals in the synagogue in order to meet the payment of the *Djizia*. Although most of the funds were met through the standard procurement, the meat-tax, they needed to raise additional funds. The meat-tax was related not to price but to the amount of cattle slaughtered. Meat prices had risen drastically and therefore consumption was down. Joseph Pariente wrote to complain that butchers were abusing the situation by purposely limiting the number of animals slaughtered in order to keep the price of meat artificially high. Pariente reported that the majority of the community could no longer afford to eat meat. The Junta responded by calling in the head of the Butchers Guild, Joseph Malka, who had previously been criticized for his unethical practices. The Junta presented him with a warning against price gouging to be carried back to the butchers.[201] However, the problem of the price of meat was to fester for an additional two months. Supplies continued to be insufficient. The Junta investigated the marketing practices of the butchers of Jewish Tangier. Joseph Malka and Isaac Levy each had two stores. Jacob Pinto and Maza had one each. They needed to slaughter six head of cattle per store for the holy days for a total of 36 head. For all

the holy days only thirty head were slaughtered.[202] This reduction in slaughtering made for an artificial shortage and consequent price hikes. The Junta also needed funds and the only course open to them was to raise the meat-tax and force the butchers, by oath, to slaughter as much cattle as possible.

With winter approaching, the *Parnas* of the Society to Clothe the Needy needed supplemental funding because the *Alcasales*, especially from El-kasr and Oran were very expensive. They would have to be bought before Hanuka. The Junta made the appropriate allocation.[203]

Possibly because of the deteriorating economic situation, anti-Jewish vandalism by the Moslem population increased. There were attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions. Watchmen had to be hired to prevent recurring vandalism at the cemetery. A charity called *Taza de Sadiq* (Holy Man's Alm Box) was set aside in the synagogues to pay for this vigilance. When brides were walked through the streets to their weddings, the Moslems would attack the procession. A petition with 198 signatures was submitted to the Junta calling the situation of anti-Semitic activity very grave. A public appeal was made in the synagogue for all people to defend their religion and the Jewish people.[204]

The financial situation of the community continued to worsen. The school needed to move from its two locales to one central school building but the 2000f needed to build a school was lacking. The new *Parnas* of the Poor Fund, Joseph Seruya and his assistant Abraham Laredo resigned in frustration after only a few months in office.[205] The Yeshiba needed repairs as well. All agencies in the community vied with one another for the same funds. The school would have the funds if they were able to collect the tuition. The Junta received a petition of 90 names calling for a meeting to discuss the worsening situation; at the subsequently called meeting only twelve people appeared. The group called for certain reforms in the school:

1. The boys will not be allowed to study secular studies until they can read the prayers and the *Parasha* with Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) translation well.
2. The Chief Rabbi and Moses Pariente must test the students regularly to determine progress.
3. The group will ask the AIU for the 2000f necessary to build a school building.[206]

This last proposal was rejected by the Junta for they had already had an exchange of letters with the AIU in Paris. The AIU felt that the community was sufficiently wealthy to meet the obligations of the school. The AIU Central Committee did not, however, take into consideration the other social services being provided by the Junta nor the degree of help

being provided to other causes and charities. Tangier, despite the recession, continued to be a city of immigration and the immigrants were unaccustomed to giving charity. Tangier continued to offer greater social services for the Jewish community than any other Moroccan Jewish community at the time and the poor of Tangier came to expect more. Funding continued to come from a limited number of members of a wealthier class who, while supporting the school, felt that there was little progress and that the teachers were too severe in their punishments.[207] In order to raise the funds, the Junta formed a committee comprised of Bengio and Yahay A. Benassayag. President Nahon personally gave $500 to begin the collective drive. The Junta also took the initiative in settling an argument between a parent and a teacher. The teacher had been spoken to in a very harsh mannerby the parent, Messod Amar, for not serving as a proper role model for the students. The Junta rebuked the teacher for his behavior and also decreed that any parent who does not speak properly to a teacher or does not demonstrate proper respect for a teacher will have his child removed from the school. The school continued to be problematic in all areas.

The Election of 1873

The three year mandate of the Junta had expired. Thile the economic situation had negatively affected the community and its finances, general feelings about the Nahon administration were positive.

In November of 1873, the Chief Rabbi called ninety principal individuals of the community to the Shearith Joseph Synagogue. Many of those present expressed their appreciation for the work of the Junta and their satisfaction with the composition of the committee. Most members of the Junta were reelected. The election results were as follows: Moses Nahon (32); Isaac S. Nahon, Aaron Abensur, Moses Pariente (31 each); Joseph Toledano (30); Yahya Benassayag (24); Messod Benassayag (23); Joshua Toledano (20); Moses Benchimol, Haim Benchimol and and Moses Ashriqui (19 each); Jacob Seruya (18). Many members of the new committee were related to each other with several pairs of brothers serving. Not returned to the Junta were: Joseph Friha, Haim Bendelac, Moses Friha, and Shemtob Cohen. The Junta also unanimously asked Salomon Laredo and Moses Friha (even though he was not returned to the Junta by popular vote) to serve on the Junta. The new Junta had fourteen members in addition to the Chief Rabbi.[208]

The first order of business for the Junta was the election of its executive. Moses Nahon was reelected president. Moses Pariente once again was elected to serve as vice-president. Isaac S. Nahon was elected to serve as secretary. The term of officve was set for three years under the revised procedure determined earlier by the Chief Rabbi. Moses S. Nahon was

made the recording secretary. In essence, the previous Junta was returned to power.

In his first act as reelected president, Moses Nahon pointed to the disorder in the school. The Junta decided to establish a three man inspection committee of Yahya Benassayag, Isaac Nahon, and Moses S. Nahon. They asked Rabbi Joshua Toledano to test the students.[209] The Junta felt that strong supervision would improve the quality of education. *Sheikh* Abraham Cazes, who had succeeded Moses Anidjar, resigned in a dispute with Messod Ponte, only to be replaced by Joseph Toledano. There was a new flood of requests for donations.

The school continued to need money and served as a drain on the economy of the community. The president, Moses Nahon, gave a sizable donation in honor of the marriage of his daughter to Isaac Messod Abecassis, the son of the previous community president. The *Djizia* needed to be paid. The hospital ran at a deficit and needed to be expanded. The problems seemed insurmountable even for a resourceful man such as Nahon.

Morality seemed to decline as many girls were found to have had premarital relations with their intended. The Junta declared that the transportation to the wedding for the girl who had lost her virginity before marriage would be a wooden cart; while for the virgin it would be a fine carriage.[210] No means were mentioned as to how the Junta would know about the status of the bride-to-be.

Nahon could not tolerate the burden and the demands of the presidency. He finally resigned in April, 1874. The Junta could not and would not accept his resignation. Nahon then decided that greater discipline and order were necessary. There would be order or the commmunity would fall apart. Nahon demanded that any *Shohet* not adhering strictly to the regulations established by the community would permanently lose his license. The *Shohetim*—Shemtob Benoliel, Joseph Bengio, Abraham Beniluz, Abraham S. Toledano, Aaron Toledano, Jacob Levy and Jacob Elmaleh—objected but were overruled.[211]

Joseph Aruas recommended that no more donations to foreign institutions be collected until the community was itself in a better financial position. Nahon did not allow the abdication of the moral responsibility towards other Jews. He worked diligently to straighten out the financial situation. In the winter of 1875, the *Djizia* was paid. The community had a small surplus. Nahon, a banker, ran the community as if it were a business corporation. The butcher shops did have meat to sell, although it was expensive at 7 onzas a pound. The school tests were administered regularly, and the results, while not good, were certainly better than before. Dowries could not be collected without the permission of the

Chief Rabbi who was responsible for the morality of the young people. The needs of the community were being monitored. Nahon, Abensur and Pariente spoke to the butchers in order to cajole them to lower the price of meat. The community was on the road to recovery.[212]

In 1874, there was another outbreak of plague in Tangier, brought by pilgrims returning from the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca. The Jewish community turned to Jews of foreign citizenship or protege status and to Christians of various nationalities to determine the means by which they might combat the devastation of the plague.[213] The Jews were very clearly in favor of the Hygiene Commission which served as a municipal council.

On 27 January 1874, a German naval squadron appeared in the port of Tangier and the German flag was hoisted for the first time in the city. The Germans viewed Tangier as the possible foothold they were seeking in North Africa. The Jews viewed the arrival of the Germans as a potential rival to the other European powers. This rivalry was viewed as a good portent for business opportunities.[214]

During 1875, some Tangierian Jews left for the United States, where they settled among the Judeo-Spanish Jews in New York who had migrated earlier. Most of the Tangierian Jews who emigrated to the United States had some relationship with the American consulate in Tangier. Of the ninety Americans who lived in Tangier at the time, 89 were naturalized in Tangier and were Jews. They were able to obtain a close connection with the Americans because they had studied English in the Jewish school.[215]

In 1875, the representative of Madrid in Venezuela was authorized to recognize as Spanish citizens all Moroccan Jews residing there. Jews from Tangier as well as Jews from other cities in the north of Morocco had begun to settle in Venezuela. As Spaniards, they were allowed permanent residence in the country.[216] Thus began the long development of the Tangierian Jewish community in Venezuela as well as in other Latin American countries.

CHAPTER FOUR

International Concern, 1880-1899

With the long term economic devastation, business ethics began to wane. Some businessmen began to claim false robberies and forged claims against foreign insurance agencies. Loans at interest rates of 60% to 200% were not uncommon as money in Tangier was tight. Majoration, doubling of the sum borrowed, was another common practice. The Jews were often charged with usury. Some Jews benefited from the influx of foreigners who came to take advantage of the lowered living standard. Jews would buy or otherwise obtain protege status and then extend it to their families and friends. In this manner, they were able to become more like the Europeans and remove themselves from the disadvantages of the *Dhimmi* status. Some Jews tried to become naturalized citizens of foreign powers in order to avoid paying taxes and to have their property protected from confiscation. Particularly popular citizenships to obtain were USA, Portugal, Brazil and even Italy, obtainable through friendly consuls, often for a price. Other Jews claimed to be Algerian, particularly from Oran where the Jews spoke a Spanish dialect. These pseudo-Algerians then claimed French protection as France was the colonial power in Algeria. To claim Algerian origin, the Jews needed seven witnesses. One Jew would often vouch for the other, so that there were no problems in obtaining the necessary testimonies.[1]

One of the most frequent sellers of protege status was the USA consul general, Felix Matthews. Matthews was born in Tangier as Felix Mateos, an Italian of Gibraltarian and Spanish extraction. He had served as a steward on the USS Constitution and had found favor with the Republican Party. He had been appointed to Tangier, denounced and then reappointed in October of 1870. He was consul for more than two decades except for 1887-1890. He returned as consul from 1890-93 and died in 1898. Only in 1894, did Matthews leave Tangier, only to visit the Sultan's court. Although he earned a small salary, Matthews was able to amass a

fortune, much of it Jewish money. Matthews had become a protector of Jews, for a fee.[2]

The British minister in Tangier, Drummond Hay complained that the protected Jews concocted false documentation in order to extract thousands of dollars from Moslems.[3] Moroccan Jews had proved to be the majority of proteges. Some felt that the Jew himself was the primary cause for the excesses which weakened the status of the protege. Then the Jews complained when the status became less valuable. By early 1888, it was estimated that 75% of Tangier real estate and commerce was in the hands of rich Jews.[4] Protege status protected the wealth. In 1887, there were only 166 French proteges in all of Morocco. By 1893, there were 300 French proteges in Tangier alone.[5]

In 1880, when an Italian Jewish protege had his shoes forcibly removed while passing a mosque, he called his colleagues into a special meeting and wanted Italy to declare war on Morocco or at least withdraw the flag.[6] However, no such threat occurred.

Tangier grew more convoluted. In 1883, the city was described as trailing through sewage, and decaying garbage filled the crooked narrow streets. There were dance halls, gambling halls, all within a confined small district. In the market place, they bargained for everything—vegetables, eggs, nuts, dates, bread, livestock, goats, sheep and cattle. The people of the market included snake charmers, story-tellers, water carriers ringing bells and young people with the marks of small pox. The stores were tiny, along alleys, where they manufactured shoes, harnesses, saddles and household goods. At night, the stores were shuttered and locked.[7]

In 1883, to counter the unsanitary conditions, the original Sanitary Commission, composed of the consular representatives, became the Hygiene Commission. One of the prime movers in the formation of this commission was the Spanish physician Cenarro. The purpose of this commission was to regulate sewage control and the quality of water from the different wells. The Europeans and the Jews particularly wanted the public cleanliness to correspond to that found in European capitals. In 1895, the Hygiene Commission had to deal with an outbreak of cholera, a frequent occurrence. The increasing European population joined with the Jews in fearing death brought by pilgrims from Mecca to this first port of call in Morocco. As the European population of the city grew, so did the desire for cleanliness by European standards. In 1890, there were fifteen Germans residing in Tangier. In 1898, there were thirty.[8] Because of the increasing European population the outward appearance of the city began to change ever so slightly. Some of the signs in the city

appeared in French, English and Spanish.[9] By 1889, the Sultan had all but abandoned the city to the foreigners and the only governing agency available was the Hygiene Commission with Europeans and Jews as trustees. The Sultan felt the city was infested with infidels.[10] The commission then began to serve informally as the municipal council. The Jews on the Commission took their role seriously. In 1889, Leon Osiel privately paid to have the streets of *Soco Chico* (lesser market), the city streets, and those of *Soco Grande* (greater market), cleaned.[11] The city remained filled with beggars.[12] The city was safe and some felt that there was no need for bodyguards, but many did hire private guards.[13]

The Jews connected to the founding of the Hygiene Commission were also connected to the foreign consulates. They included Menahem Abecassis (interpreter at the USA legation); Isaac Abensur (UK), Salomon Aflalo (Italian protege); Abraham Benassayag (Italian who served on the commission for 20 years); Ayush Benasuli (Spain); Salomon Benatuil (Brazil); Levi A.Cohen (UK); Dr. Samuel Guita (Spanish). From 1887-1928, Abraham Laredo served as secretary of the Hygiene Commission. From 1888-89, Isaac A. Laredo, dragoman of the German legation, served as treasurer of the Commission. In 1898, he was elected honorary president. Dr. Salvador Moraly (French) also served on the Commission.

The Tobacco Industry

Although devout Moslems are prohibited from smoking, tobacco, cigarettes, cigars and particularly snuff became very popular with the Arabs as with the Christians. Naturally the industry was limited to Tangier. Several major tobacco firms were owned by Jews who had no such religious prohibition. One of the major firms was Sananes & Benassayag, owned by Abraham Sananes and Isaac Benassayag. The other firm was Guahnish & Benchetrit, owned by the partners Mordechai Guahnish and Shemaya Benchetrit. The firm called Saka was owned by Yuda Sananes. Another Tangierian Jew, Marcos Serulla, was appointed to manage the government regulated monopoly for the Sultan, when the *Maghzen* decided to control the industry for its profitability. In 1887, Mulai Hassan, religiously motivated, stopped the tobacco trade.[14]

The world economic depression which had begun in 1873 had a devastating effect on Tangier. The primacy of its port was significantly reduced. Opportunities for employment were greatly reduced. A movement developed to send the youth elsewhere, since there were no economic opportunities for them. Young men, often after their thirteenth year and the ritual of *Bar Misva,* were sent to Latin America, particularly Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela, in order to make their fortunes. Some found their way up the Amazon to Peru.

The attitude toward the AIU began to change as an increasing number of Balkan Jews served as teachers and administrators. In the 1870s the Frenchman Samuel Hirsch had served effectively as the director of education. In 1883, Joseph Matalon was the director of the boys' school. The community boys' school had closed the same year under the burden of the fiscal responsibilities of the community Junta. The funds were, simply, not there. However, in 1885 an argument began between the Balkan born director of the school, Moise Fresco, and the leader of the Community Yahya Benassayag. Benassayag objected to the emphasis placed by the AIU school on the secular learning which left little time for the religious studies. The members of the Junta raised the objection after the presentation by Fresco of a scientific explanation of rain rather than a theological one. Benassayag also claimed that the teachers of the AIU were telling the children that the Almighty did not part the Red Sea. This denial of the biblical account was considered blasphemous. Fresco denied the accusation but reiterated that the AIU was not a rabbinical school and would not be transformed into one.[15]

This bitterness lasted for an additional year, with Benassayag and the Junta requesting additional time for religious studies and Fresco complaining that they were trying to change the nature of the AIU school. Finally, Fresco offered a compromise: a religious track to be known as the Talmud Tora within the AIU to be detached and run by the community. The community would teach the religious studies but the boys would attend the AIU for the secular classes. The compromise won out with the approval of the Central Committee in Paris and because Fresco had the funds to implement the decision. He had successfully outmanuevered the Junta.[16]

In March 1887, Fresco rented a facility and detached the Talmud Tora from the boys' school of the AIU. The remaining boys would be taught a minimum number of Jewish classes. The Junta was outraged and tried to prevent there being a secularized school for boys without proper Judaic studies. The campaign forced all the male pupils to withdraw from the AIU school. The rabbis actively campaigned on behalf of the Talmud Tora and against the boys' school. The boycott was quick and complete. In the beginning of March 1888, Fresco had 200 pupils; by 14 March, only 14; by 16 March, 7 pupils; by 17 March, 5 pupils. However, Fresco persevered and by 16 May he had 41 pupils. AIU authorities in Paris decided to close the school for a year and to reopen in late 1887.[17] Throughout this period, the girls' school remained open and functional.[18]

In November 1887, Moise Fresco was relieved of his duties in Tangier and replaced by David Haym. Haym came to an accord with the Junta

which very much wanted to have a school and apparently felt relieved at the departure of Fresco. The accord had several parts:

1. The boys' school would be administered directly by AIU personnel and not the Junta.
2. The school director would deal directly with the parents and the Junta would not.
3. The director alone would determine the amount of tuition to be paid.
4. The Junta would provide the AIU with the rabbinic personnel for the Hebrew and religious classes.[19]

Although the teachers, most of whom were of Balkan origin did not feel themselves part of the community, nonetheless this would be a school for the community and the Junta realized this notion. In exchange for the increase in religious studies the Junta was prepared to give more authority to the director. The Junta did not want to administer the school directly but had not been able to work with Fresco. His removal and the following cooling off period allowed for compromise.

The Popular Revolt

By 1890, the youth of the community had been educated in the community school system which included the AIU school for nearly three decades. The previous system of election of the representative Junta only by the notables and heads of families who had contributed to the communal funds would no longer suffice. There was a demand for the democratization of the community apparatus. There was a clear need for a specific term of office for the Junta and for universal sufferage, namely males over the age of eighteen. The economic pressures on the community organization demanded accountability to the general Jewish population of Tangier. Haim Benchimol, a civic minded banker, took the initiative by calling for a meeting in the Bet Yehuda Synagogue, which was popularly known as the Assayag Synagogue. The meeting was held on 15 March 1890. The synagogue was filled. Benchimol spoke first and briefly. Then others spoke and an election was held. This election was completely illegal by the rules of the Jewish community as well as by the local law. The results of this approach to a universal suffrage election was the establishment of a new Junta. Its membership included: Haim Benchimol, Ruben Nahmiash, Joseph Toledano, Moses Anidjar, Isaac S. Nahon, Ayush Benasuli, Moses Benassayag, Isaac Laredo, Pinhas Assayag, Abraham Pinto, Isaac Abensur and Abraham M. Laredo. Since the last two were not present, they declined to participate in this newly elected Junta. The Junta then elected its executive in keeping with established policy. President, Haim Benchimol; Vice-presidents, Isaac S. Nahon,

Moses Benassayag; Secretaries, Pinhas Assayag, Isaac Laredo; Treasurer, Ruben Nahmiash.

The Chief Rabbi, Mordejai Bengio, refused to accept the legality of this Junta which was elected without his consent or presence. However, the rabbi stated that he had no objections to the reforms proposed. Some people tried to remain neutral; others to intervene in order to make peace. Another general meeting was called in the Nahon Synagogue (Masaat Moses Synagogue which was the principal synagogue at the time). This meeting was to elect a Junta loyal to the Chief Rabbi and to the previous administration. A petition with five pages of names was submitted to Bengio to accept the elected, revolutionary Junta. This Junta met and immediately tried to impose its authority on the communal organizations. Particular concern was shown towards education, charitable organizations and the community welfare system. On 9 April 1890, the last day of the intermediary days of Passover, a motion for a vote of confidence was held in favor of the revolutionary Junta. The elected, revolutionary Junta faced the problems of making the infrastructure accountable to it rather than the establishment Junta. The *Shohetim* refused to use the new tax stamps issued by the revolutionary Junta. The charities refused to open their books to the Junta. Consequently, the revolutionary Junta found itself without funds or income. Finally, the Chief Rabbi called a counter meeting in the Nahon Synagogue. Chief Rabbi Bengio presided and Abraham Laredo spoke. He faced a large number of hecklers. The shouting and verbal fighting produced a city-wide scandal. The municipal authorities had to send police in to establish order. The verbal attacks became personal and public. Chief Rabbi Bengio, who all of his professional life had advocated the establishment of the Junta and its democratization, threatened to resign. The support of the many neutral individuals prevented him from doing so. The revolutionary Junta went to the Basha of Tangier, Sid Ben Abdelessedoc and explained in detail what had transpired. They put their support behind Rabbi Eliyahu Elmaleh to become the Chief Rabbi. Abdelessedoc threatened to use force if necessary to maintain order in the Jewish community. A few days later, the Basha called a meeting in his palace in the *Casbah* of Tangier. Present were a number of members of the revolutionary Junta and Chief Rabbi Bengio. Tea and cake were served as the Basha tried to maintain an atmosphere of friendship and reconciliation. Aside from the Jews, only the Basha and two Black servants were present. The Basha forced each member of the revolutionary Junta to kiss the hand of the Chief Rabbi as a sign of loyalty and respect. In turn, the Basha forced the Chief Rabbi to hug and kiss each member of the revolutionary Junta who was present as a sign of acceptance. The Basha then asked for a blessing from the

Chief Rabbi for everyone present, a sign of support by the Basha for the piety and position of Bengio. Everyone answered Amen, Amen. The rabbi and the new president of the Junta, Benchimol, left the palace arm-in-arm. The crowd which had gathered outside began to sing. The parade marched through the city. At its head marched the president and the Chief Rabbi arm-in-arm followed by the officers of the executive and hundreds of Jews. They marched to the home of Bengio where he blessed the multitude. The revolutionary Junta ruled for ten years, reelected three consecutive times. Benchimol used his own money to underwrite many of the community's activities and expenses.[20]

The Junta began to look more frequently for advice on administration to the Sanitary Committee. The Jewish community became a source of rivalry between the European powers. When the English teacher resigned in June 1890, the German minister tried to influence the Jewish community into a pro-German stance by offering to pay 30% of the subsidy for the teacher.[21]

The supremacy of the Tangierian Junta was well established particularly amongst the northern Moroccan communities. The Junta was asked to mediate a dispute between the rabbi of Arzila and the local Jewish Community Council. The argument centered around responsibilties and personnel. In Arzila, the ritual slaughterers were Abraham Judah Levy and Abraham Mimon Anidjar; cantors were Isaac Benarrosh and Abraham Bensimon; warden of the Synagogue, Jacob Edery; treasurer, Abraham Bensimon and Judah Anidjar. The Junta tried to reach an effective agreement and reestablish order in the Jewish community of Arzila.[22]

When Jews were in trouble anywhere in Morocco, the Junta of Tangier, once informed of the situation, would do its utmost to involve itself with the foreign powers represented in Tangier. Some Jews were arrested in Rabat on the demand of the Portuguese vice-consul in that city. In an effort to alleviate the situation of these Jews[23], the Junta agreed to meet with the Portuguese minister in Tangier and to discuss the matter with him.[24]

In October 1890, the *Maghzen* sent troops into Tangier to quell the internecine Arab fighting which led to a near riot in the port of Tangier, near the Villa Harris.[25]

The Hospital

The hospital of the community was always a concern. It was difficult to provide proper medical care and yet keep the operating budget within the income received from the meat-tax and the charitable contributions at the prayer services. Dr. Melyoral was the attending physician but like

many others he was preparing to return to Europe where his medical skills would earn him a more lucrative income. The Committee discussed possible replacements and methods of funding the hospital. In 1891, Haim Benchimol, the president of the Junta, gave the community the necessary permanent endowment funding for the hospital. The committee decided to name the facility in his honor and the institution became popularly known as Hospital Benchimol.[26] The hospital's doctor was usually recruited and sent to Tangier at the expense of the Rothschild family. The Junta realized that they would need a doctor from Paris if they were to be able to rely on continued French funding. Consequently, they considered the application and evaluated the recommendations of Dr. Schmidl, an Austrian Jew, to serve as communal physician. The Junta also felt that they needed to develop a separate board to govern the hospital which had grown in size.[27] In August of 1890, the hospital board was appointed consisting of Haim Jacob Pinto, Moses Toledano, Joseph Buzaglo and Moses Shriqui.[28] In 1893, the Daughters of Sion Society, a ladies auxilliary for the Hospital Benchimol, unique in all of Morocco, began to meet to help in the financing of the institution. Hana Nahon de Laredo was the founder of the society. In 1895, the Hygiene Commission had to deal with an outbreak of cholera, a frequent occurrence.[29]

The Junta itself began to meet more infrequently during these years. There were attempts to evade economic reform by failing to meet and tackle the problems. The AIU school had educated a new generation of leaders who were less traditional in their outlook. The minutes show a break-down in the proper use of *Hakatia,* the Judeo-Spanish dialect of Tangier. The Hebrew words, from 1893 onward, are spelled as if they were Spanish words. It is as if the secretary did not know the proper spelling of many simple Hebrew words such as *Nedaba*.[30] Also misspelled is *Parnas*[31], as if the person who wrote them knew their meaning but had never spelled the Hebrew words. The same is true of the word Pascua.[32] The officers of the Junta at this time were Haim Benchimol (president), Isaac Nahon (vice-president), Pinhas Assayag and Isaac Laredo (secretaries), and Salomon Nahon (treasurer).

The school ranked high in importance to the board. They were very concerned about the quality of the teaching and the effectiveness of the training especially for those who would have to enter the business world. In May 1896, Albert Israel was hired to teach accounting and was paid 6 ducats for two hours a week, Sunday and Thursday, 4:30-5:30. The students were Isaac Cohen, Yahya Cohen, Abraham Pimienta, and Meni Benoliel from the AIU school and Yochua Toledano and Moses Toledano from the English school.[33] The pupils were drawn from both schools. The

Junta was anxious to start a community library to serve the students as well as the general Jewish population.[34]

The Junta marked the death of Baron de Hirsch with great sadness for all he had done for the *"Raza Judia,"* Jewish race.[35]

The Formation of the Alumni Association

There were enough graduates of the original school to form an association of alumni from those who had received their education at the *"Alianza."* This association was entitled: Le comite de l'association des anciens eleves de l'Alliance Israelite Universelle (The Committee of the Association of Alumni of the AIU).[36] The role of the committee was to raise funds for the various projects of the school as well as fund social welfare projects for the students.

The Alumni Association of the Alliance school formulated their own regulations for governing their committee. The Alianza (AIU) soon grew in power and in prestige in Tangier. The regulations of the Alumni Association were as follows:

1. All members had to have attended AIU schools.
2. They must pay their dues of Pta.0.50
3. Committee members must live in Tangier.
4. One must be nominated by a member in order to become a member of the association.
5. Members must contribute to Jewish education in Morocco and for the education of poor students.
6. Members must be of help to the citizenry in general.
7. The alumni association will open offices in each city where the AIU had schools. These local associations will be subject to the control of the Tangierian association.
8. Elections must be held during the first fortnight of January and participants are to be by invitation only.
9. One must be twenty years of age or older in order to be a member.
10. Elections are to be held by secret ballot. Any member may become a candidate.
11. There must be an annual budget report to the general assemblage.
12. A majority vote would be needed to change any of the regulations.[37]

Several honorary members were to be included in the roster of the board: H. Martin, A.J. Lugaro, Yamin Gabay and Haim Joseph Nahon.[38] The association of the former students of the Alliance would allow women to become members and to run affairs for the association.

There continued to be a large number of indigent students in the school system. On 15 March 1896, the boys' school needed 30 pairs of shoes for poor students. For the girls' school, the Alumni Association needed to

purchase 24 pairs of traditional slippers, babuches. For the English school there were nine male students in need who received clothing and food. For the girls' school started by Srtas. Regina Sicsu and Miriam Sicsu, they allotted fifty pairs of the same type of shoes.[39]

The alumni association also assisted in the funding for the external migration of poor young men. The greatest emotional stress faced by the community was the sending of these young men out of Tangier to find employment opportunities in South America. In June 1896, Isaac Laredo and M. Laredo spoke to the Marquis de Comillas requesting a 50% fare reduction for three needy young men who wanted to emigrate to Argentina.[40] They were also impressed with the development of agricultural settlements in the Holy Land and Argentina. The Marquis responded favorably to the idea of the reduced fare. The Marquis' suggestion to write to Cie. General Trans-Atlantique de Paris was accepted. Menahem Nahon noted that seven additional young men were looking for assistance to leave Tangier for South America.[41] However, when the time came for the fare reduction to be implemented, the Marquis refused to honor the recommendation.[42] Without the reduction, the regular fare was 40 ducats per passenger. That cost would prohibit the Junta from being of assistance to these young men.[43]

The poverty issue continued to plague the Jewish community. Those few who had funds had to support a great many without adequate income. The Junta decided on a charitable dinner, the proceeds of which would go to support needy students. A total of 217 needy students were thus assisted—63 girls from the AIU under the supervision of Mme. Israel; 142 boys under the supervision of M. Ribbi; and 12 from the English school.[44]

Library

One of the newly recommended projects was the development of a proper library for the Jewish community. There was however great concern about the linguistic priorities of the library since the population was effectively quadrilingual—Hebrew, French, Spanish and English. A total of 750 pta was allocated for the purchase of books—500 pta for French books, 200 pta for Spanish works and 50 pta for English language books. The Junta turned to the AIU in Paris and the Anglo-Jewish Association in London for financial assistance as well as for guidance as to which types of books should be purchased. The library was to be centrally located and open daily except, of course, on Jewish holidays and the Sabbath. The hours were to be 10 AM-12 noon; 1-4 PM. One employee would be hired. There would be a fee of 5 centavos to borrow a book or a subscription of 10 centavos per month. There would be a deposit of 3 pesetas for any

book borrowed.[45] Ribbi drew up a list of books he felt should be in the library.[46] Moise Nahon was engaged to be the librarian. Samuel Levy, a school teacher, was asked to give the inaugural address on a topic relating to Jewish history.[47] The library was opened on 20 December 1896 at a ceremony which lasted from 3-5:00 P.M. The press was invited to cover this important event reflecting the growth of the community. Judah Elmaleh who had won the Premio Laredo as the best student in the school was presented with an award at the ceremony.[48]

A letter was received from the community in New York City. Mr. R. H. Toledano wrote to the Junta to allow Albert J. Nahon to serve as their representative in New York.[49] In February 1897, Mr. Joshua J. Toledano contributed 15 volumes to the newly opened library. Albert J. Nahon and S. Elmaleh, both of New York City, donated additional English language books.[50] It was agreed later to allow Jews from Tetuan to borrow books from the community library.[51]

The community library continued to function under the auspices of Abraham Coriat. There was a need for books in English, Spanish and Judeo-Spanish but the shortage of funds prevented extensive purchases for the library. It was noted with joy that a library was opened in Mogador. In June 1897, Coriat resigned and S. Levy was appointed librarian.[52]

In the 1890's, Haim Benchimol dominated the Junta. He was assisted by Messod Abecassis, an interpreter for the USA legation.[53] Isaac Abensur continued to dominate the Junta politics thereafter. He was returned to the presidency in 1897. Samuel Nahon became vice-president; Haim Toledano and Mordejai Laredo were elected secretary. The other members of the Junta were: Raphael Bendelac, Salomon Buzaglo, Moses Nahon, R. Bendelac, Samuel Levy and Isaac A. Coriat.[54]

In the town of Arzila, two Jews were accused of raping an Arab woman. There were rumors abounding that the Moslem population was prepared to storm the jail and forcibly deal with the Jews. The committee in Arzila wrote to the Junta requesting assistance. The Tangierian Junta relied again on their close contacts with the Europeans in order to assist the Jews in gaining protection from the mob.[55]

The general depression which began in 1873 continued in Tangier although somewhat abated. Many young men of the community continued to go to Latin America to make their fortunes. Only males left, since the females were required by tradition to remain at home. Brazil and Argentina were favored immigration targets.[56] Once in Brazil the young men of thirteen and older were employed as salesmen and peddlers. The older men who had settled in the larger cities of Brazil would help their younger relatives when they arrived, sending them farther up the Amazon River.

The final stop was Iquitos, Peru which eventually developed into a community of Moroccan males. The young males would often mate with, but rarely marry, local women. They would have children whom they could not take back with them to Tangier, when, having made their fortune, they decided to return home.[57] On rare occasion, when such women would be brought to Tangier, they were called *las indias*. One such woman, a devoted convert to Judaism, was referred to as *Tita Rahel* (auntie Rachel) and was fondly remembered and loved by the community.[58] Today many Indians in Iquitos bear Moroccan Jewish surnames.

There was much correspondence with Iquitos. Donations were sent and communal news shared as when H. Cohen died there in early spring of 1897.[59] The minutes of 23 May 1897 report a 500 soles donation from Iquitos to the Tangierian community which was exchanged for £50 less a 4% commission. The Junta tried to use its good offices to find out more about the actual conditions in Iquitos but realized that they were unable to ascertain the true facts. Contact was also maintained through the USA consulate.[60]

The Junta realized that while the economic depression had made the situation difficult for the youth of the city, Tangier continued to be a haven for migrants from other parts of Morocco where the economy was even worse. An unexpected benefit of emigration was the donations sent from abroad. The long range benefit would be the return of these young people to Tangier with capital. The Junta agreed to a resolution "favorecera la emigracion a jovenes que sus aptitudes lo merezcan procurando preferira los que conozcan un oficio: (in favor of the emigration of youth who have an aptitude for selling or who know a trade)." A fund of $80 was set aside as a result of the request by two young men who wanted to emigrate to Argentina. The Junta developed three criteria for determining who would be aided by this fund:

1. The funds could be used for passage only.
2. The applicant must produce a letter of recommendation from his teacher, office manager or two respectable persons as to his character, aptitude, work and literacy.
3. He must be 18-22 years old.[61]

The development of this fund was announced in all the synagogues. The increasing unemployment rate was a major consideration not only because of the effect on the youth but also because of demands on the welfare agencies of the Jewish Community. The USA consul Burke was again called upon to clarify the situation in Iquitos and to determine the correct rate of exchange for the Peruvian Sol.[62] Once the announcement was made about the fund, there began a steady stream of young men who wanted

the necessary assistance to emigrate. The first applicants to the Emigration Fund were David Buzaglo, Moyses S. Levy, Haim M. Israel, and Jacob Abecassis, all of whom wanted to go to Argentina. Moses Franquiros requested assistance to go to Brazil. Isaac Laredo recommended to the Junta a more liberal program of grants. Because of the grave economic situation, the fund assisted as many who wished to emigrate as possible and who, it was hoped, would be successful.[63] The Junta did pay for the emigration of David Buzaglo and Moyses Levy to Argentina. Three weeks later the two recipients were on their way bound by steamer to Para, Brazil.[64] However, news of the untimely death in Argentina of Isaac Benhayon, one of the earlier young emigrants, dampened the enthusiasm about the emigration policy.[65] Nonetheless, letters continued to arrive from young men who wished to study abroad as did Issajar Hachuel and Messod Tapiero who wanted to go to the agricultural school in Djederida or Abraham Banon who wanted to emigrate, or M. Hayon of Fez who wanted help in order to go to Paris.[66]

Some Tangierian Jews also emigrated to Casablanca. In 1898, the Tangierian Synagogue in Casablanca was founded by Isaac Benzaquen.[67]

A critical blow to the education system was delivered when Moses Isaac Nahon told the Junta that he was leaving the school in Tangier to be the head of the school in Casablanca which had 150 needy pupils. The Tangier school was not in much better circumstance. The two Alliance schools and the Talmud Tora taught 341 economically disadvantaged students who needed assistance even in the procurement of their clothing:
Boys - AIU - 140 suits, 58 shirts, for 140 pupils.
Girls- AIU - 96 dresses, 40 shirts, for 96 pupils.
Talmud Tora - 105 suits and 54 shirts for 105 pupils.[68]
The total cost of the clothing was 256.4.75. Although the students apparently were being trained for an occupation, the skills they developed were insufficient to meet the limited demand for managerial workers. Consequently, it was decided to open a special course in white linen repair, but the financial cost limited the number of students. It was finally agreed to open such a program under the the following circumstances:

1. Only eight students would be admitted, and they must be from economically poor families.
2. Only students who had studied at the AIU school and who had dropped out would be allowed to enter the course.
3. Each student must pay some tuition. Those who work half day would be charged one ducat per month. Those who worked a full day would be charged 2 ducats per month.
4. The course would begin with only four students and be expanded to eight as the course proceeded.

5. Mrs. R. Bendelac and Mrs. Isaac Coriat would supervise the course in keeping with the letters exchanged with the AIU.[69] There was difficulty in renting the required space for the course and in recruiting the necessary students, partially due to the depressed economic situation.[70]

The Benassyag Administration

New elections for the committee were held in November 1898. The executive was elected by the Junta and consisted of Abraham Y. Benassayag as president; Samuel A. Nahon, vice-president; Haim J. Toledano and Abraham Cohen, as secretaries; and Raphael Bendelac as treasurer. Other committee members included Samuel Lasry, Abraham Ribbi, S.D. Levy, Isaac A. Coriat and Samuel Elmaleh.[71]

The Junta agreed that two solutions to the economic hardships facing the youth of Tangier existed. First, the improvement of the schools and of the courses taught. Secondly, the emigration of that segment of the Jewish population which could not find decent employment in Tangier. Consequently, on 20 January 1898, funds were authorized for Jacob Toledano to go to Iquitos and R. Azancot to go to San Chonce. The Junta also formalized a system of bulletins to inform those expatriate youth of events in Tangier and to regulate more carefully the system of correspondence and the appeal for funds from the emigrant community.[72]

While there were significant numbers of poor in Tangier, the city was nonetheless a beacon to the less fortunate Jews elsewhere. Large numbers of families from other areas of Morocco, particularly Meknes and Mogador found their ways into Tangier. By 1906, in the AIU girls' school there were 139 pupils of Tangierian background and 70 new to the city; the same situation existed with the boys, 154 were native and 120 were the children of migrants.[73]

Several major commercial firms were opened which dealt with European merchants either residing in Tangier or in import-export industries. Noted amongst them were Maison Pariente, Maison Benassayag and Maison Azancot each doing business in the 300,000-500,000 franc range.[74] Many of the Tangierian graduates of the AIU school in the city were able to work for these merchants because of their knowledge of Spanish, French and English. The AIU graduates also worked in the foreign legations as secretaries, translators and confidants.[75]

Moses Bendayan, in a disagreement with Mr. and Mrs. Abraham Maman, settled a claim concerning a store valued at 450 ducats, in an arbitration procedure. The arbiters were Mr. Laredo and Isaac Benzaquen who were working for the American consulate. Although the document is in French and is dated 19 February 1895, it is embossed with the seal

of the American consulate. Because of this seal, Bendayan was able to claim American protection.[76] The Spanish translation was signed by J. Judson Barclay Jr. US Vice Consul General.[77] Often the Jews who served as interpreters for the various foreign legations spoke Arabic which they wrote in Hebrew characters, known as Judeo-Arabic.[78] The Jews were helpful to the European consular officials in overcoming the intricacies of Tangierian life. The rivalry between the European powers grew so great that it also affected the Catholic Church. The French diplomat, St. Aulaire, was able to breach the hold of the Spanish on the Catholic mission in Tangier. The Franciscan religious organization in Tangier had been under Spanish control since the time of the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns in the l6th century. St. Aulaire in an attempt to break the Spanish monopoly on the Catholic Church in Tangier, had six nuns assigned to the French Hospital. Their order required them to have a chaplain for a group that size. Consequently, a French priest was smuggled into Tangier to serve as chaplain for the nuns. In this manner the French citizens of Tangier were no longer required to go to a Spanish priest.[79]

Many of the foreign diplomats were married to American women who had wealth and were looking for romantic titles. These women continued to live in luxury, which to Tangierians meant having European clothing, being carried in sedan chairs and having Jewish rather than Moslem servants.[80]

The integrated nature of the Jews of various nationalities and the Europeans led to closer cooperation in health problems. The Sanitary Commission of 28 June 1889 included each grouping; Francisco Lozano Munoz (Spanish Consul) as president; English - Trinidad Abrines (who was partners with a Jew), Antonio Molinari, Augustine Lugano; French - Kerdec, Ros, Peters; Italian - Petri, Ducali; Spanish - Dr. Cenarro, Dr. Ovilo, Rendos, Vidal, Bonelli, Estern; Jews - I. Nahon, I. Abensur, M. Bendrao, A. Laredo. The Jews came to meetings as a national entity. In 1889, there were four Jews on the commission. In 1896, five of the fourteen members were Jews.[81]

CHAPTER FIVE

Economic Depression, 1900-1919

Tangier at the turn of the century was an amalgam of many people. Most of the Europeans were poor Spaniards who fled the economic crises of Spain. They earned their living by smuggling, running bars and cafes, and raising pigs. Many were alcoholics.[1] The wealthier Europeans associated with the diplomats. These were mainly Britishers who had come to Tangier for either health reasons or to escape from prison sentences. The streets of the city were filthy and one needed to ride on donkeys and have guards. There were no theaters, no concerts, none of the cultural life of Europe. The wives of the diplomats had little to talk about for there was little variety of clothing and there were no dressmakers to visit.[2] The wives of European diplomats had to be carried by sedan chair by Jews, as no Moslem would carry a Christian woman and no European would be a porter. No Jew would carry at all on the Sabbath.[3] Therefore the European women of wealth had to remain at home on the Jewish Sabbath. The cultural life at the turn of the century consisted of picnics, tea with the Sharifa of Ouezzane, Emily Keene, tennis and dinner at the Villa of Walter Harris which was guarded by Arabs from the Rif mountains. There were also dinners with the US consul Samuel R. Gummere, who owned the first phonograph in Tangier.[4]

The various currencies in use at the time in Tangier had stabilized at 200 ducats = 200 dollars = £40.[5] Pesatas, French Francs, and Moroccan Hassanis were also in use. The various currencies reflected and enhanced foreign commerce. The port of Tangier was expanded, particularly to include German shipping. In 1900, 68 German ships docked with total tonnage of 103,123; in 1901, 74 ships; in 1902 and 1903, 73 ships.[6] In 1901, a total of 1168 ships of different nationalities docked in Tangier for a total tonnage of 478,259. The majority of ships were Spanish (641), English (274), French (122) and then German.[7] This was a drop from 1900 when 1336 ships docked with greater tonnage.

In 1900, the Bet El Synagogue was opened and financed by a legacy left by Joseph Perez, contributed as a result of his commercial successes.[8]

Ahmed el-Raisuli

The turn of the century also marked a renewed interest in Tangier by various thieves. A young bandit, Ahmed el-Raisuli, from the Rif Mountains had made his mark on history. As a youth, he had studied Koranic law but chose a life of banditry. When Ahmed was twenty, Vizier Ba Ahmed had the Basha of Tangier banish him. The Basha was Raisuli's foster brother and this brought about great animosity between the two. Raisuli, after being beaten and imprisoned, was exiled to Mogador for a jail term of four years. When Abdel-Aziz became the sultan, Raisuli was forgiven in a general amnesty. Raisuli's release was obtained by Leo Gentile, the Italian diplomat in Tangier who had been a friend of both Raisuli and Abdel-Aziz.[9]

Raisuli returned to banditry, which he continued until he was captured in 1925 by Abdel Krim. He robbed and looted at will. He joined with the Spanish or against them or with the Sultan or against him whichever benefited him for the moment. He maintained a fleet of pirate ships. His years of imprisonment had made him an angry, bitter man. He chopped off the ears of a messenger who brought him bad news. He humiliated another, a devout Moslem, by cutting off his beard. He supposedly bought a man, against whom he had a grudge, for $1500, only to chop off the man's head at his door. He would kidnap people either for ransom, slavery or murder.[10]

In 1903, Raisuli's men kidnapped Walter Harris from his villa in Tangier. As an old friend, Raisuli exchanged Harris for some of Raisuli's men who were being held in a Tangier prison. Raisuli's most famous victim was Ion Perdicaris, a Greek-American and his stepson, Cromwell Varley. Perdicaris claimed USA citizenship. In a note to the US consul, Raisuli demanded: 1) $70,000; 2) release of all his men in Tangierian prisons; 3) the withdrawal of the Sultan's army from the north of Morocco; 4) the appointment of himself, Raisuli, as the governor of Tangier in place of his foster brother.[11]

In the USA, it was an election year and Theodore Roosevelt wanted the Republican nomination. The President ordered Secretary of State John Hay to cable Samuel Gummere, the American consul in Tangier: "I want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." Theodore Roosevelt read the cable at the convention and won applause. Roosevelt sent seven ships of the South Atlantic fleet to Tangier Bay and was prepared to land marines. This bravado won Roosevelt the acclaim of the American

people.[12] Sultan Abdel-Aziz negotiated a release of Perdicaris with Raisuli but it took two months to do so. The Moroccans were impressed with the USA because the Americans had beaten the Moroccan arch-enemy, Spain, in the battle for Cuba during the Spanish-American War. Perdicaris was over 70 and Leo Gentile who had earlier won Raisuli's release was his son-in-law. Consequently, the stay with Raisuli was not too bad. To gain Perdicaris' release, the Sultan gave in to every demand of Raisuli including making him Basha of Tangier. The irony of it all was that Perdicaris had been declared a civil war draft dodger just two weeks before his kidnapping, after a review of war records. Roosevelt knew this before his cable was sent.[13]

Raisuli was Basha of Tangier only a short time. His rule was marked with deliberate terrorism and corruption. He sat at the gate of the Soco (marketplace), reclined on a divan and judged cases based upon the size of the bribe. People were flogged on the spot.[14] At will, he cut off the electrical supply, which had been put in place by the Spanish. He tried to blackmail the Europeans, killed and tortured Moslems in an attempt to increase his personal wealth and power. In 1906, Sultan Abdel-Aziz removed Raisuli from office.[15] When Mulai Hafid, half-brother of Sultan Abdel-Aziz, revolted in 1908, Raisuli smartly sided with Hafid who eventually secured the throne for himself. Although no longer Basha of Tangier, Raisuli maintained a palace in the city.[16] Jewish community life, however, continued, with Messod Ammar as *Sheikh el-Yehud* in 1901. The Russian Jewish physician, Dr. Spivacoff, became head of the Hospital Benchimol, a position he held until 1933. He was an important figure in the various ethnic communities and represented Czarist Russia on the Sanitary Commisssion until the Russian revolution.

Commerce in Tangier continued. The liner, *Joaquin del Pietago* of the Transatlantic Company, arrived in Tangier almost daily. In 1901, Spanish tonnage was seconded only by the English.[17] However, the Germans were increasing their exports to Tangier. In 1900, trade was 638,160 DM: in 1901, 923,720 DM; 1902, 1,935,530 DM;[18]

German Presence in Tangier

A significant German presence began to develop at the end of the nineteenth century and continued until 1914. Dr. Schmidl, an Austrian Jewish physician was proposed as the German consul in 1871.[19] Haessner-Jochimssohn was the first German firm to operate in Morocco, opening in Tangier in 1879.[20] A Jewish firm, Labos and Haim A. Toledano, exported eggs, fruit and wool to Germany.[21] A German school was opened in Tangier with Mrs. Karow as the directrix.[22] In 1899, Judah Azancot was the agent of a branch of Gerdzen und Ruschhaupt of Hamburg. Many other Jews

worked for or with German firms.[23] The Germans also opened a school in Tangier as had the French, Spanish and Italians. In 1909, the four children of Isaac Laredo attended the German school.[24]

Jahn et Toledano Cie. was a German firm with close connections to the Moroccan Monarchy. In 1903, Jahn was sent by the Sultan Abdel Aziz to buy more than 1000 Winchester Carbines for the Sultan's forces.[25] Some wholly owned Jewish firms did extensive business with the Germans—such as Nahon and also Toledano.[26] Renshhauser joined in a business association with two Jews—Sananes et Benassayag in the tobacco business, which became the largest German manufacturing firm in Tangier. The firm of Sananes et Benassayag had capital in 1903 of 120,000 DM. In 1904, the firm employed 100 workers, mostly Spanish, who made 250,000 cigarettes daily, realizing a profit of 30,000 DM. The cigarettes were sold internally as well as exported to France and Britain.[27] From 1908 until 1914, a German language newspaper was printed in Tangier entitled *Deutsche Marokko Zeitung* (German Morocco Newspaper).

President Theodore Roosevelt asked the USA diplomat in Tangier to keep in close contact with his German colleague after it was announced on 20 March 1905 that the German Kaiser would visit Tangier to demonstrate German interests in Morocco.[28] The Kaiser was fearful of travel to Tangier because of the notoriety created by the kidnappings and because there was no direct pier for landing. Visitors still had to be carried ashore, often by Jews.[29] The Chancellor telegraphed von Kuhlmann, the German minister in Tangier, that German and Spanish secret agents and police should be present in abundance; that the horse the Kaiser would ride on be gentle and tired.[30] Jewish women, fascinated by the arrival of royalty, pushed to see the Kaiser when he arrived on 31 March 1905 aboard the liner *Hamburg*.[31] The Junta, representing the 6000 Jews, sent an official delegation to welcome the Kaiser. That delegation included Abraham M. Laredo, Chief Rabbi Bengio, President of the Junta Isaac M. Nahon and Joseph Lasry, a British subject. The French sent two ships, the *du Chayla* and the *Linois,* in a show of force to the German presence. Equally, the French legation had their nationals decorate the streets of Tangier with the colors of the French flag. The Kaiser disembarked at 11:30 AM and had to be carried ashore by two German sailors. He was hoisted on his horse which later became frightened because of the tumultuous crowds which had come out to see the German leader.[32] The one day visit seemed a success for the German efforts. Many elderly Tangierian Jews continued thereafter to use the visit of the Kaiser to fix certain dates such as births or deaths.

In 1905, there was a crop failure.[33] In 1906, there was a drought in Morocco which was followed by an epidemic, famine and a depressed economy.[34] However, Tangier continued to prosper for it had a relatively strong middle class unique to Morocco consisting primarily of Jews.[35] Migration continued into Tangier of a considerable number of *Kitab* (Arabic: Moslem scribes) and other educated men from Rabat, Fez and Marrakesh, many of whom found work with the Banque d'Etat. The European and Jewish populations also grew although some of the Jews were poor coming from the more depressed areas of Morocco.[36]

In 1908, a feeble attempt to modernize and free Morocco was made in Tangier by a small group of intellectuals primarily consisting of the editorial board of the Arabic weekly, *Lisan al-Magreb*. They proposed reforms based on the Turkish Midhat Constitution, restored in July of that year. It is doubtful that more than 100 Moroccans ever read the Tangier draft and therefore it had only symbolic effect on Moroccan political activity.[37] However, the draft was indicative of the general political and intellectual life of Tangier. Although there was poverty, there was also a growing intellectual element.

The Algeciras Conference

The exchange of remarks between the President of the United States and the American representative in Tangier had been part of an ongoing effort by the United States to support the efforts of Germany in Tangier and thereby limit the influence of France and Spain. However, Germany looked to Spain as an ally. Britain tried to limit the effects of France and Spain in northern Africa. Consequently, the Americans were able to win German support for another international conference on Morocco and Tangier, similar to one held in 1880 in Madrid which discussed Morocco but avoided the question of Tangier. The French and Spanish reluctantly agreed to this arrangement after signing a secret agreement in September of 1905, providing for the establishment of Spanish police officers in the Presidios and French police officials in Rabat and Casablanca, with a mixed corps in Tangier.[38]

The Conference of Algeciras was convened on 16 January 1906, in the Spanish port of Algeciras opposite Tangier and the English colony at Gibraltar. All the members of the Madrid Conference of 1880 were present except Norway. Russia joined the conference. The Germans favored the internationalization of Tangier with the consular corps having control over the police. The French were adamantly against the internationalization and projected the need for the support of the local French and Spanish political establishment.[39]

Although the General Acts of the International Conference at Algeciras did not deal with Tangier separately, the important element for the local population was the establishment of a multinational supervision for the police force. French and Spanish officers were to be under the administration of a Swiss supervisor of police throughout Morocco. He was to be located in Tangier. Article 61 of the General Acts indicated that all income from taxation on city buildings would be turned over to the International Sanitary Council which would budget its use until the creation of a municipal organization. The Sanitation Council which had been formed by Jews and Europeans to prevent further outbreaks of epidemic carried by returning Moslem pilgrims had now become the city council of a municipality with international characteristics. The ground work had been laid for the internationalization of the city along the lines developed by the Sanitary Council which included the consular officials as well as resident Jews and concerned Moslem officials. Jews were also an intergral part of the council as proteges of foreign nationals. Jews who were nationals of either France or Spain could also serve in the police force and often did so as officers. The Tangierian police were organized into two chains of commands. The Spanish were in charge of the police within the city limits while the French were in charge of the police in the adjacent rural district. However, six months after the installation of these police procedures, the British colony in Tangier petitioned the British government to send its warships to Tangier on the grounds that the instituted procedures were inadequate. The British did not respond.[40]

Subsequently, on 27 May 1906, when Albert Charbonnier, a local Frenchman, was found murdered on the Tangier beach, the French diplomat St. Rene Aulaire called into action the provisions of the Algeciras Conference requesting the landing of French and Spanish military policing force. The murders and robberies were part of the increasing poverty caused by the long economic recession. The number of poor people continued to grow with little hope for improvement. On 4 July 1906, the French sent two warships, the *Kleber* and the *Jeanne d'Arc,* to Tangier and forced the Sultan's representative, Mohammed Torres, to pay indemnification. In December 1906, Raisuli fled from Tangier back to Zinat and a limited peace was restored to the city.[41] The pressure of internationalization was too much for Raisuli to withstand.

Protectorate Agreement of 1912

Based upon the French-Spanish treaty of 27 November 1912, two zones of protection were organized, effectively excluding the other signatories from interference in French and Spanish plans for Morocco. The Spanish Zone was located in the northern area and the French Zone was estab-

lished in the larger, southern section of the country. Tangier was left as a special zone not because either nation refused to govern the city but rather because of the large and diverse European and consular presence there. The Sanitary Council which had replaced in name the Hygiene Council, gained a special status. That committee included: A. Jhin, E. Sanz, A. Sastre, A. Ortenbach, Dr. S. M. Guitta, Dr. Pean, Daniel Saurin, P. Vezin, Charles Gautser, J. Abensur, B. Benassayag and H. Benasuli. The last three were from the Jewish community, as was Dr. Guitta. Juan Potous served as president. Tangier at the time had 80% of the European population of Morocco. Casablanca in 1912 was a fishing village called Arifa and had a population of 4000 with a presence of 60 Europeans.[42]

The interpreter for the Grand Vizier, el-Haj Mohammed el-Mokni, at both the Paris and Madrid conferences was a Tangerian Jew, Elie Cohen.[43] Jews voted democratically for their representatives to the International Sanitary Council. Jews who were foreign nationals could vote for their representatives as foreigners as well. There were twelve delegates, 4 Spanish, 4 French, 2 English, 1 Italian, and 1 Portuguese. There was also a representative of the Sultan. Consultants to the Sanitary Council included the representative of Direccion Jerefian de Obras Publicas (Moroccan civil authority for public works), Administracion de los bienes Habicos (Administration of Mosque property), Institut Pasteur (French hospital), Laboratorio Espanol de Analisis (Spanish Clinic), director of the Matadero (Moslem as well as Jewish slaughterhouses) and the Spanish and French consuls. In 1913, Dr. Moise Mani (1880-1961) arrived in Tangier to serve the medical needs of the Jewish community. He was a descendant of an old Iraqi family originally from Hebron. His family had moved from Bagdad to Hebron where his father served as the chief rabbi of the city. Dr. Mani however had married a non-Jewish French woman and preferred the ethnic mix of Tangier. His decades of devoted service are fondly remembered to this day by the Jews of Tangier.[44]

In 1914, just before the outbreak of the First World War, several noted events took place. The Asociacion Hispano-Hebrea (Spanish Jewish Association) delegation met with King Alfonso XIII in Madrid. The Association supported an improved position for Spain in Tangier and was organized within the Jewish and Spanish communities to counter possible pro-French sympathies engendered by the education provided by the AIU schools. The vice-president of the Asociacion Hispano-Hebrea at the time of the visit to the Spanish monarch was Abraham Pinto.[45] In 1914, Rabbi Isaac Bengualid, the famous rabbi of Tetuan, revered by the Jews of Tangier, died. His death marked the last of the great *Sadikim* (Hebrew: Saints) of the Tangierian community which was always apprecia-

tive of effective spiritual leadership. The city was generally considered a non-religious community by Moslem and Jews in other parts of Morocco. Rabbi Isaac Bengualid, was the author of the two-volume work entitled *Vayomer Yitzhak* (Hebrew: And Isaac Said), and was a respondent to religious questions from many parts of the world. His burial place continues to be revered, reflecting the great admiration in which he was held not only in his native Tetuan but also in neighboring Tangier. He is often referred to as the last *Sadik* of Tangier.[46]

The Isaac Abensur Administration

The Junta had become more efficient in administration. In 1915, Isaac Abensur, son of a previous president, Aaron Abensur, was elected president. He had been educated in the democratic tradition of the Jewish community of Tangier. He was prepared for communal work during the years of service by his father. The vice-president of the Junta was Abraham Pimienta; the secretary was Pinhas Assayag, a correspondent for the newspaper, *El Liberal* of Madrid. The other members of the Junta were Shemaya Benchetrit, Moses Bengio, Raphael Bendelac, Jacob Nahon, Mojluf Guahnish, Moses Pinto and Abraham Benassayag. Many of the members of this Junta had had fathers or uncles who had served the community in previous years. Many were businessmen educated at the AIU schools. The Junta established a permanent commission which replaced the previous committees of the various Hebrot or societies. The committees and their members were:

Hacienda (Taxes) - Moses Pinto, Raphael Bendelac and committee treasurer, Jose Cohen.
School Board - Abraham Pimienta and Abraham Benassayag.
Mataderos (abattoirs) - Joseph Cazes, Jose Cohen and Moses Pinto.
Hiluq (the Poor Fund) - Isaac Cohen and Shemaya Benchetrit.
Prensa (press) - Abraham Pimienta and Pinhas Assayag.

The education of the youth continued to be a problem for the Junta. Some members articulated their concerns about the education of the children but since the program was initiated in the Paris-based AIU, they could not amend it. The English teacher had complained as well to the Board of Deputies in London about certain deficiencies but also to no avail. The Talmud Tora was under a separate commission headed by Pinhas Toledano indicating a continuation of the separation of the religious education from that provided by the Alliance. The council also noted that some of its functionaries were refusing to accept payment in the local currency, the Hassani.[47] The Junta also marked with sadness the passing of Rabbi Isaac Toledano who had served the community for so many years and in so many capacities.[48]

The Junta also noted the complaint by Samuel Cohen and Yahia Benhayon about the increase of attacks on Jews in the streets and cafes. The Junta asked Chief Rabbi Bengio to intercede with the authorities. The Junta was prepared to send guards to Soco Chico (the smaller marketplace) in order to protect the Jews.[49]

The problems faced by the Junta continued. Inflation and a worsening economy throughout Morocco had hurt the general situation in Tangier, although the city apparently fared better than the rest of the country. The Junta had begun a school lunch program to help feed the children of the poor. However, sufficient funds were lacking and had to be obtained from the funds of the *Guemellut Hasadim* Society. This lunch program was called *Obra de la Comida Escolar* (Work of the School Meal). It was not the only difficulty the school faced. Abraham Laredo resigned his post with the school in May, 1915.[50] In his letter of resignation, he proposed a liberal reorganization not only of the school but of the entire communal structure. The Laredo proposal included:

1. A fusion of the Talmud Tora and the Alliance schools into a unified and centralized school system with an improvement of the educational standards of all schools.
2. Replacement of the present *Hiluqim* (dole) with a special *Commision de Socorros* (Social Security Commission) which would have male and female members.
3. Reorganization of the medical services to meet the needs of the poor.
4. Elimination of all direct taxes.[51]

The Junta accepted the proposals only for consideration since they faced difficulty in finding the funds to maintain the *Pan de la Sedaca* (Judeo-Spanish: bread of charity, which was given to the poor every Friday before the Sabbath).

The principal of the Alliance, Semach, responded that he could add only 100 students to the Alliance schools at this time because of the lack of adequate space. The Junta then contacted M. Blanchard, the executor of the will of the late Haim Benchimol, and asked if funds could be used from the estate to rent space for the necessary expansion.[52] Mr. Blanchard agreed and space was rented for $60 monthly on a two-year lease. The Junta would pay the *Taza Urbana* (Spanish: urban tax).[53] The Junta hoped to pay only $50 monthly for a three year lease and pay the urban tax.[54] Isaac Cohen then recommended that the boys be moved to the new Benchimol facility while the girls be moved to where the boys formerly were, a building in front of the English Telegraph Office.[55]

As the community grew and attracted poor migrants looking for a better life, there was an increase in crime. On 4 July 1915, Abraham Amselem

was sentenced for killing his wife. He was given five years imprisonment and exile. Messod Bendayan was sentenced to many years for killing a young Spanish girl.[56] The conditions in the prisons of the al-Cazaba, especially for Jews, were deplorable as was attested to in a letter by Leon Farrache to the Junta.[57]

The Junta also tried to help find the killer of the son of Joseph Assor who had been murdered near Kerufra. The Junta had a request from the Jewish council in Casablanca to look into the matter.[58] The Junta contacted the French Legation for additional information.[59] The members of the French mission knew nothing of the younger Assor.[60] Finally, the French legation was able to locate the body of the younger Assor who had been killed in an area near a remote village. The French denied the family the right of indemnification on the ground that the younger Assor had not taken the proper precautions in travelling in hostile territory.[61]

The availability and reliability of kosher meat continued to plague the Junta. In an effort to maintain standards and guarantee its meat tax funds, the Junta decided to license the butcher shops. The Junta asked the *Dayan*, Rabbi Bengio, to circulate through the synagogues, the names of all butchers authorized to sell kosher meat. Some of the butchers refused to pay the licensing fee. Consequently, Bengio circulated the names of those who had paid the necessary licensing fees.[62] Another suggestion was to guarantee kosher standards by placing a *shomer* (Jewish watchman) in the Arab butcher shops and then permit the Moslems to sell kosher meat. The Arab butchers would generally sell the meat much more cheaply than the Jewish butchers, at 1½ real for a kilo. This price would thus make meat more available to the poor. The Junta authorized the exploration of this possibility.[63]

The previous request that the *Mohelim* (ritual circumcisers) register the birth of all boys at their circumcision proved effective. There was still difficulty in registering the birth of female children. Consequently, the Junta asked that a circular be sent to all the synagogues asking everyone to register all births directly with the Junta.[64] The Junta also asked the Jewish periodicals to publish all births and deaths.[65] The registration of all births then became orderly and effective.

There was always a need to raise additional funds for the various social welfare projects of the community. The *Tabahot* did not raise sufficient funds to meet the needs for social services. Increasing that tax would only make the lot of the poor more difficult by making the cost of meat more expensive. The Junta also had to face the problem of fluctuating currency rates. It limited the use of foreign currencies to the Spanish Peseta ($Esp) and the Moroccan Hassani($Hni). Funds from London

arrived in pounds sterling and aid from the AIU arrived in francs. The budgetary deficit for 1915 was $Esp2600. The Junta was forced into raising direct taxes. A tax was added to Matza (torta de Pesah), marriages and on synagogue funds. A direct appeal for funds raised $Esp400. Help came from the *Guemellut Hasadim* Society, $Esp300. The Junta also ordered a reduction in the salary of Junta employees.[66]

The Jewish hospital continued to function but was over-burdened by the number of poor Jews demanding services. One incident led the Junta to look elsewhere, outside the community for assistance. A young Jewish girl was bitten by a dog. She was taken to the Laboratorio Espanol and treated there without charge. The Junta then decided to write to the Spanish minister in Tangier to ask for help for the sick poor of the Jewish community of Tangier who could not be serviced by the communal hospital. Pinhas Assayag attested that the French hospital in Tangier would be willing to help the sick poor of the Jewish community. The French hospital did agree to attend to poor Jewish patients under the auspices of Dr. Funey with the suspension of fees for the medicine. The Spanish hospital also agreed to this accommodation for the poor Jews.[67] The dedicated physician of the Jewish hospital, Dr. Guitta, raised concern that the Jewish communal civil servants were being paid in the local currency, Hassani.[68]

The women formed an organization, *Feminina* (feminine) to help humanitarian works such as the distribution of shoes to poor students.[69] Through the AIU and Semach, a *Foyer Francais* was opened Saturday afternoons in the girls' school for conferences in French.[70] This represented an encroachment on Jewish religious practices as it operated on the Sabbath with the active involvement in community activity by AIU personnel. The AIU personnel were involved in informal education, not clearly a responsibility of the AIU schools. The older Jewish women had received less formal Jewish education and were more receptive to participation in these programs held on the Jewish day of rest.

Tangier did not benefit economically from World War I nor did the events of the war have a negative impact on the community. But, there was continued difficulty in obtaining local funds for community projects previously assisted by the European Jewish communities which were affected by the war. To expedite the collection of the meat tax for the communal treasury, tax-renters and collectors were employed. In addition to the contracted price per animal head to be slaughtered, a flat tax of two *reales* per head was imposed.[71]

A tax was placed on matza, the unleavened bread of Passover—10 centimes on imported matza and 50 centimes on local matza. The *Dayan*

was made responsible for the collection of the appropriate tax.[72] The Junta needed 600 sacks of wheat to make the Passover Matza.[73] When the wheat arrived from Casablanca, there were only 500 sacks at a cost of $5000 of which *Hebrat Guemellut Hasidim* paid $2000 and Shemaya Benchetrit and Moses Bengio paid $1500.[74] This deficit was met with funds from the Junta treasury.

In February 1916, the Junta received a letter from the Comite Israelite Franco-Syrienne in Ajaccio. There were 700 Syrian Jews who were in desperate straits and needed funds and supplies. They were refugees from Palestine who had fled during the fighting between the Turkish and the British armies. The Junta wrote to them that the economic situation in Tangier was not good and it would have difficulty in raising the necessary funds.[75]

The religious school of the community continued to be as always of major concern to the Junta. Friction existed between the lay faculty and the religious teachers which flared in a public dispute betweeen M. Senacher, the secular studies teacher, and Rabbi Moses Taurel. The concensus was that the Talmud Tora had to be reorganized to be effective and competitive with the AIU school. They asked Semach and Rabbi Judah Benchimol to visit the school and make recommendations.[76] Semach, the principal of the AIU schools, competitive to the one run by the community, was considered a good pedagogue and therefore his advice and direction was sought. The visit produced several observations and recommendations. In the Talmud Tora, there were 4-6 classes but scheduling was a problem. Recommendations were made and carried out. The schedule was changed to include thirty-three hours of teaching per week, twenty-five of Hebrew and eight hours of secular studies to include mathematics and writing. There was also a need to reorganize the teaching of French.[77] The teaching staff was also changed. Some teachers were retained: Samuel Laredo, Reuben Toledano, Salama and Benatar. Shalom Benchimol and Isaac Bendahan were dismissed and given three months compensation. In June 1916, these changes were implemented in the Talmud Tora, despite objections from Rabbi Bengio. This saved the Junta some of the operating expenses of the Talmud Tora.[78] The schedule and academic changes, when implemented, met with initial success.[79]

Although a segment of the Jewish population continued to be affluent, the depression wreaked havoc with the lower classes, with an increase in Jewish street begging. The growing number of beggars became an object of concern not only because of their poverty but because of the image projected to the general community. The council called upon the *Hajnasat Orhim* Society and *Ozer Dalim* to help support these people

so they would not need to beg. The Jewish community then numbered 10,000 in a general population of 52,000.[80] This attempt was well meaning but not effective.

The image of the Jew in the eyes of the European was of Jewish concern. The newspaper *Eco Israelita* criticized the ritual called *Birkhat Halebana* (Hebrew: blessing of the moon) because it subjected the Jews to ridicule, while the service clogged the congested streets.[81] Rabbi Bengio thereafter prohibited the recitation of the prayer in the major streets and requested that the prayer be recited on the roof tops of the various synagogues.[82] The proceedure of going to the roof to recite the monthly benediction continues to this date.

Waning of the Power of Rabbi Bengio

The secularizing influence of the AIU school often brought Rabbi Bengio into direct conflict with Semach who headed the AIU school. Semach did not hesitate in turn to criticize the Chief Rabbi. Pimienta, in charge of the AIU school board, sided with Semach and asked that the Junta tell Rabbi Bengio that he had special status within the school only on matters affecting the religious studies. The president of the Junta met with Rabbi Bengio to discuss the situation.[83] Rabbi Moses Taurel was dismissed as Hebrew teacher for the AIU school. Semach sought to control this area of study by obtaining a replacement from Paris. The Junta wanted to keep the religious studies under their control and asked Rabbi Judah Azancot if he would teach at the AIU school.[84] Azancot refused and there was no other local candidate.[85] The *Eco Israelita* criticized the quality of the religious studies in the AIU school, thereby clearly siding with Semach against the Chief Rabbi. The president of the Junta felt that the article in the *Eco Israelita* was inaccurate. There were 12 hours of religious studies weekly in the lower classes and only 7 hours weekly in the higher classes. Until recently there were only eight hours weekly of religious study in the Talmud Tora.[86] This did not amount to the total recommended in the original reorganization plans. The AIU had however left its impact on the community.[87]

The differences became moot when Chief Rabbi Mordechai Bengio died on 18 January 1917. The Junta met in special session in tribute to the man who had formally organized the community and established its direction. At his funeral were members of the diplomatic corps, representatives of the *Maghzan* (government) and of the foreign colonies in Tangier. Jews, Moslems and Christians attended the service. The architect of Tangierian Jewish democracy had passed from the scene.[88]

Chief Rabbi Bengio had shaped the nature of the Tangierian Jewish community. His passing however afforded the community the opportunity to reshape the Chief Rabbinate.

The Junta defined several objectives they expected in the new Chief Rabbi:

1. The Chief Rabbi should participate in the workings of the Junta and in its deliberations.
2. He must be a Moroccan subject and not a protege of any foreign power.
3. He must have no other profession or non-communal responsibilities.
4. He must remain apolitical.[89]

Other requirements were proposed. Jose Cohen suggested that since there were two likely candidates, Rabbi Judah Benchimol and Rabbi Judah Azancot, both be appointed *Dayanim*. This opinion was rejected by a majority vote. The vote while not favoring one over the other, rejected the concept of co-*Dayanim*. Laredo proposed that to avoid conflict, the *Dayan* be from outside Tangier. Abensur suggested an added qualification that had been taken for granted, that the Chief Rabbi be a Sephardi.[90]

The Junta however decided that in memory of the Chief Rabbi who had served them for nearly five decades, any succession be postponed for a period of time. They also agreed that a commission be appointed to select the Chief Rabbi. Actually, the mandate of the commission was to suggest, to the sultan, a candidate for the position of Chief Rabbi. The Moroccan king was responsible for religious affairs in his realm, even under the provisions of the protectorates. Therefore only he could appoint the Chief Rabbi. The Junta, however, unanimously selected Rabbi Judah Benchimol as acting-Chief Rabbi. He would also continue with his duties as chief *shohet* and as head of the Torah VeHaim School. His salary would be drawn from three sources, 30 ducats as Chief Rabbi, 30 as *shohet*, and 20 from the school. Rabbi Benchimol accepted. In order to give honor to Rabbi Azancot, the Junta instructed that Azancot be the official *sofer* (ritual scribe) for the Chief Rabbinate, which he accepted. Pimienta suggested that the office of the Chief Rabbinate keep accurate record books for the community as well.[91]

Two months passed until a *Dahir* was received from the Sultan officially appointing Rabbi Judah Benchimol as interim Chief Rabbi of Tangier. Jacob Nahon was apppointed the archivist to keep the records of the Chief Rabbinate and the community.[92]

Increasing Poverty

The economic situation of Tangier did not radically improve. Funds from the Jewish Hospital Benchimol were used to help defray the costs

of the Talmud Tora school. A check for 7,348.80f was obtained from The American Jewish Committee for dispersal in Tangier and Wazzan. Some members suggested that the Junta divide the check between eleven needy communities which would include Tangier and Wazzan but this was rejected. The Junta expressed the sad realization that in Tangier 30% of the Jewish population were in need. There were insufficient funds available for the *Hiluq* and there was a need of 1000 sacks of flour for the Passover Matza.[93] Georges Braunschweig donated 2000f to help defray these costs.[94]

The lack of an adequate financial base continued to plague the Junta. There was a rising middle class but the city also attracted a large migrant community with special needs. The Junta then reviewed their records of those who had contributed to the community treasury.

Year	no. of contributors	amt. in Ptas
1913	276	2835
1914	261	2800
1915	264	2690
1916	344	2065

Although more people were contributing to the Junta, the amounts contributed were less. The Junta had difficulty in achieving budgetary projections for such items as salaries of communal functionaries, schools, charities and medical coverage.[95]

In 1917, a Jewish young woman who was poor and whose father had died had been educated in the nuns' school. In 1917 she became engaged to a Jewish young man from Casablanca but had no one to arrange and pay for the wedding. The nuns permitted her the use of the hall of the Catholic school to celebrate the wedding. Both the bishop and the Chief Rabbi attended the wedding of Messody Bendayan.[96] This was an interesting illustration of the amicable relationships between the two faiths.

Universal Suffrage and Internal Election Reform

Junta member Laredo wanted to couple budgetary reforms with universal male suffrage thus removing all restrictions on electoral rights.[97] Laredo predicted that there would be disturbances in the community if universal suffrage was not enacted. Jose Cohen, in a heated argument on the subject, pointed out that in the last three elections there had been very good participation. Laredo countered that universal male suffrage would avoid future incidents in the election process, such as the discrepancy between the number of voters and the number of ballots. Pimienta countered that there was still a need for indirect representation before there could be universal suffrage and that there were not any disturbances to date. M. M. Bengio wanted to limit voting only to those who were

contributors to the funds of the community thereby denying voting rights to the poor and the migrant. There was a heated debate unusual in the proceedings of the Junta which generally operated by consensus. An election review committee was appointed which included Isaac Abensur, A. Benassayag, Moses Bengio, Isaac Cohen, Salvador Hassan, Jacob Nahon and Abraham Pimienta.[98]

One month later, the Junta again discussed the need for election reform. Laredo outlined several points as follows:

> 1. Mr. Cohen objects to reforms and wishes to maintain the status quo which calls for the rejection of universal male suffrage. Currently, all have the right to vote if they contribute, either directly or indirectly, to the communal fund. This avoids the issue.
> 2. We are not really a government of a country which can impose taxes for the general welfare. We are deluding ourselves.
> 3. The Junta represents only an association of co-religionists and has three objectives:
>
> A. to defend the religion
> B. to instruct the children
> C. to provide for social welfare
>
> 4. We are not a state within a state but function with the tolerance and benevolence of the *Maghzan* which has always assigned to the Jews a semi-independent civil and religious status.
> 5. Funds are obtained through donations and through the meat tax. Tangier has at least 10,000 Jews in 2000 families. The statistics show that only 350 head of families donated to the community funds. 90% of the Junta funds come through the meat tax which is paid for by all Jews, including the remaining 1650 families. Each family has at least one male over the age of 18. 350 families receive communal welfare in order to survive.
> 6. Universal suffrage is an act of justice and equality. Since the acts of the Junta have judicial status recognized by the *Maghzan*, the Junta must function in a just manner. Schools are an equalizing factor. The Junta had also moved away from its original methods of collecting funds for the *Hiluqim*. We, in the past, relied on the generosity of the members and of subscriptions to pay the bills."[99]

After Laredo's impassioned presentation and analysis, the resolution for the reformation of the electoral process was put to a vote. A clear majority voted against the resolution to grant universal suffrage and it was defeated. However, Laredo could not be quieted. Four months later he again proposed the change but no action was taken.[100]

Soup Kitchens

The Junta recognized the accuracy of an article in the newspaper *La Liberte* calling for a soup kitchen to relieve the malnutrition suffered by

the poor and the destitute.[101] Laredo had also made an appeal for the opening of a communal soup kitchen. The soup kitchen, *La Cocina Popular* (people's kitchen), became an item of contention between Abensur and Laredo. Laredo pushed for a committee which would be independent of the Junta. Abensur felt that the Junta had no right to delegate its powers to another independent organization. Finally a compromise was worked out by which the Junta nominated the members of the soup kitchen board and they in turn selected their executive committee.[102]

Captain Contelle, Chief of the Office of Supply, announced that a new tax would be placed on the importation of French sugar. Because of the cost for additional sugar subsidies for the poor, the Junta had to delay opening the soup kitchen because of lack of funds. The *l'Oeuvre de Nouritance* (Nutritional Works) was serving 100 portions of food daily to adults at a cost of 40f.[103] The French established the *Goutte de Lait* (French: a drop of milk) to help poor mothers with milk for their children.[104] The Jews often called this organization by the Spanish translation of its name—*Gota de Leche*.

Finally, the Junta was able to appoint a soup kitchen commission. Abraham Pimienta was president, Abraham Laredo was vice-president, Mr. Niguire was secretary, Josue M. Benchimol was treasurer. The other members were: Mr. Semach, M. Sotto, S. Benchetrit and I. R. Toledano. They opened in May with 100 rations daily.[105] Sid M'hamed Tazi initially gave 1500f for the operation of the soup kitchen.[106]

Dr. Rembinger of the French hospital wrote to the Junta that Dr. Abadie, an optician at the hospital, would treat poor Jews for free, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.[107]

Election of 31 March 1918

The ballots were available at the synagogues which were to serve as polling places. The synagogues participating included Tifferet Israel, Laredo, Bet Yehuda, Bet El, Benatar, Keneset Haguedola, Musa Levy, Maasat Moses, Hospital Benchimol chapel, Sheerit Joseph, Ez Haim and Rebbi Yahya. In the synagogue of Barchilon there were more ballots in the box than there were voters. Consequently the entire voting at that synagogue was declared null and void, although the results from the other synagogues were counted. Fifteen members of the Junta were elected: Isaac Abensur (645 votes), Salvador Hassan (644), Abraham Benassayag (642), Moses Pinto (640), Isaac Aaron Cohen (640), Jacob Nahon (638), Isaac J. Nahon (636), Abraham Pimienta (636), Raphael Bendelac (634), Moses Bengio (634), Joseph J. Cohen (633), Joseph Cazes (632), Isaac A. Coriat (608), Shemaya Benchetrit (604) and Menahem Attias (546). The board then unanimously elected Isaac Abensur to be president. They

elected three vice-presidents: Salvador Hassan, Abraham Benassayag and Abraham Pimienta. Joseph Cohen became treasurer and Jacob Nahon became secretary. Moses Pinto became the comptroller. Abensur then appointed the following committees:

Taxes - Raphael Bendelac, Jose Cohen, Isaac J. Cohen and Moses Pinto.
Schools - Menahem Attias, Abraham Benassayag and Abraham Pimienta.
Slaughter House - Shemaya Benchetrit, Joseph Cazes, Jose Cohen and Moses Pinto.
Poor Fund - Raphael Bendelac, Shemaya Benchetrit and Isaac A. Cohen.
Communal Security - S. Benchetrit and Moses Pinto.[108]

Rabbi Benchimol took steps to organize the religious affairs of the community along the lines indicated by the Junta. The communal birth records were incomplete because the circumcision records of one of the *Mohelim*, Rabbi Abraham Bensusan, were missing.[109] Some documents were not recorded and the appropriate 5 peseta tax was imposed.[110] One of the Jewish butchers claimed that some of the Jewish butchers who had their stalls near the Christian butchers were unable to insure proper kashruth. The *Dayan* investigated and found that kashruth was being properly observed.[111] The Chief Rabbi also reviewed the Talmud Torah and came back with a favorable report. Semach reported that 23 AIU students of the 25 who took the examination, passed.[112] Benchimol was also informed that the Junta recognized Abraham Azoulay and Habib Toledano as notaries public for the community.[113]

The community had only one functioning cemetery at the time. At the meeting of 3 February 1918, the Junta realized that the cemetery would be completely filled in another year. They felt the need to approach the Sanitary Commission of Tangier, the international body, to obtain a piece of land suitable for a new cemetery. The project was delayed by the election reform debates. Once the election had passed and the new Chief Rabbi was installed, the Junta again felt the pressing need for an additional cemetery.[114] While the Junta discussed this need, the Burial Society paid for and interred 33 poor people.[115] The Junta also reorganized the various committees of the Burial Society, proposing that they introduce a more dignified and respectful burial.

Committee	Chairmen
Rehisa (washing)	Rabbi Akiba Sananes, Salomon Frija
Cemetery	Mimon Cazes
Velas (candles)	Rafael Bendelac, Jaime Farache
Treasury	Samuel Bengio, Messod Bengio
Secretary	Salom S. Levy

In 1918, there was an outbreak of a deadly flu.[116] The epidemic taxed the health facilities. Several poor Jews could not be admitted to the French

hospital nor to the communal Hospital Benchimol for lack of space and funding.[117] Nor were the wealthy Jews, who could afford better health care, spared. The son and daughter of Dr. Guitta died.[118] The two welfare organizations which tried to help by providing nourishment to the ill were *Ozar Dalim* and *Maguen David*. They contributed 400 one-half kilo packages of sugar and 400 packages of 50 grams of tea for distribution to the poor. The schools were forced to close because of the epidemic.[119] An additional 150 half-kilo packages of sugar and 100 50-gram packages of tea were obtained and distributed. The Junta authorized the expenditure of $E300 to import the necessary medicines.[120] The epidemic hastened the discussion for the new cemetery. The Junta debated the cost for the new cemetery—an estimated 20,000f, to be paid all in one year. This was a tremendous sum for an already burdened community. Consequently, the Junta tabled the motion.[121]

World War I

World War I increased the presence of spies and intrigue in Tangier. While the Spanish and Moroccan governments looked the other way, the Germans brought guns, munitions and political propaganda into Tangier by submarine. These were used to supply el-Raisuli and others to harass the French. The Spanish assisted this effort by directing Moroccan anger towards their mutual enemy, France. If France lost the war, Spain could further expand into Morocco. Consequently, Spain also insured that food supplies were made available in Tangier in order to win the sympathies of the population.[122]

The cessation of World War I was marked in the Jewish Community with a special *Minha* service (afternoon prayer service) on Sunday, 15 November 1918. It was a service of thanksgiving for the Allied victory and was held in the famous Nahon synagogue.[123]

Educational Concerns

The Junta continued to be concerned with the quality of education in the Yeshiba, *Tora VeHaim*. The institution, operated under the auspices of the Junta and designed to produce rabbis and *shohetim*, was primarily supervised by the Chief Rabbinate. Abensur asked Semach to evaluate the school and report to the council. Abensur indicated to Semach that the Junta could modify, if necessary, the current curriculum at the school.[124] The directors of the school now realized that there was but one *shohet* left in Tangier, Rabbi Joseph Cohen. Rabbi Cohen, because of his failing health, asked Yamin Cohen to assist him in the slaughterhouse.[125] In May 1919, three students of the school received their certificates as ritual slaughterers of chickens. These certificates were confirmed by the Chief

Rabbi. These three students had also begun their studies towards certification as ritual slaughterers of cattle.[126] President Abensur urged the Chief Rabbi to continue to test these students to insure they achieved the highest qualitative level of halakhic education.

Some thirty Jewish students had registered in the newly formed French school for arts and trade, organized in 1919. Numerous others who had been accepted were unable to attend because of financial difficulties. The activity of this school opened by the French revived interest in the Alumni Association of the AIU schools. The committee formed in 1880 had fallen into a state of suspension in 1914 with the entry of France into World War I.[127] Abensur tried to revive this committee.

Consistent with all the previous Juntas, the Abensur regime tried to raise monies to continue their educational and social welfare programs. The Junta placed a tax of 10 reales on each menuda sold in the slaughterhouse.[128] There was a tax of one real on each kilo of meat sold.[129] The Junta finally discussed the possibility of a lottery if they could obtain the approval of Rabbi Benchimol.[130] Abensur approached the Chief Rabbi concerning the proposed lottery. Benchimol raised no objections. Abensur then assigned Attias and Pinto to organize a fund-raising lottery.[131]

Additional means were explored to reduce the mounting community budget and the personnel working in the communal organization. There was a need to raise salaries. On the other hand, there was a need to keep expenditure to a minimum. The payroll included, in addition to the Chief Rabbi, Abraham Salomon $54; Employees of the slaughterhouse $37; *Sheikh el-Yehud* Salomon Amar,$23; Auxiliary secretary, $20; Levy, an employee of the Chief Rabbinate, $17; the guard in the *Soco Chico*, $12; Ayush, $11; Rabbi Judah Azancot as *shohet*, 56 ducats monthly. Other expenditure items included the maintenance of the cemeteries, schools, *Pan de Sedaka* (welfare bread on Friday), *Trigo de Pessah* (providing Matza for the poor in celebration of Passover), the salary of the English language teacher (although funds usually came from England) and relief support for other Jewish communities, particularly requests from the Holy Land, as well as Poland, the Ukraine and Lithuania.[132] Those communities suffered in the aftermath of the First World War and the subsequent revolutions. A special committee was formed by Moses Pinto and Jacob Nahon to collect the necessary funds.[133]

Hispano-Hebrew Association

The Tangierian Jews, although attending a French school which had an English teacher on its staff, were still very loyal to Spain and supportive of its aims. An association was formed by Spain to further Jewish support

for Spain. The society was called the Asociacion Hispano-Hebrea de Tangier. The goals were:

1. The establishment of an exclusively designated pavillion in the Spanish Hospital for the Jewish poor where they could have food in keeping with their religion.
2. The creation of a dispensary for the poor on a par with that which existed in the Spanish Zone.
3. The nomination of a Spanish delegate to the customs authority.[134]
4. An increase to twenty from three the number of days to retrieve a package from customs, thereby allowing for the greater importation of Spanish goods.
5. An increase in the number of permits to import food products.
6. To permit the mailing of insured packages containing Spanish articles which were not prohibited for export on the same level as the French.
7. The association called for the government to support the Spanish consumer cooperative, La Reguladora, similar to the support given the French and to stop the French monopoly of the sale of eggs. Also to permit the Spanish the sale in Tangier of oil prepared in Spain.
8. To extend a thanks to the Spanish authorities of the city for their help in forming this association.[135]

CHAPTER SIX

Preparing for the Internationalization of Tangier

Continuing Economic Pressures

The council continued to face the harsh realities of providing increased social service to a growing Jewish population whose demands were increasing. The council had to find new means of raising the communal income. The Tangierian community in Casablanca was called upon to donate to the soup kitchen in their native Tangier.[1] The council also considered a taxation on marriages and circumcisions, funding from which would go to pay Rabbi Benchimol.[2] They did enact a tax on official documents, based upon a family's ability to pay.

In an expenditure cutting plan, they considered a proposal to unify the Talmud Tora with the AIU Boys' school. The suggestion was sent to committee.[3] Some income was derived from the will of Judah Nahon which was given for the general welfare of the community. Also, the Junta continued to receive urgent requests for outside funding, including the need to repair the Jewish cemetery in La Linea, Spain.[4]

Some income was realized from the sale of lottery tickets in Tangier as well as in Gibraltar, Tetuan, Rabat, and elsewhere. The sum raised amounted to 20,000f.[5]

In its efforts to cut the budget, the Junta reviewed the situation of the English language teacher. They received salary allocations for Moses Haim Nahon of £80 per year and for Martinez £50. The Anglo-Jewish Association and the Board of Deputies of British Jews sent a total of £130. However, the cost of the English language instruction was £150 yearly, with a deficit of £20. The deficit was to be covered by the Montefiore Foundation in London. However for several years, the Junta had not received the funds and there was a cumulative deficit of £90. The Junta wrote to the various London institutions for assistance.[6]

Visit of Angel Pulido

In April of 1921, Angel Pulido, a member of the Spanish parliament, paid a visit to Tangier. He had traveled widely among the Sephardic communities and had been very sympathetic to their continuity in the use of the Spanish language. However, the Junta could not rely on a usual proper procedure to greet a visiting foreign dignitary since Pulido was a member of the Spanish parliament. Any action friendly toward him would appear to be unfriendly towards Morocco. The Junta decided that every member of the Junta participate in the greeting to Pulido but that officially the Junta as a governing body would not participate.[7]

Election Reform

The question of election reform continued to simmer. To facilitate the upcoming election, an election commission was appointed to select candidates and oversee the election. The chairman of the commission was Rabbi Judah Azancot. Members of the commission were Messod A. Bengio, Haim M. Israel, and Joseph J. Levy. The election was scheduled for 26 April 1921 in the Nahon Synagogue at 2:00 PM. Moses Sotto circulated a petition calling for a complete reformation of the electoral process. The Junta under vice-president Salvador Hassan rejected the petition, stating that there was no proof that those who signed actually agreed with the petition. Anyone with complaints could bring them to the Junta directly. The complaints must have had an effect on the Junta. Each ballot box was sealed with a lock and key. There were 16 ballot boxes (urnos) and 15 keys, as some keys opened more than one box. Mr. Hassan kept the keys. After the election, some irregularities were found. At the Benatar Synagogue, 5 more ballots than voters were found. Nonetheless, the results of polling were accepted. The second group of ballot boxes opened were found to have one more ballot than voters. However, these too were accepted. Sotto demanded that the election be voided. However, Hassan ruled that they continue the vote count. The third group of boxes were opened and there were four more ballots than voters. The election was declared official and valid despite Sotto's objections. The results clearly returned the incumbents to office. The results were:
Isaac Abensur, 1126; Salvador Hassan, 1123; Isaac J. Cohen, 1118; Abraham Pimienta, 1083; Abraham Y. Benassayag, 1073; Isaac A. Cohen, 791; Moses J. Pinto, 766; Jacob M. Nahon, 763; Isaac J. Toledano, 721; Joseph R. Cazes, 712; Joseph Josue Cohen, 710; Albert Cohen, 706; Menahem J. Attias, 679; Shemarya Benchetrit, 651; Amram Guanish, 639.[8] The results were signed by Benchimol and Judah M. Azancot.

The following month the new Junta met and elected their executive, with the former incumbents returned to office.
President: Isaac Abensur
Vice-presidents: Salvador Hassan, Abraham Pimienta
Secretary: Isaac R. Toledano
Comptroller: Menahem Attias
The Junta decided to divide the responsibilities of the treasurer in order to maximize income and minimize expenditures. Accounts payable was placed in the hands of Jacob Nahon. The accounting department was placed in the hands of Amram Guanish. The new Junta assigned its members to the various committees.
Revenue - Jacob Nahon, Moses Pinto, Amram Guanish, Menahem Attias.
Education - Albert Cohen, Amram Guanish, Abraham Benassayag, Abraham Pimienta.
Mataderos - Joseph Cazes, Joseph Cohen.
Social Welfare - Isaac J. Cohen, Messod A. Bengio, Shemarya Benchetrit, Shalom Levy and Marcos J. Pinto.
Self-Defence - Jacob Nahon, Moses Pinto, Shemarya Benchetrit.[9]

The Junta was justifiably annoyed at the growing number of Jewish beggars. The Junta kept a close watch on the situation. However, little could be done to discourage the begging.[10] The begging occurred usually on Fridays and on the evenings before Jewish holy days. Groups of eight to ten beggars could be found in front of the cemetery. They were so numerous that one could not pass. The beggars also gathered on major streets often assaulting passersby. The Junta estimated that there were in 1921, 80 beggars mostly of non-Tangierian origin. Guanish made the following recommendations for the reform of the social welfare system:
1. The social welfare committee should establish a fixed monthly allotment to those truly in need, to the elderly, and to the totally handicapped.
2. That the *Sheikh el-Yehud* make official representation to the Basha, in a forceful manner, to terminate and prohibit begging and seek ways to have these people repatriated to their cities of origin.
3. The formation of a philanthropic society under the Junta to collect trimestral donations by corporations.[11]

These reforms were approved by the Junta. However, the beggars continued to be a problem for the community and a source of embarassment for the Junta. President Abensur was particularly perturbed by the presence of Jewish beggars in a community which had such important international status with the various foreign representatives. In May 1923, Abensur met with the Basha of Tangier concerning the matter of Jewish beggars. Abensur offered to have the *cuerpo de vigilancia—Gendarmerie*

(vigilance corp which was hired to patrol the market to prevent anti-Semitic attacks) handle the begging problem with no charge to the municipality.[12]

Jewish prostitution was also a problem attacked with vigor by Amram Guanish who became a dynamic force within the Junta. The Junta agreed that: *se acuerda prohibir que las mujeres publicas israelitas busquen clientes en la via publica, encarcelando a las que asi sean encontradas por la autoridad* (It is hereby agreed to prohibit Jewish prostitutes who seek their clients on the public streets and that they be turned over to the authorities and jailed). Guanish wanted to find a long term solution to the problem. He suggested that the Junta request of the local authorities that they provide an education in the school of art and trade for these Jewish women who had no legitimate profession.[13]

On French Independence Day, 14 July 1921, the French legation, in an attempt to positively influence the Jewish community, provided 600 loaves of bread, tea and sugar for distribution to the poor.[14] The widow of Ayush Salama asked that her son be sent to Spain but lacked the funds to do so.[15] Hospital Benchimol, the Jewish hospital of Tangier, provided free pre-natal and maternity care for the Jewish poor.[16] Matron Josefa Roguero served as the midwife at the hospital.[17]

The position of traditional Jewish communal leader, *Sheikh el-Yehud* was honorific although salaried. It lacked power and importance.[18] On 18 September 1921, Salomon Amar died and the position of *Sheikh* was filled by a vote in the Junta. Haim Monsonego won against Haim Abitbol. After the election, the recommendation of Monsonego as *Sheikh* was made to the Naib, representing the Sultan, who confirmed the appointment.[19]

Nomination of Benchimol as Chief Rabbi

Upon the death several years earlier of Chief Rabbi Bengio, Rabbi Judah Benchimol was elected temporary Chief Rabbi of the community. His election was confirmed by the *Maghhzan*. At the meeting of 12 July 1921, Albert Cohen suggested that Rabbi Benchimol be made permanent Chief Rabbi. The resolution was unanimously passed at the meeting.[20] Two months later, Isaac A. Cohen raised several objections. His objection centered primarily on an agreement of the Junta to seek a European type of Rabbi according to Article five of the communal regulation. The suggested requirements for the Chief Rabbi had been signed by Abensur and Nahon in the minutes.[21] After careful review of those earlier minutes, Albert Cohen agreed with Isaac Cohen that a special meeting should be convened to discuss this question.[22]

The special session was held on 13 November 1921. The meeting, which also dealt with other items of importance such as the matadero

and the schools actually centered on Chief Rabbi Benchimol who was referred to as the interim *Dayan*. It was stated that Benchimol was not permanently elected the religious authority. It was decided that he keep the records of the tribunal and of the community and that these be available for public use. On 3 November 1921, Isaac Cohen and four other members of the Junta wrote requesting a revision in accordance with Article five of the agreement reached in 1917, defining a *Dayan*. Cohen objected to the earlier confirmation of Rabbi Benchimol on a rule of order, stating that only six of the fifteen members of the Junta were present and, therefore no quorum was present thus negating the vote. Cohen suggested that the lack of European rabbinical candidates was a result of the war in Europe at the time. Cohen reiterated the need to obtain a rabbi who met modern needs. After a long discussion in which most of the members participated, the president proposed that the Junta abide by the intention of Article five of the meeting of August, 1917 but maintain the status quo until the affair could be better resolved, thereby retaining Benchimol as interim *Dayan*. Cohen insisted that a community-wide referendum be held which he was certain would produce a majority in favor of his concept of a European rabbinate for Tangier. The minutes reveal that the Junta went along with the decision of the president and the status quo was maintained.[23]

The Junta reviewed the educational system which continued to drain communal funds and yet was essential for the future of the community. Petah Tikva Society, an informal education group, had opened as an evening adult education program, early in 1920. The program utilized two rooms in the Talmud Tora for night classes in the Hebrew language. Often these rooms were left in disarray and in need of repair. The society was made responsible for the cleanliness of the rooms which would be used in the morning for the Yeshiba.[24] The courses were also often disorganized and brought criticism to the society.[25]

The girls' school was also in disrepair and the educational program disorganized.[26] Of the fourteen students examined, only one received the *certificat d'etudes*.[27]

The College Renault, administered by the French, which many Jewish students attended, was open on Saturdays. The Junta wanted these classes closed on Saturdays to insure observance of the Sabbath.[28] Several months later, the French school agreed to suspend its classes on Saturdays. Oral exercises only would be held on Saturday afternoon in deference to the Jewish students.[29]

The Yeshiba Tora VeHaim often called the Talmud Tora was considered by the Junta to be, *esta muy noble institucion* (this most noble institution),

the only institution thus called by the Junta. The Junta had hoped that the Yeshiba would become a seminary for rabbis and *Dayanim* to serve both zones of Morocco.[30]

The Conflict of the Societies

The rivalry between the Burial Society *Hebrat Guemellut Hasadim* and the society to attend the terminally ill, *Hebrat Hesed Ve Emet*, developed into an open confrontation. A extraordinary meeting of the Junta was held on 25 December 1921. The minutes record the feeling that the *Hesed Ve Emet* society wanted to usurp the rights of the Burial Society and was accused of promulgating rumors that they were trampling in the cemetery. They repeated an incident of mass confusion and shoving which had occurred at the interment of Rabbi Isaac Bengualid. The president proposed to send a circular to the synagogues stating: "The Council considers it necessary to remind our *kahal* (Hebrew: congregation or community), as is well known, the administration of the *Meharab* (Arabic: communal burial ground) and all the services and ministries of the Burial Society are under community control exclusively, in the same manner as the schools and the matadero, etc. When the occasion arises of a death and persons other than members of the society wish to be involved in the services for the deceased, the Burial Society has the right to withdraw from the mortuary and not permit the burial in the cemetery and leave all responsibility to the family of the deceased."[31]

On 1 January 1922, the Junta again met on this question with a report by the president that he had met with representatives of the *Hesed Ve Emet* society and an accord was reached. The service of the *Mismarot* (Hebrew: death watches as well as North African Jewish prayers for the deceased) are the responsibility of the *Hesed Ve Emet* society and the *Guemellut Hasadim* Society will not be involved in them.[32]

Foreign Charities

While the community was preoccupied with the growing difficult financial situation, it sought ways to be of assistance to other Jewish communities as part of its broader outlook. It sent funds to Tiberias when it received requests for assistance.[33] The community collected money for Jewish institutions in Safed, Jerusalem and Hebron which they had traditionally assisted.[34] Most shocking was the news and requests for funds from the Jews of Russia. The Russian Revolution and subsequent civil war had left many Jews in dire situations. The suffering due to the war, revolution and persecutions touched the hearts of the Tangierian Jews. On 9 April 1922, the Junta determined to assist the Jews in Eastern Europe. It received communications from Paris concerning the situation

and the precarious nature of Jewish life in Russia, Poland and Lithuania. It scheduled a conference on the situation for the last day of Passover in order to arouse an awareness of the plight of Eastern European Jewry. The conference was held at 3:30 P.M. in the Nahon Synagogue.[35]

Community Clinic

Menahem Sotto, head of the *Ozer Dalim* Society which aided the poor, brought charges against the communal clinic and its head, Dr. Guitta. Sotto was particularly concerned with the manner with which the pharmacy was administered. The Junta set up an investigation to determine the facts. The commission basically exonerated Guitta. The Junta found:

1. There was no evidence to justify charges of mismanagement of the clinic.
2. Current services helped many poor people who were ill.
3. There was enough meat served to the poor patients.
4. The charge of misuse of the funds was unfounded.

The commission did recommend that the budget be regularly reported in the synagogues and that it be printed in the periodical, *La Liberte*.[36]

Problems for the Chief Rabbinate

As the commmunity confronted modernity, Chief Rabbi Judah Benchimol had to face various complex challenges. A letter was received from the Spanish Consul requesting an autopsy on the body of Salomon Abecassis in order to determine the cause of his death. The Chief Rabbi refused to permit the exhumation of the cadavar for the autopsy.[37] The situation remained unresolved. The Junta wanted to acquiesce to the request of the Spanish consul but could not overrule the Chief Rabbi in matters of religion for which the word of the Chief Rabbi was final.[38]

Communal president Abensur, not particularly friendly towards the Chief Rabbi, mentioned that he had heard of a modern French method to draw the blood of circumcision which did not require the oral insertion after the incision, called *meziza*. Abensur felt that this ritual was unhealthy to the *mohel* and to the baby. Chief Rabbi ruled in favor of the traditional method.[39] Abensur was not to be outdone. Several months later the question arose again, and Abensur instructed the Chief Rabbi to tell the *mohelim*, that if they did not use the new method, then they had to use sterilized materials and disinfectant before circumcision. This was agreed upon.[40]

Yamin Cohen, who assisted the Chief Rabbi in the slaughtering of animals, wrote to the Junta asking for a position as a *sofer*, a ritual scribe. Benchimol objected to this, stating that there was no need for an additional *sofer*. The Junta appointed Yamin Cohen to the additional task as *bodek*

(the ritual inspector of the meat).[41] The rivalry between the younger Cohen and Rabbi Benchimol continued until Cohen married Benchimol's daughter.

Judah H. Hadida raised questions about the competence of the record keeping procedures of the Chief Rabbinate Office held by Rabbi Judah Azancot, the official scribe. Rabbi Benchimol investigated and reported to the Junta that the records were generally good and that the fee of two pesetas was collected.[42] On 31 December 1922, the Junta met and reviewed the situation of the notaries and the legalization of documents. They officially recognized only two notaries—Rabbi Judah Azancot and Rabbi Akiba Sananes. Once the documents were prepared, they were legalized by the Chief Rabbi and the fee collected.[43]

Difficulties soon developed between Chief Rabbi Benchimol and his assistant and scribe, Rabbi Judah Azancot. Azancot wrote letters to the Junta complaining about Benchimol. First, Benchimol had recently rejected as a witness on a document a young man whom Azancot had accepted. Benchimol's grounds were that the man had been seen playing ball.[44] Benchimol had previously, on his own initiative, accepted this same person as a witness. Secondly, there was a cow which had a blemish and none the less was ritually slaughtered. Azancot ruled the cow was *terefa* (Hebrew: ritually unacceptable). Benchimol ruled that the animal was kosher. The council referred the situation to committee for adjudication.[45] The committee found in favor of Azancot in that Chief Rabbi Benchimol had given inadequate explanations for his actions. The committee decided to send the Azancot letters of complaint directly to Benchimol.[46]

Zionist Inclinations

The Petah Tikva Society had initiated the teaching of modern Hebrew in evening adult classes taught by Mme. Israel.[47] These Hebrew classes reflected a Zionist tendency and stimulated an interest in Zionism. A letter was received via the diplomatic agent of England that Ariel Bension,a delegate of the Zionist Federation of London, was to visit Tangier. His task was to inform the Junta about the works of the *Keren Hayesod* (the Jewish National Fund for Palestine) and Zionist movement from 1897 to date. Bension formed a local Keren Hayesod Committee, the *Comite Zionist de Tanger*. This committee officially invited the Junta to participate in the celebration of the confirmation of the mandate in Palestine which was to take place on 10 October 1922. The Junta did participate.[48]

The Charles Levy Meat Scandal

The price of meat had continued to rise. In January of 1923, kosher meat cost 6f per kilo.[49] On 18 December 1922 a butcher named Charles

Levy wrote to the Junta asking permission to slaughter in the matadero of the community in order to provide kosher meat at a cheaper price. The Junta agreed to allow this practice providing that certain conditions were met. They instructed the Chief Rabbi to establish order among the kosher butchers. They also ordered the butchers to pay a tax of 0.60f per kilo of meat.[50] They were required to pay 22.50f for each cow slaughtered.[51]

On 27 May 1923, Benchimol warned the Junta that Charles Levy was selling non-kosher meat as kosher. This was the second warning issued by Rabbi Benchimol concerning the conduct of Levy.[52] In August, the Chief Rabbi was still warning about kosher butchers selling non-kosher meat as kosher. All meat in the shops had to be clearly labelled kosher. They asked the *Dayan* to check where Levy was buying his meat. The *Dayan* was also instructed to keep a book recording the fines. The Junta wrote to the *Dayan* to call a meeting of all the Jewish butchers and warn them that a new system of checks would be enacted. In the meanwhile, any butcher who was found with meat bearing the *terefa* stamp on it, would face a one month suspension. During that month, he would neither be allowed to slaughter nor sell any meat. The regulations and the violators would be publicly announced. All meat sold in the store of Charles Levy in the Siaghines was ruled to be non-kosher. A new vigilance system was established to publicize the names of the Jewish butchers who sold non-kosher meat and who supplied it.[53]

On 18 October 1923, ten months after the scandal began and five months after the story became known, the Junta cancelled the agreement with Charles Levy and returned his deposit.[54] Judah Garzon was selected to be the supervisor of the kashruth of the meat. He was given a salary of 190 Ptas monthly.[55] Jacob Benchimol was appointed to run the communal butcher shop. He received a monthly salary of 600f. The butchers, protesting the renewed stringency, felt that the proposed community-owned store in La Gurua had undercut them by selling meat cheaper, at 7f the kilo. They were defended by Messod Bendrao who said that the price in the butcher stores was a fair price. Cazes concurred that the communal store would undercut the little shop-keepers.[56] In the interim, the price of meat in these private stores had risen to 8f per kilo. The Junta felt compelled to support the communal store and to censure the butchers. The Junta had received a letter from Elkouby of Kenitra, Morocco offering his services as a butcher.[57] In three weeks time, the communal butcher shop had a deficit of 400f.[58]

The reelection of Isaac Abensur proceeded without a complaint of election fraud as in previous elections. The new Junta consisted of Isaac

Abensur, Salvador Hassan, J. Nahon, Abraham J. Cohen, Abraham Benelbas, J.J. Levy, Joseph Benoliel, Shalom Levy, Amram Guanish, Joseph Cazes, Dr. M. Guitta, Shemarya Benchetrit, Isaac J. Cohen, Messod Bendrao, and Isaac Coriat. The executive was elected: Isaac Abensur was president; Salvador Hassan and Jacob Nahon were vice presidents; Joseph J. Levy was secretary; Amram Guanish was comptroller; and Shalom Levy was interventor.[59] Abensur and Hassan were reelected to their leadership positions. Dr. Guitta, who as an employee of the Junta as physician at the communal clinic was previously censured, was elected a member of the board which governed his activities and allocated his salary.

Three weeks later, the board called a special meeting to deal with the institution they called Estatutos de Tanger, the regulation covering the internationalization of the city of Tangier. This special meeting took place on 31 May 1924 at three o'clock in the afternoon.[60] This new interaction of the Tangierian Jewish community with the European legations in Tangier confirmed the Jewish community as an important segment in the foreign policy concern of those nations whose interests lay with the navigation of the Straits of Gibraltar and with the pacification of Morocco.[61]

CHAPTER SEVEN

Impact of the Statutes of Tangier

In 1920, Sir Herbert White, the British diplomat in Tangier, was called to London and Lord Northcliffe was sent from London to Tangier to investigate the local situation in advance of international negotiations on the future of the city. Great Britain had no strategic need for Tangier as it had retained possession of Gibraltar. Gibraltar also had a significant Jewish population.[1] British politics was to prevent both France and Spain from obtaining control of the city.[2] The European powers however were involved in protracted negotiations resulting from WWI. On 29 June 1923, a conference on the Zone of Tangier was held with Great Britain, France and Spain participating.[3] Each government maintained its previously stated position. Spain wanted Tangier to be an integral part of the Spanish Protectorate. France wanted Tangier to be under the Sultan who served under French protection. The United Kingdom wanted an international government in which it would have an active part. These opinions were so far apart that the conference was adjourned until 21 August 1923.[4] In the interim, Spain made an about-face and was prepared to accept an international zone. Italy demanded to participate in the discussion. France and Britain suspected Italian motives and objected. On 14 May 1924, the three original discussants came to an agreement and deposited, with the League of Nations, their ratification of the Convention Regarding the Organization of the Statutes of Tangier Zone. Only on 1 July 1924, were all the other signatory powers of the Act of Algeciras invited to sign. Portugal and Netherlands raised no objections. Sweden signed on 5 December 1924.[5] Belgium was a hold-out. Although Belgium had only 20 residents in Tangier, she wanted one judge and two police officers to be Belgians. Once granted the police officials, Belgium signed on 6 December 1924.[6] Italy continued to refuse to sign, stating that she would not recognize the international administration of the city.[7]

The United States, because of isolationist feelings, remained outside the municipal regime.

The Statutes went into effect on 1 June 1925.[8] The Statutes had 56 original articles relating to the police force with an addendum of fourteen articles. There were 57 articles on the administration and 32 articles on the Mixed Court. The Tangier Zone was granted extensive legislative powers. These powers were based upon the original by-laws of the Sanitary Council.[9]

Only three currencies were accepted—French Franc, Spanish Peseta and Moroccan Hassani. The various post offices and telegraph agencies remained intact.[10] Free observance of all Jewish festivals and ceremonies was guaranteed.[11]

The Legislative Assembly, which was the governing body, was to have delegates from the signatory powers—Spain 4, France 4, Britain 3, Italy 2, and one each from USA, Belgium, Netherlands and Portugal.[12] These seventeen were to represent the foreign residents. The native population was represented by six Moslems and three Jews. The Jews, as a community, had been given legislative power unique for northern Africa. The Legislative Assembly was to be supervised by the *Mendoub*, who represented the Sultan. The *Mendoub*, in the name of the Sultan of Morocco, selected three Jewish representatives from a list of nine candidates suggested by the Junta.[13] Jews who held foreign citizenship were permitted to serve as part of their national delegation, if so selected. Arabic, French and Spanish were the only official languages. Laws and regulations were to be published in all three languages. However, the Legislative Assembly utilized only French and Spanish as the language of discussion and then translated into Arabic. The regulations were to be in effect for twelve years until 14 May 1936, with an automatic renewal clause for the same period.[14] In accordance with the protectorate agreements between France and Morocco, the regulations were formulated in a Royal *Dahir*, comprised of the articles presented in the first person as if the Sultan had designed the Statutes. Included in the *Dahir* was the recognition of the Tangier Jewish community as a unique entity. The French delegation considered the three Jews in the Legislative Assembly to be pro-French because most Jews were educated in the AIU schools. The Spanish wooed the Jews because their native language was Spanish.

A *Dahir* from the Sultan on 4 June 1925 officially terminated the Sanitary Council. The Italian delegate, president of the council at the time, objected to the termination of the council, but was overruled by the other members. The USA did not participate directly but tried to protect the rights of American residents.[15]

Initially the International Statutes were disliked and 800 leaders from all segments of the Tangierian population signed a petition demanding revision of the statutes. The Jewish community was required to reorganize under the provisions of the Royal *Dahir*. The Junta reformed itself under a document which later became its constitution:

Internal Regulations of the Committee of the Israelite Community of Tangier

Executive and Commissions

Article 1 - According to the Statutes enacted in the *Dahir* of 21 *Redjeb* 1346 (15 February 1925), articles 16 and 18, the first session is to meet after the general elections, which is to be held by secret ballot or acclamation. Fifteen members of the Junta are to be elected. The composition of the executive will be one president, two vice-presidents, one secretary, one treasurer and one comptroller. There will be nine voting members. There will be nominations for commissions for welfare and health, education, religious affairs, taxation, charitable donations *(Nedaba)*, real estate, Burial Society, slaughterhouses, culture and youth, as well as others when necessary.

Sessions

Article 2 - The plenary sessions must be held at least once a month. Other meetings can be held when considered useful by the president or solicited by one-third of the members of the committee.

1. A quorum is obtained with the presence of eight members of the committee. In case a quorum is not obtained, a second session shall be convened which will be held with the number of members present, for the agreements to be considered valid.
2. Sessions can be held day or night in the locale of the community or any other locale or time as determined by the president. Any member who has not attended three consecutive sessions without justification will be notified in writing.
3. The president, assisted by the secretary, has the exclusive right to give the official summary of the deliberations of each session or series of sessions, for publication.
4. The order of the day at each session will be always and explicitly determined at the previous session. The president has the power to substitute other urgent or important affairs for the order of the day. It will be always possible to communicate with the committee members before the meeting as to which of these items are to be discussed.
5. Only in the case of major urgency can an affair be taken into consideration which does not figure into the agenda of the day.
6. Any member can present for future study any proposition or affair which relate to items on the next agenda.
7. No speaker can, during a session, speak without obtaining authorization.

8. The right to speak is conceded in writing and for five minutes only. If a speaker needs more time, he can obtain special authorization.
9. At the beginning of each session, there will be the reading and approval of the previous session's minutes.
10. The only exception, which could precede the minutes, is when the presentor cannot stay for the session.
11. It is not legal to combine two sessions into one set of minutes.
12. The book of minutes, as with all communal records, will be perpetually in the possession of the secretary of the community and at the exclusive disposition of the respective members.

Amendments

Article 3 - Independent of the amendments expressed in the aforementioned *Dahir*, Articles 19 & 20, it is incumbent upon the president of the Junta :
1. To observe and to cause to be observed all that is established herein.
2. To convene plenary sessions and to preside over them.
3. To sign, jointly with the secretary, all documents amended by the committee.
4. To endorse the payment orders authorized by the committee and sanctioned by its deliberations.
5. To represent the community or cause it to be represented at all official functions.
6. To take part when asked or when it is convenient, in the meetings of the commissions, in every possible way. The president has a preponderant vote.

Article 4 - It is incumbent upon the vice-president as upon the president to respond to actions, impediments or petitions.

Article 5 - Incumbent upon the secretary:
1. To make, at the order of the president, announcements of the plenary sessions.
2. To edit the minutes of the sessions.
3. To assist the president in any services required.

Article 6 - It is incumbent upon the treasurer, in accordance with article 2 of the aforementioned *Dahir* to preside over the finance committee.
Article 7 - It is incumbent upon the comptroller to establish communal fiscal accountability.

Diverse Dispositions

Article 8 - The commission will meet at least once a month in the communal locale. They shall submit to the committee their projects, decisions and the names of who will ultimately be in charge of executing them. Every commission can take any person or persons they wish to be part of the commission. The administrative personnel will make available at the disposition of any member of the committee, all information that can normally be given. They cannot receive nor execute instructions other than through the president and, in his absence, the vice-president or in order, the secretary,

treasurer, comptroller and all appointees of the commission, only those who had respectively the position to execute the decisions taken by the committee or by its established norms.

Article 9 - The bulletin in conformity with the article 22 of the aforementioned *Dahir* will be published annually by the Junta consisting of:

1. An accurate account of the works performed or implemented and an account of the income and expenditures corresponding to the exercise which occurred.
2. A complete list of contributors to the funds of the Junta
3. Whatever other documents of general interest opportunites allow for publication.
4. The organization, coordination and technical leadership of the Junta member in charge of a project or event.
5. The bulletin will be distributed gratis to all the contributors.
6. The bulletin will be published annually on the eve of Passover.

The constitution was approved by the committee of the community.

The minutes of the Junta reflect the reorganization of the community although the basic constitution, as formulated decades before by Chief Rabbi Bengio, continued to be the basis for the communal organization. The reorganization did not take place formally until 31 May 1924. The community continued to function as before. They considered themselves the protectors of other Moroccan Jews.[16] The Tangierian Junta responded to the requests for help from those in the Spanish Zone. They asked Rabbi Azancot and Chief Rabbi Benchimol to intervene to prevent an autopsy on the body of Jacob Benguigui, in the neighboring city of Arzila.[17] Dr. Guitta wrote to the authorities in Madrid and Tetuan for assistance. They were able to obtain expressions of indignation from Ortega and Pulido.[18]

The Junta spent several months reacting to the Statutes of Tangier. The members felt that certain rights and privileges which it had acquired and developed over the decades would now be lost. The protege status had been eliminated. Most Jews of Tangier would now be considered Moroccan subjects and became responsible to the *Mendoub*. They fought strongly to maintain their independence and yet they realized that by having three Jewish delegates to the Legislative Assembly, they were a separate, recognized entity. The areas of concern for the Junta were:

1. The nomination of the members of the Rabbinical Tribunal. As part of the autonomy of the community, the Jews were to have a legally recognized *Bet Din*, a court, which according to Jewish law, is required to have three judges. The Jews of Tangier at the time had only a Chief Rabbi, Benchimol, and his aide, Rabbi Azancot. Yamin Cohen, a young *Shohet*, wanted an appointment as the third of the necessary three judges for a Rabbinical Court.

2. The composition of a Rabbinical Court of Appeals.
3. The relationship to the *Mendoub*, who was to name officially the three Jewish judges of the *Bet Din*.

France wanted the Sultan to appoint the judges directly since the Sultan was under French influence. The English and the Spanish disagreed. Abensur wanted the *Mendoub* simply to confirm the nominations made by the Junta. The Junta strongly criticized the French delegate for trying to manipulate the Jewish community.[19] The Junta was finally reconciled to the French suggestion.[20]

The Junta agreed to announce in the synagogues that anyone wishing to be a candidate for the Legislative Assembly should submit his name, in writing, to the Commission on Candidates for the Legislative Assembly. The Commission consisted of Moses H. Azancot, Leon M. Botbol, Jose Benhayon and Moses Sotto. Since the other representatives on the city assembly were elected by universal male suffrage, the Jewish community voted by universal suffrage. Abensur objected to replacing the old system of limited suffrage and the executive supported his criticism. However, they were compelled to accept the new regulations. With Abensur's son serving on the British delegation and Dr. Guitta, head of Hospital Benchimol, elected to the Spanish delegation, the Jews would have five votes on the initial Legislative Assembly, larger than any European delegation.[21] In a month's time, the nine following candidates for the three Jewish seats were submitted to the *Mendoub* in keeping with the particulars of the *Dahir:* Menahem J. Attias, Isaac A. Coriat, Isaac A. Laredo, Moses H. Azancot, Abraham J. Cohen, Semtob Bengualid, Moses J. Azancot, Joseph S. Bensimhon. Joseph J. Levy became a candidate when Abraham Pimienta, the original nominee, died.[22]

On 19 February 1925, the Junta received word from the *Mendoub* that three members of the Jewish delegation had been accepted—Menahem J. Attias, Isaac A. Coriat and Semtob Bengualid.[23] The Junta wrote to each designee: and recommend to them the defense of our communal interests.[24] The Junta was well disposed towards those who had been selected as their delegates to the Legislative Assembly. The nominations for the Rabbinical Tribunal were more difficult. The Junta was concerned that those who would become part of the Rabbinical Tribunal would interfere with the working and program at the rabbinical seminary.[25] The Junta was also concerned with the financing of the rabbinical seminary. The Junta had obtained three concessions from the international administration on the rabbinical court:

1. When a vacancy opens, a list of three will be submitted to fill the vacancy rather than new nominations for the entire new court;
2. Since the community had only two rabbis of the three necessary for a *Bet Din*, the Junta needed and obtained the right to search for a non-Tangierian Moroccan rabbi either in Morocco or in Palestine.
3. The Rabbinical Court of Appeals would meet only twice a year, on January 1st and June 1st. Economic reasons precluded more meetings. The three judges would be named, one by the *Mendoub* and two by the Junta.[26]

The Junta was forced to select a third judge. They selected Rabbi Jacob Meir Toledano as the other member of the Bet Din.[27]

The application of the internationalization statutes occupied most of the time of the Junta. The council spent its time discussing and debating. They were concerned about the question of the dual loyalties of the Jewish members of the Legislative Assembly. Some Jews sat as foreign representatives while three Jews sat representing the Jewish community. Abensur, whose son represented Great Britain, heard that the Legislative Assembly wanted to suspend the use of the Moroccan currency, Hassani. He notified the Junta of this fact. With this advance information, the Junta ordered the abandonment of the Hassani and the use of French and Spanish currency only in the collection of community taxes.[28] On 15 June 1925 at 11:00 AM, the Junta representatives met in the *Mendoubia* in accordance with Article 2 of the *Dahir* thus making the Junta an official organ of the international government.[29]

The *Mendoub* visited the Jewish Community School on 5 December 1925 and officially accepted Chief Rabbi Benchimol and Rabbis Azancot and Toledano as the members of the Rabbinical Tribunal of Tangier.[30] Yamin Cohen, who had not been a rabbinic choice, arranged to marry the daughter of Chief Rabbi Benchimol in March 1926. His fortunes then changed for the better.[31]

Pressures on the Community Because of Internationalization

The activities of organizing within the rules and politics of the international zone posed numerous new difficulties. When Secretary General Bigart of the AIU came to inspect their school, the Junta was concerned with the reaction of the Spanish government.[32] The Junta felt the need to consolidate the beneficial societies into a federation of Jewish philanthropies in order to be more cost effective, even though some funding was forthcoming from the international administration. The city administration agreed to pay 200f for the burial of the poor, thus elimintating some of the burden on the Burial Society.[33] This consolidation of Jewish welfare organizations was unique in North Africa.

Assessors, selected for the Mixed Court, were generally Jews who were multilingual and thereby became important civil servants in the administration. They included Abraham Y. Laredo, Joseph S. Bensimhon, Joseph L. Cohen, Moses M. Bengio and Joseph J. Levy.[34]

As an outgrowth of the internationalization, the Junta registered its first dissenting votes in their minutes. Augustine Perl had asked for 2000 pesetas to support the magazine *Renacimienta de Israel* (Rebirth of Israel). The Junta agreed to a 100 peseta monthly subsidy for four months.[35] However, Isaac A. Coriat voted against the proposal and had his vote registered as a public dissent. Abraham J. Cohen abstained. The consensus rule had been broken.[36]

The Jews had been able to play an important role in the Legislative Assembly because their Junta was a well organized and well connected body, democratic in nature. The first break in the discipline of the Junta confused them. In January 1927, Menahem Attias, who was a Jewish delegate to the Legislative Assembly, moved to Casablanca and retired from his position as a delegate to the Legislative Assembly. The Junta, in a gesture of good will, notified the Spanish consul general and allowed him to help select a replacement. They submitted a new list of three candidates to the *Mendoub*. The list included Jospeh J. Levy, Moses J. Azancot and Abraham Marquez. The first two had been unsuccessful candidates in the first selection.[37]

The Rabbinical Tribunal, mandated by the *Dahir*, required office space. In the ensuing discussion, the stark realization was brought to the attention of the Junta by member Judah H. Hadida that they had named Rabbi Judah Benchimol as *"acting" Dayan* by a *Dahir* of Sultan Mulai Yousef. However, Benchimol had never been made permanent Chief Rabbi.[38] This oversight had to be corrected immediately. Since Benchimol was educated in the French AIU schools, the Junta wanted to balance their approach to the French by some service to the Spanish. The Spanish sought the Jewish vote in order to counteract the French influence over the Moroccan Moslem delegation which had been appointed by the pro-French Sultan. The newspaper *Heraldo de Marruecos* received Spanish government support to defend Spanish and Jewish interests in Tangier. The Jews, therefore, had to balance their dealings with the other foreign governments.[39]

Another difficulty in the communal organization was the Rabbinical Court of Appeal. There were no judges in Tangier, other than those already on the *Bet Din* to be assigned to these new positions. In September 1927, the executive of the Junta suggested that several changes be made in

order to facilitate the implementation of the respective articles relating to the organization of this court, as follows:

1. suppression of the *Dahir*. The Junta wanted to have the entire concept of a Rabbinical Court of Appeals in Tangier abandoned. This proposal was universally accepted by the Junta.
2. suppression of the commission of the comptroller, which supervised native institutions, as this intervened directly with the power of the Junta. This passed by a majority with Benoliel, Laredo and Azancot voting against the measure.[40]

In order to raise communal funds from the tax on slaughtered cattle, the community continued to accept bids on the price per head to be slaughtered. The bids came from four people: Albert A. Levy (29.10), Mair Bitton (27.60), Amram S. Amar (24.29) and Akiba Levy (23.60). No reason is given for accepting the lower bid of Bitton but he was awarded the contract.[41] The butchers continued to be considered of bad character, often violent and prone to using foul language. They had also raised the price of meat .50 pta per kilo without proper authorization. Supplies were often short. On 9 June 1926, the Junta held a special session to deal with the butchers. They complained that the *shohetim* arrived at the slaughterhouses at 6:00 AM but Rabbis Benchimol and Azancot did not arrive on time. There were delays in the ritual inspection of the meat before packing. Only Yamin Cohen arrived on time. Yamin Cohen and Jacob Ovadia were hired with a salary of 175 ptas and 25 ptas respectively. Salaries of 100 ptas were given to Benchimol and Azancot as substitutes for helping before the holy days in the slaughtering of cattle. All salaries were paid in ptas.[42]

Schooling Leads to Near Collapse of the Junta

The British Board of Deputies sent an English language teacher to replace Cohen and the Junta agreed to pay £30 annually towards the salary.[43] Semach wanted to modernize the schools by putting in telephones.[44] The petty details of running the community took precedence over the internationalization in the discussions at these meetings. The expenses and concerns for education continued to mount. The Junta responded to Mr. and Mrs. Semach's devoted service to the AIU school by giving them a salary increment. They also began to look into repairs of the building housing the AIU school.[45] Concern was also expressed about the French School. Shalom Levy reported that many students were attending on Saturday and Jewish festivals. The Junta expressed their "disgust" at individuals who sent their young children to school on Saturday in violation of the basic principles of Judaism. The Junta appointed a committee to speak to the principal and to arrange that those Jewish students

who do not attend school on Saturday and holy days could make-up their lessons on another day of the week. The committee was also mandated to speak to parents requesting that they not violate the Sabbath and holy days. The committee consisted of Joseph Benoliel, Abraham J. Cohen, Isaac A. Abensur and Shalom Levy. The Junta also authorized that the estate left by Judah Nahon be used for the Rabbinical Seminary of Tangier to strengthen this religious school.[46] Mrs. David Israel was nominated to teach modern Hebrew language at the girls' school of the AIU.[47] In October, the AIU school installed electricity in an attempt to modernize the building and make the learning more enjoyable and effective.[48] A form of friendlier rivalry began between the two schools.

Annual Budget of the Yeshiba for 1925

Communal	3996f	Teacher salaries	monthly
Estate of Judah Nahon	1200f	Judah Benchimol	300f
Estate of Moses J. Azancot	720f	Judah Azancot	300f
Estate of Esther Benzaquen	1350f	Yamin Cohen	100f
Estate of David Cohen	1500f	Mordejai Bensimhon	200f
Donation of Isaac J. Cohen	3000f	M. Tarika (Fr.)	675f
Donation of Salvador Hassan	1500f	Jose Morena (Sp.)	250f
Donation of Messod Bendrao	1500f	M. Rais (Arabic)	150f
Donation of Toledano Bros	1000f	Monthly Total	1975f
Keren Kayemet (Interest)	467f		
Subscriptions	1000f	Annual Total	23,700f
Syn. Maasat Moses (Nahon)	300f		
Total	17,533f		

The Yeshiba had a built-in deficit for this fiscal year.[49]

Seven hours of Hebrew were taught at the Yeshiba.[50] Amram Guahnish, an unusually active young member of the Junta, recommended that the seminary students study in the *Estudio* Synagogue, which had two Torah scrolls. Jacob Bendayan was in charge of that synagogue.[51] However, the members of the Junta were uncertain if *Estudio* was consecrated as a place of worship or as a place of study. Chief Rabbi Benchimol was consulted and he allowed for the use of the facility as a Yeshiba.[52] Dr. Perl reported that the Spanish government was prepared to pay for teacher Santos Fernandez to teach more hours of Spanish language and for Jacobo Bentata to teach more hours of Spanish history in the Rabbinical Seminary of Tangier.[53] The deficit for the year was lessened when the widow of Isaac Gabbay left 550 pesetas to the Yeshiba. The seminary became a source of pride for the Tangierian Jews. The advanced Talmudic institution compensated for the previous reputation as a city without adequate knowledge of Judaism. Donations came from the emigrees to Caracas. The Junta made an extraordinary grant in August 1926, of 17,000f. Mrs. Hadra Sicsu

de Benmergui, the widow of Rabbi Semtob Benmergui gave his 450 volume library to the seminary. Many of the works were from the 15th through the 17th centuries with censor markings made by the church authorities. The books were in poor condition and needed restoration. The Junta applied to the Montefiore Foundation for a 4000f grant to do the restoration work.[54] The Benmergui collection became the core of the Yeshiba's library. There was a need to modernize the school system. The Junta wanted the suppression of corporal punishment in the schools.[55] Benoliel suggested the teaching of spoken Hebrew in the girls' school and suggested that Mrs. David Israel who had taught in the Petah Tikva program and was involved in early Zionist activities be employed to teach Hebrew as a spoken language.[56] Benoliel continued to pursue this area.

While the internationalization of the city brought direct benefits to the Jewish population, the Moslems lost a great deal in the area of governance. Some resentment of the situation found expression in anti-Jewish activity. The reorganization of the Burial Society required that the society hire two Arab soldiers to accompany the hearse because of the disgraceful acts perpetrated by Arabs during the ceremony.[57] The Junta wrote to the police to protect Jewish students from anti-Jewish acts as they left school.[58]

The Junta was concerned with the mentally ill. Unable to find adequate facilities to care in Tangier, the Junta sent them to France as was the custom. The community found this practice of sending their Jewish mentally ill patients to non-Jewish institutions increasingly distasteful and in May 1926, the Junta decided to form an *Asilo* (literally asylum but actually a convalescing and nursing home). The Asilo was dedicated to the memory of Moses J. Laredo and therefore bore the name *Asilo Laredo*—a specialized health care facility different from Hospital Benchimol and also unique to the Jews of Morocco.[59]

The city of Tangier had an old *Mikve* or ritual bath. It was located near the Rue des Synogogues. Some women also used the nearby sea for their ritual monthly bath. The Junta decided to build a new *Mikve* in the girls' school. After evaluating the cost efficiency ratio, it was determined to convert the lower floor into a *Mikve* at a cost of 8-900 ptas.[60]

Zionist Activities

Internationalization gave Jews rights of expression not known elsewhere in Morocco and removed Arab control of the administration of justice. Under this policy, Zionist organizations developed, including *Keren Hayesod* and the Zionist center, *Centro Sionista*. The purpose of this center was to foster the immigration of Jews to Palestine. The Zionists helped support the development of agriculture, education and health care

in Palestine.[61] Joseph Benoliel and Amram Guahnish actively supported these programs within the community. Junta president Abensur objected to the Zionist programs. Moses J. Azancot was active on behalf of the Zionist ideal and represented the Zionist committee in Tangier.[62]

Portuguese Marranos

Across the Straits of Gibraltar lay Portugal and the remnant of a once vibrant Jewish commmunity. The Junta was extremely concerned about the Marranos, people who claimed to be descendants of those Jews who were forcibly converted to Christianity in 1497. These Marranos continued to maintain some Jewish practices and were centered in the villages of Belmonte and Vilflor as well as in Oporto. The Junta corresponded with the British Board of Jewish Deputies in London, the Consistoire Centrale Paris and the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London concerning these Marranos and their situation. The Junta felt that these Marranos were Jews. They needed Jewish education, formal and informal, lectures on ritual and a communal cemetery, at a total cost of £10,000.[63]

Unfortunately, with funds in short supply, the Junta could not supply formal communal aid. They allowed for private solicitations in the synagogues to collect funds for these Portuguese Marranos.[64]

Departure of AIU Principal Semach

After many years as director of the AIU schools in Tangier, Semach was sent to Rabat. He was replaced by Nissim Falcon who had been director of the schools in Marrakesh and by Madame Ganguine in the girls' school. Benoliel was made superintendent of the various Jewish schools with a salary of 1200f per month. Mrs. Israel was hired to teach Hebrew in the morning to the girls and in the afternoon to the boys at a salary of 800f per month.

The community held a special reception for Semach in October 1926, at the Teatro Cervantes, the principal cultural center in Tangier.[65] The speakers for the gala evening included the president of the Alumni Association of AIU and the secretary of the Junta. Messody Abensur de Nahon gave Mrs. Semach a Moorish style golden bracelet as a parting gift, from the women of the Alumni society.[66] However, the transition to Falcon was not an easy adjustment for the Junta. Falcon felt that the teachers' salaries were insufficient and that the rights and obligations of the teachers were not clearly earmarked. The Junta responded by voting 2000f for increments as a vote of confidence in Falcon.

Falcon handled various problems with one major change. The school had a six day week, with no classes on Saturday. But Sunday attendance was so poor that material taught that day had to be repeated on Monday.

Falcon recommended closing the AIU schools on Sunday, thereby achieving several ends: allowing teachers a day to attend to domestic chores; to give an automatic raise to the teachers who received the same salary for one day less work; and to avoid duplication of material and programs resulting from Sunday absenteeism. Falcon reorganized the class structure. The AIU had 60 students ages 3½-5½ years who were subject to the same motivational proceedures as were the 14-16 year olds. Falcon felt the school needed a teacher for games, movement, and songs, etc. He recommended that in the *Curso Infantil* (Infantile Class) for 5½-8 year olds they study spoken French, Hebrew, Spanish writing, Jewish history, calculus and general culture. Hebrew was taught for two hours daily. Falcon felt that it was better to speak French before they formally studied the language.[67] The preparatory class was ages 8-10 years old. Falcon recommended an intense course to read and write Spanish, Jewish history, composition, spelling, and Hebrew for the fast reader and translation with grammar.[68] Ruben Toledano, a Jewish studies teacher, objected to the loss of time for religious education for the 80 students in this part of the school in order to make time available for the secular education. Falcon disagreed with the Hebrew teacher. The Junta stated that the education commission, rather than the full Junta, should settle the matter of the time allotted for religious education.[69] Ruben Toledano retired from teaching on 1 February 1927, because of poor health, after 36 years of service.[70] Amram Amar offered his services to teach Hebrew if there were additional classes.[71]

The disagreement on the philosophy of education was reflected in the relationship between Falcon and Benoliel, the Junta-appointed inspector of schools and chairman of the education committee. Benoliel made several recommendations to the Junta:

1. Separate the interests of the communal schools from the Yeshiba.
2. Benoliel will oversee only the communal schools.
3. Benoliel will help organize programs at AIU schools.
4. Benoliel will supervise and implement programs and allocate funds.
5. Benoliel will attend to the affairs and interests of the schools.
6. He will evaluate and propose modifications of programs.
7. He will evaluate the situation of the student body, teachers and employees.[72]

The commission agreed to the proposal and gave Benoliel the title *Consejero tecnico de la ensenanza de las escuelas comunales* (Technical Chancellor of Education in the Communal Schools). Falcon objected. He wanted Benoliel's title changed to *Consejero tecnico de la ensenanza en general e inspectore de la ensenanza del Hebreo en las escuelas comunales* (Technical Chancellor of Education in General and Inspector of Hebrew Teaching in the Communal Schools). Falcon's change would have limited

Benoliel's authority over non-Hebraic subjects. The Junta wanted to intensify the teaching of Hebrew. Many thought that Falcon was projecting his personal desire to teach less Hebrew. Falcon would not let the situation with Benoliel rest. He wrote to the Junta, with the authority of the central committee of the AIU, rejecting the *Consejero tecnico* title for Benoliel. Mme. Ganguine did the same.[73]

The International Administration informed the Junta that after 1925, it could no longer certify births and marriages unless they were listed in a registry. The record keeping of the community had to be improved. Record keeping was also a problem for the *Hajnasat Orhim* Society which was headed by Messod Bendrao as president and Judah H. Hadida as *Pakeed*. The Junta found bookkeeping irregularities. The problems of communal administration seemed overwhelming with an international administrator auditing procedures.

The Junta began to prepare for the next election scheduled for 24 March 1927. Moses Sotto reported that he had spoken to M. Bernard and M. Marinberg of the French delegation about the need for election reform in the Jewish community. According to Sotto, the French delegate had suggested that only Moroccan Jewish subjects be elected to the Junta and certainly no Spanish proteges. The presence of Spanish proteges on the new Junta could make recognition of the Junta by the international administration more difficult. It had become quite evident that Sotto, a Jewish delegate to the Legislative Assembly, was being influenced by the French against the current president, Abensur, a British protege.[74]

The Junta reacted strongly to such blatant interference by the French delegation in the internal mechanism of the Jewish community. The Junta agreed to send a representative delegation to the French, English and Spanish delegations and to the *Mendoub* to protest the interference. The Junta elections were based on religion, not nationality. The election and internal autonomy of the Jewish community existed before the international administration. Amram Guahnish and Isaac Coriat went to see Marinberg on their own. They reported that he had stated that Sotto had invented the entire incident. The Junta sent Jacob M. Nahon and Isaac A. Coriat as an official delegation to speak to Bernard and Marinberg.[75] The matter was dropped.

The new Junta was elected and sat on 14 May 1927. The executive included:

President: Isaac Abensur
Vice-president : Salvador Hassan and Jacob M. Nahon
Treasurer: Isaac Joseph Cohen
Secretary : Moses J. Azancot

Comptroller: Amram Guahnish.
The usual commissions were formed—welfare, taxes, secretary and archives, slaughterhouse, education, burial, religion and social action.[76]

A great debate centered on the Jewish delegates to the Legislative Assembly. Coriat, himself a delegate, insisted that the Jews in the Legislative Assembly were independent of the Junta but were there as Jews to protect Jewish interest. Jacobo Bentata, a Junta member, insisted that the Jewish delegation was the mandate of the Junta and must vote as the Junta pre-determines. Joseph J. Levy stated that the Jewish delegates primarily were there to defend the moral and material interests of the community they represented, as does the Junta. Coriat was inclined to accept this definition.[77]

The Junta sent a resolution directly to the Legislative Assembly calling upon the League of Nations to protest the anti-Jewish pogroms in the Ukraine, Poland and Lithuania; the Jewish quota in Hungary and Rumania; and the persecution of the Jews in those countries. The resolution read:

The Legislative Assembly respectfully solicits that the League of Nations intervene in the governments of those countries to have the quota abolished.

The Legislative Assembly passed the resolution. The Junta had successfully utilized its influence to pass a resolution of purely Jewish interests.[78] Since the Junta was able to go directly to the Legislative Assembly, the debate with the delegates settled down.

Estate of Benchimol Affair

Haim Benchimol, a past president of the Junta, died in 1906 in Marseilles. Seventy-five percent of his estate, which included a house and land in Oran and Tangier, went to Hospital Benchimol. The estate had a net value of 10 million francs. Therefore the hospital was to inherit 7.5 million francs. An appeal by the other heirs was made and after nearly two decades of legal proceedings the amount of the award to the hospital was reduced to 58.5%. This inheritance was to be administered by the *Societe Civil pour la Succession Benchimol* (The Civil Corporation for the Benchimol Inheritance), with assets of 2.7 million gold francs.[79] These funds were to be held in perpetuity, with the interest used to maintain the hospital.

The Zionists Revolt

Some elements of the Junta were less concerned about their role vis-a-vis the foreign powers than about the nature of Jewish education in Tangier. While a source of pride for the Junta, the Yeshiba was viciously attacked by Coriat in September, 1927. Coriat, who began his remarks by stating that he was a friend of the Rabbinical Seminary, felt that there was a need

for reform. His complaints were that the teachers took long vacations; that costs were excessive; disagreement among personnel; and general poor administration.[80] There were a few improvements made as when the Spanish consul came to visit the school which then received a library from the Spanish Crown through his good offices.[81]

Amram Guahnish asked for a review of the AIU schools. The AIU asked the Junta for a 30,000f subsidy which the Junta could not pay. This request embarrassed the Junta. A turning point in the relationship between the Junta and the AIU school came when the principal, Falcon, fired Salman, the Hebrew teacher, on grounds of incompetency. Rabbi Yamin Cohen sent a letter to the committee applying for the position. Moses Azancot, a leading Zionist, wanted to bring a Hebrew teacher from Israel. President Abensur, a leading opponent of the Zionist program, objected. Bentata, Benoliel and Guahnish proposed that more Jewish studies be included in the AIU Schools and to engage monitors for discipline. Abensur was under pressure to find a Hebrew teacher. He steadfastly refused one from Palestine. He was prepared to accept a teacher from Algeria or Tunisia but not Palestine. Azancot argued that in Algeria and Tunisia they had teachers from Palestine. Abensur remained steadfast in his objection. Cohen retorted that all Jews are Zionists and that a teacher from Palestine should be employed. Azancot agreed and Abensur disagreed. Reuben Alcalbi of Jerusalem was recommended by the Education Department of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem. Alcalbi would be paid 15 Egyptian pounds salary for 30 hours a week, vacation in the summer and ticket from Jerusalem to Tangier.[82] The majority of the Junta favored the teacher from Palestine. A heated debate resulted on the proposal to hire a teacher from Palestine. Three days later, 16 November 1927, an extraordinary meeting was held with only eight members present—Guahnish, Benoliel, Bentata, Coriat, Guitta, Laredo, Levy and Azancot. The executive, except for the secretary Azancot, had resigned to protest the overrule of Abensur on the Palestine teacher issue. Those present at the special meeting expressed their anger at those who resigned. The remaining members recognized that the divisions in the community were very great. However, they had expected all members to continue fulfilling their communal functions and not resign. A committee was formed to persuade those who had resigned to return to their duties. The committee included Dr. Guitta, Levy, Laredo and Azancot. Several points were evident to the remaining members:

1. The Junta did not accept the resignations. They required the expertise of the more experienced members.
2. The division in the Junta was bad for the community and for the individuals as it could lead to the loss of Jewish communal independence.

3. Tangier was the outstanding community of Jews in Morocco. It had a special autonomy and set an example for the other communities to follow.
4. Those who resigned should abide by the communal constitution which prohibits resignations and evasion of responsibility to the community.
The remaining Junta members therefore requested that those who had resigned return to serve on the Junta. All those present signed the document.

The remaining members, acting as the Junta, sent a condolence telegram to the Grand Vizier upon the death of the Sultan Moulai Yousef on 18 November 1927. The three Jewish delegates to the Legislative Assembly expressed the regrets of the community to the *Mendoub* as well. The Junta received a telegraph of appreciation from Vizier el-Mokri. A delegation of Benoliel, Guitta, Guahnish, Bentata and Azancot met with the *Mendoub* to personally extend greetings on behalf of the Junta to the new Sultan Sidi Mohammed. The *Mendoub* stated that the Sultan does not discriminate between his subjects of the Moslem religion and the Israelite religion.

The divisions in the Jewish community widened. The special committee of Guahnish, Levy and Azancot visited Abensur at his home on the evening of 16 November 1927. They asked Abensur to withdraw his resignation. He refused. On 17 November 1927, the committee visited Hassan in his office to have him withdraw his resignation and to have Abensur do the same. Hassan said that he would not like to sit on the Junta. The commission tried three times to get Hassan to ask Abensur to return. Eventually, on 27 November 1927 Hassan responded with an ultimate, negative answer, but transmitted two proposals:
1. There will be open negotiation concerning electoral reform.
2. There will be retraction of the resignations of the four members of the council in order to have communal peace.[83]

On 28 November, Salvador Hassan notified the committee that the proposition was not accepted by Abensur. At this point the Junta was no longer functioning as a governing body. The remaining members of the Junta called themselves the *Consejo* (council), not wanting to appear to be the full Junta as the title would imply. On 29 November 1927, they accepted the resignations of Abensur, Hassan, Nahon and Cohen. Coriat and Bendrao resigned in solidarity with the others and the *Consejo* had agreed not to interfere. They were able to modify the rabbinical objection to the situation. The Junta looked to Joseph Benoliel to provide the leadership. The new executive was elected by the remaining members:
President: Joseph Benoliel
Vice-presidents: Dr. Guitta, Joseph Levy

Secretary: Moses J. Azancot
Treasurer: Jacobo Bentata
Comptroller: Amram Guahnish

Having concluded the election process, the *Consejo* now called itself the Junta. The *Fundacion Laredo*, a charitable foundation, gave 30,000f to pay many of the communal bills, thereby easing the burden on the Junta which had lost the bankers as leaders. Benoliel signed the documents as president. The reformers, professional and pro-Zionist were now in control. The older, wealthier members were gone.

The Zionist oriented Junta recorded its new leadership in a special document. The document was called the *Manifesto de la Comunidad* (Manifesto of the Community), a four page typed document detailing the reformation of the community. The new Junta reviewed the incident from the firing of the Hebrew school teacher at the AIU boys' school until the resignation of the elder leadership. They felt that the activities did not warrant nor justify the resignations. The transfer of power was now completed. It is ironic that power was given to the Jews of Tangier based upon the organization of the community. In the moment of greatest triumph, the inclusion of the Jews as a separate entity in the Legislative Assembly, the Jewish community was going through its greatest organizational crisis.

The Junta drew up its agenda and dedicated its energies to the needs of the community:

a. electoral reform
b. improvement of the educational system
c. improvement of Hebrew instruction
d. reorganization of the welfare programs
e. suppression of begging
f. fiscal responsibility
g. community accountability.

The Junta tried hard to gain the confidence of the community in the face of the mass resignation of the former leaders, the financial backers of the communal organization. The new Junta signed this agenda under the title of the *Comite de la comunidad Israelita* (Committee of the Jewish Community) The new Junta benevolently inserted a testimonial for Abensur, Hassan, Nahon and Cohen. The four former executive members were nominated as *comite de honor de la Comunidad Israelita de Tanger* (honor committee of the Jewish Community of Tangier).[84] The bitterness persisted. The Rabbinical Tribunal wrote, on 8 December 1927, referring to the division, the need for harmony in the community, that a reconciliation could be made and that the new Junta would be temporary. Dr. Guitta

met with the *Mendoub* and discussed the legitimacy of the new Junta. Guitta had gone to see Abensur, who was too sick to meet with him.[85] The new Junta received the acceptance of the International administrator.[86] Bentata received confirmation from Abensur that he would not disrupt the new Junta. On 4 January 1928, Rabbi Benchimol attended the meeting of the new Junta thereby giving rabbinical recognition. Also at that meeting were Jacob S. Cohen, Shemaya Benchetrit, Haim Azancot, and Jacob Azagory, the neutral members of the Junta. The Junta voted openly a second time for president and listed the outcome to make the election official. All the officers were reelected. Benoliel reiterated the need for internal discipline and for respect for Abensur as the past president. Abensur was invited to attend the sessions of the Junta.[87] Benoliel was an outstanding personality for the presidency. His diverse personal history included many years as an educator, as an author of prose and poetry, translator, politician, orator, biblical commentator, and member of various distinguished societies. He travelled extensively before returning to Tangier where he was born in 1858. He was therefore 69 when he became the president of the Junta in 1928. He was admired by the members of the Junta, young and old.[88] His term as president was only three years but his impact on reform of the communal organization was wide-spread and wide-felt. His agenda for the Junta became:

1. constitutional reform
2. discipline at meetings
3. institution of a commercial course at school[89]
4. The employment of a Hebrew language teacher from Palestine.

The discussion centered around the means to finance the new project. Bentata and Guitta were hesitant because of the financial responsibility. Azancot was insistent and won unanimous approval.[90]

The Junta then turned to the reform of the welfare system:

1. Passover wheat - the Junta insisted that the commission should buy as much wheat as was necessary regardless of price
2. Kosher meat - the Junta circulated a newsletter through the synagogues warning against the buying of *terefa* (non-kosher) meat
3. Jewish beggars - the priorities of welfare eligibility:
   a. Born in Tangier
   b. Moroccan origin and has lived from two years or more in Tangier
   c. Beggars with two years of residence in Tangier regardless of origin
   d. Moroccan origin with less than two years residence in Tangier.

This produced a gradation of who would receive the limited aid available to the poor of Tangier. Funds would be used to suppress begging in the

streets. The Junta agreed to review the entire welfare situation after one month.[91]

The Junta established a scholarship committee which included three members of the Junta, the two principals and two parents. They instituted a vaccination program with Dr. Ricardo Ruiz.[92] An association called the League of Students was begun to protect the environment. In March of 1928, the first major Jewish visitors from abroad, after internationalization, were Sir Roger and Lady Spielman who came to review Jewish education in Tangier on behalf of the British Board of Deputies. The Junta allocated 1000f for the occassion.[93]

The Junta planned a balanced budget.

Income		Expenditures	
Slaughter	485,350.00f	Slaughter	49,447.00f
Welfare	28,800.00f	Welfare	177,789.20f
Rentals	263,488.00f	Rent	28,487.00f
Education	12,000.00f	Education	403,886.80f
Total	789,338.00f	Religion	13,650.00f
		Administ.	30,350.00f
		Taxes	66,500.00f
		Reserves	19,228.00f
		Total	789,338.00f

This balanced budget was contingent upon the Junta receiving a subvention of 100,000f from the Legislative Assembly.[94] The Junta called a meeting with the Jewish delegates to the Legislative Assembly to discuss the need for the funds for education. Coriat, the delegate who had resigned as a member of the Junta, refused to attend the meeting. He felt that the Jewish delegates represented the people directly and not the Junta. He believed that he did not have to attend as the case for the aid was already documented. This amount had been given in previous years. The Junta felt that the delegates represented the Junta. The majority wanted to replace Coriat as a delegate and to demand certain changes in the regulations of the Statutes of Tangier:

1. There should be the right to appeal the decisions of the *Mendoub*.
2. That the Jewish legal clerks in the court of the *Mendoub* be made permanent.
3. That the Mixed Court have a Jewish legal clerk who is Moroccan or from a list of acceptable people.

The Junta bypassed Coriat and met directly with the French, British, Spanish, Italian and Mendoubian representatives.[95]

Because of his background as an educator, Benoliel was concerned primarily with education. Without judging the actions of Falcon, with

whom Benoliel had had previous disagreements, the Junta felt that the school had poor administration in the previous four years. Falcon was the first to sound the alarm about the deterioration of the schools. Falcon was replaced by new directors, Mr. and Mrs. Sagues.[96] They needed four teachers of French and one teacher of Hebrew. The status of the native-born teachers required radical reforms including an increase in prestige, respect and salary payments. There was a need to standardize the pay scale. For the first time, the president of the Junta took an active part in the administration of the school. The Junta developed a sliding salary scale based on various factors:

1. Years of service
2. Titles or diplomas
3. Marital status and the number of dependent children under the age of sixteen.

A pension fund, *Caja de Ahorros* (savings account) was created for all teachers with 30-35 years of service.[97] The Junta also wanted the right to intervene in the school, an act which the AIU headquarters previously opposed. The AIU did not answer the latest appeal for accountability. The Junta took this silence to be a tacit recognition of their right as local authority to intervene in the activities in the school. The Spanish teacher was being paid by the Spanish government which had raised his salary in keeping with other raises. The Spanish teacher was extremely important because the Junta felt that a Sephardic community should maintain its mother tongue. The salary of the English teacher was limited by the Montefiore Foundation and augmented by the AIU. The Junta was especially proud of the presence of the English language teacher as a sign of the universalism of Tangierian Jewry. Consequently, the Junta reaffirmed their support for the English teacher.[98] Arabic, the language of the country, was to be taught and the salary charged to the AIU.[99] The Hebrew teacher was in a unique position. The change in administration in the Jewish community had come about because of the discussion concerning the Hebrew teacher. The Junta found the methodology used in the classroom to be antiquated and the results therefore inadequate. Hebrew, they felt, should consist of 7-8 years of study for six hours per week. The course should utilize Torah readings and simple prayers. A segment of the Junta continued to feel that a teacher from Palestine would be preferable.

The Jewish school population reflected the various nationalities of the Jews in Tangier. There were 480 boys—355 Moroccan, 48 Spanish, 31 French, 11 Italian and 11 English. There were 394 girls—327 Moroccan, 32 Spanish, 17 French. Other nationalities represented included Argentinian, Portuguese and Dutch children.[100] There were also 57 Catholic children in attendance whose parents were very satisfied with the form and

system of education. Cleanliness of the buildings was a real problem. Cleanliness of the students was also a problem, particularly for those from impoverished families. The Junta circulated a health questionnaire. They also recommended physical exercise and periodic examinations for height, weight, etc. The school needed improved administration particularly in registration procedures. To make these improvements, the support of the three Jewish delegates to the Legislative Assembly was needed. Coriat was unsympathetic to the presentation and did not attend the next meeting with the Junta. The Junta then voted unanimously to remove Coriat as a Jewish delegate to the Legislative Assembly.[101] The resolution revoking the appointment of Coriat was prepared for presentation to the *Mendoub*. Guitta and Bentata changed the language of the resolution for the recall of Coriat to a strong approach which clearly defined the delegates as repesenting the Junta. Bentata, Guahnish and Azancot were selected to present the resolution to the *Mendoub*. A final meeting was then arranged between the three Jewish delegates—Coriat, Bengualid and Levy—and the representatives of the Junta, Guahnish, Bentata and Azancot.[102] Levy, for the delegates, and Azancot, for the Junta proposed that they meet with the administrator in a joint committee to discuss and resolve the problem. Bentata suggested only verbal arguments be submitted to the Administrator and that there be no face to face meetings. Levy and Azancot won. Bentata, Guahnish and Azancot then met with the administrator in a direct discussion. The Junta representatives felt that Coriat had inadequately served the community by failing to seek the funds for Jewish education as requested by the Junta. The Legislative Assembly voted in favor of the request for funding. The discussion proved to be futile when the Committee of Control, representing the foreign consulates, refused to underwrite the total subvention for education which had been agreed to by the Legislative Assembly. The Committee of Control permitted a subvention of 50,000f, half the amount needed by the Junta to balance the budget. The Legislative Assembly recognized the rights of the Jewish delegates to register their protest against the action of the Committee of Control.[103] The lack of adequate funding meant a deficit budget.

The opening of the new cemetery and the growth of the city meant that several bodies which had been buried in other areas would have to be exhumed. Chief Rabbi Benchimol prohibited the exhumations on religious grounds that interred bodies may not be exhumed unless one wants to move them to Israel. He ruled that changes to the cemetery would have to be made around existing grave sites. The exhumations did take place however, and the Junta reacted by condemning the societies which permitted the desecration. The Junta ordered an investigation into the organization of the Burial Societies and to determine their accountability.[104]

Education

Under the reform Junta, the situation of the educational standards of the Jewish schools did not improve dramatically. Although the deficit was considerable, the Junta felt the pressing need to concentrate on the improvement of education. However, it met with resistance on various levels. The British Board of Deputies was unable to find an English language teacher who would go to Tangier and replace the retiring Mr. Yahuda. They recommended that the Junta find someone locally who could and would teach English.[105]

On 24 October 1928 an extraordinary meeting of the Junta was held in order to deal with this mounting concern. The Junta was still unable to find a Hebrew teacher from Palestine. It was also unable to find an English teacher. The situation had deteriorated under the reform Junta. The AIU had promised to send an additional teacher to alleviate overcrowding and they had not done so. Guahnish, in an impassioned speech, declared that their election to the reform Junta had been to improve the schools and that had not been accomplished. Laredo indicated that the Junta should be officially consulted in all hirings and firings. Guahnish tried to get action rather than rhetoric. He proposed that a delegation be sent to Paris to discuss the need for additional teachers with the AIU. Bentata added an amendment to request better teachers. The majority vote sided with Guahnish to send the delegation and not complain about the pedagogic difficulties.[106]

The delegation could not travel on communal funds. This was based upon a resolution which was passed with three abstentions—Guahnish, Moses Azancot and Haim Azancot.[107] The Junta also drew up an official letter for the delegation to present to the committee of the AIU. The preamble of the letter described the history of the schools in brief; how there were fifteen years of decay; how some parents had chosen to send their children to other schools even those supported by non-Jewish institutions; how Falcon had sounded the alarm for the need for change and development; and how the resulting election had represented a demand by the community for a new communal government dedicated to the advancement of education and the reorganization of the schools. The Junta then made eleven requests:

1. The replacement of male teachers with female teachers was a cultural error in Morocco even though female teachers earned less and therefore would save the community money.
2. The replacement of teachers with monitors, while it would save money, was a pedagogic error. Only certified teachers should be employed.

3. The frequent turnover of teachers, as they left for more lucrative jobs, disrupted the learning process. Better salaries would insure that teachers remain and provide a better education. Experienced teachers leave for other jobs only to be replaced by less experienced teachers.
4. The frequent absence of the director left the school without direction.
5. There was a need for modern material.
6. The arbitrary classification of students made for too widely heterogeneous classes. Better testing and smaller classes would improve the quality of education.
7. Students were promoted from one class to the next often without examinations. This automatic promotion led to students who made no progress.
8. The Junta be allowed to participate in the programming of the school.
9. Repairs to the school building were needed.
10. There was a pressing need for more school material as currently used.
11. There must be an improved attitude towards the treatment of teachers.

The letter also requested a review of the Hebrew and English instruction.[108]

On 24 November 1928, the delegation reported on their meeting with the secretary-general of the AIU. The delegation called the meeting a triumph in that the secretary-general agreed to the opening of a nursery school, *escuela infantil* to be staffed with the school monitors.[109] The Junta later received a letter from the AIU reviewing the meeting with the delegation. The letter dealt with five of the major points raised by the Junta:

1. The creation of a nursery, *Maternelle*.
2. The replacement of the school monitors with certified teachers.
3. Teacher appointments to be reviewed with the Junta.
4. No female teachers assigned to the boys' school.
5. The Junta would deal directly with the Central Committee of the AIU.

The Junta had won a major victory in advancing education. Their faith in themselves was restored. Guahnish's advice had won.[110] The Junta supported the agreement with a budgetary allotment for the next calendar year. Salaries were to be increased. Sagues was to received 6000f; Mrs. Sagues, 6000f; 3800f for teachers who taught for more than 2 years; 2400f for teachers with less than two years experience. The salary adjustments were to be made retroactive to 1 October 1928.[111]

Poverty

Although Tangier under the international administration prospered under the lowered tax structure, poverty continued for some Jews. The three classes were clearly defined: the wealthy families who supported the various welfare societies; a strong middle class of professionals and bureaucrats; and the poor. Some of the poor were new immigrants to the city who had come from other Moroccan Jewish communities. Some of

the immigrants to Tangier spent their first night in the police station. The Junta asked Edery and Azancot to investigate the situation.[112] Begging, they reported, continued to be a problem. The Junta felt that they should approach the native delegates, Moslem and Jew, to solve the problem of begging through the Legislative Assembly.[113] The Junta would also use the funds of the Asilo to house the new immigrants.[114]

The Junta was surprised at the method by which surrogates over estates were appointed. Being a reform-minded Junta, they wrote to the Chief Rabbi, in guarded and respectful terms, to have him reorganize the Jewish surrogates court along with the folllowing lines:

A. The guardian must be an individual who can assume moral responsibility.
B. The guardian must receive a defined percentage of the estate and no more. He may not randomly bill the estate for services rendered.
C. Where there is a case of poverty or where poverty might result, the guardian of the estate may not charge a fee.
D. The guardian must report bi-annually to the president of the Rabbinical Tribunal.
E. The guardian must be held commercially liable for all losses incurred.[115]

The Chief Rabbi affirmed the suggestions of the Junta as to the manner of guardian appointments.[116] A problem had developed, in a similar manner with Mr. Menard, the lawyer for the Junta regarding the estate of Haim Benchimol who had left a legacy for the hospital. Through the efforts of Guahnish and Sauvin, approval was made of a settlement for legal fees against the estate for 15-20,000f. The Junta considered this settlement a victory.[117]

In 1929, the social welfare programs were paramount for the Junta. The Sabah fund awarded the Junta 60,000f.[118] Dr. Guitta of the Hospital Benchimol and vice-president of the Junta felt that the money should be used for the treatment of the mentally ill and lepers as those patients were sent out of Tangier, generally to Christian institutions.[119] In February, the Junta agreed to fuse the Asilo Laredo with the funds from the Sabah Foundation and thereby form the Asilo Laredo-Sabah.[120] Hassan recommended to the Junta that the newly combined institution be used to house the poor. If the facility was too small, they would need to build another building with meat tax money to house the fifty Jewish beggars estimated to be in Tangier.[121] The committee approved the Hassan suggestion.

The Legislative Assembly acted on the request of the Junta to ameliorate the condition of the fifty Jewish beggars. The international administrator, Alberge, agreed to pay 5f per day per beggar to be housed in the Asilo Laredo-Sabah. The Junta was prepared to accept this arrangement but a deal was not arranged because the Moslem community, with a greater

number of beggars, could not meet the need to house their beggars. The budget to take the beggars off the streets was estimated at 200,000f. The Jews were willing to provide 90,000f. The rest would have had to come from the Moslem community. The Junta agreed to allocate 15,000f from the Sabah foundation for the Asylum in order to house the beggars and to ratify the accord with the administrator for the suppression of begging in Tangier.[122] The Legislative Assembly approved 50,000f for the Jewish community and the same amount for the Moslem community, even though the Moslem beggars far outnumbered the Jewish ones. The Junta selected Abraham Azulay to become the director of the Asilo. They mandated that a poor house be provided to shelter those beggars who 1) were born in Tangier, or 2) those who had resided in Tangier for a period of 5 years or more, or 3) for those who were incapacitated. The Junta had to face the problem of Jewish beggars who did not fall into any of the three categories. They could not legislate them out of existence. Cases of mental incapacity would continue to be sent to Cadiz. The Asilo Laredo-Sabah held opening ceremonies on 19 January 1930. The Junta expressed their appreciation to Shemaya Benchetrit for his dedication to insure the opening of the Asilo.[123]

Since the Hassan resolution relating to a Jewish Poor House was taken care of, the Junta focused on the question of the cost and reliability of kosher meat. The Junta was concerned whether or not to interfere with the regulation of kosher meat. They respected the Chief Rabbi as the final word on these matters. However, the Junta wanted to be advised on the enforcement of kashruth standards. They wrote to Benchimol to have the office of the Rabbinical Tribunal take the following action:

1. Keep a list of all Jews who buy in non-kosher butchers.
2. Read, for three consecutive weeks, a circular prepared by the Rabbinical Tribunal. The circular should demonstrate the need to keep kosher and not eat *Terefa* and to support the religious observance and the community organizations through the meat tax.
3. Present a series of *Derushim* (homilies) for the next fifteen days on eating kosher food.
4. There should be personal and private approaches made to Jews who do not keep kosher. Witnesses should be found to determine who does or does not keep the dietary laws.

The Junta for its part examined the price structuring of pressed meat.[124] The Chief Rabbi agreed to this direct action by the Junta.[125] This signalled a period in which there was wide spread deterioration of Jewish observances. It was no longer a case of the abuse by the *shohetim*. Reuben Toledano and Jack Ovadia who slaughtered fowl were well respected. The Junta raised some objection to the nature or language of the circular in

that the Chief Rabbi had watered down the strong wording of the Junta. The Junta then sent a delegation of three—Levy, Bentata and Cohen to visit the Chief Rabbi to manifest the Junta's disagreement with the circular and to call for renewed frank relations between the Chief Rabbi and the Junta.[126] Benchimol had to be reminded by Guahnish that he was a member of the Junta and should attend meetings. The Junta also wanted to remind the Chief Rabbinate that it was subject to the authority of the Junta. The Junta wanted control of the special fund of 2000f that Benchimol had for poor relief.[127] The committee debated the need to go to the Legislative Assembly about the Chief Rabbinate. The offices of the Chief Rabbi were in the Mendoubia, which was the former German legation building. The Junta even pushed for Jews in Sherrifian jails to receive kosher food and admonished the Chief Rabbi for not being more zealous.[128] The *Mendoub* stated that he assumed that the Jewish prisoners in the Moroccan jails were entitled to kosher food.[129] However, kosher meat sold for 25f the kilo. If the Junta recommended that members of the Jewish committee eat less meat as a protest, then communal income would suffer. Laredo claimed that the butchers had united into a union. Bentata asked permission of the Junta to investigate.[130] Saurin admitted that the kosher provisions were a communal monopoly. Therefore there was no need to go to the Legislative Assembly nor to the *Mendoub* for the power to enforce the communal obligations. Bentata stated that this communal arrangement was made as public service to the community. The various elements in the fifteen member Junta had their own agenda. Finally it was agreed that they would postpone action for eight day to allow for full investigation. The Junta for the first time was dealing with real issues: capitalistic trade, free marketing and communalism.[131]

Two Arab butchers and Joseph Maman representing the Jewish butchers met with the members of the Matadero Commission of the Junta to explain the reason for the price differences between kosher and non-kosher meat. Maman was forceful and logical. Jews have a much higher community tax rate, consequently the meat had an added amount of 2.71f per kilo. *Terefa* was sold for only 2.46f per kilo. Benchetrit and Laredo asked to raise the price only 2.5f and that the butchers absorb the loss. Cohen suggested that the price be between 2.5-3.0 and fixed within that range. The Junta agreed that a circular be sent explaining the variant price structure.[132]

The Jewish butchers objected to fixed pricing of the meat they sold. At a time of great demand, a week before Yom Kippur 1929, they struck, refusing to send cattle to the slaughterers. The Junta agreed to an added charge for the meat to be slaughtered but stated that the new price limit

would be reinstated after the holiday or the butchers would be denied the privilege of having cattle slaughtered for them. When the butchers refused this compromise, the community bought and slaughtered their own cattle. The *Mendoub* during this period received numerous letters from community members and butchers complaining of the strike. The *Mendoub* approached the Junta angrily about the restrictions. However, he agreed to abide by the Junta's decisions to cope with the strike. The Junta reminded and the *Mendoub* agreed that this was an internal religious matter beyond his jurisdiction. The Junta had not prevented the butchers from selling meat, only from having the cattle ritually slaughtered. During the meeting of 3 November 1929, an official of the *Mehsab* (Moslem tax authority) called upon the Junta and reported that he had been instructed by the *Mendoub* to support the decision of the Junta in respect to the strike.[133] He had verbally instructed the butchers to write to the Junta to formally request the services of the *shohetim*. After a lengthy discussion with the Junta, Yusuf Maman, spokesman for the butchers, agreed in writing to send cattle to slaughter in accordance with all the regulations of the Junta. The strike ended.[134]

The Caullat Affair

In September 1929, Caullat, an assistant administrator of the International Zone, had received a letter from the lawyer Tesser, protesting the intervention of the Rabbinical Tribunal in the affair concerning Judah Benasulin, a Spanish subject. Chief Rabbi Benchimol was summoned to the office of Caullat for 10:30 AM on Saturday, 22 September 1929. The summons was received in the office of the Chief Rabbi in the *Mendoubia* building, dispatched through the first Khalifa of the *Mendoub*. The official reported to Caullat that he had in fact delivered the summons to the Chief Rabbi. When the Chief Rabbi appeared for the meeting, in violation of the Jewish Sabbath, Caullat expressed in violent terms, the reaction of Rabat to the Benasulin case. Tesser was disrespectful to Benchimol accusing him of violating the rights of a Spaniard. The Chief Rabbi was humiliated. When Benchimol told the Junta of the incident, it expressed deep regrets that the Chief Rabbi had responded to the summons of Caullat on the Sabbath in violation of the sanctity of the Law. The Junta expressed its sorrow that the Chief Rabbi sought to deal with this problem himself rather than in consultation with the president or the board members and its shock that Caullat had summmoned the Chief Rabbi to a meeting on the Sabbath which had always been respected by the authorities. The right to observe the Sabbath was recognized by various *Dahirs*. The Junta sent a letter to Benchimol, objecting to his actions in responding to the summons. The Junta protested to the *Mendoub* who

was charged with protecting Jewish religious rights. The Junta voted to instruct Guahnish to meet face to face with Caullat to protest the violent tone of voice in dealing with the Chief Rabbi. Guahnish was accompanied by Levy and Azancot.[135]

At the next session, a month later, Azancot reported on the meeting with Caullat. Caullat claimed that he did not realize that the Sabbath could not be desecrated even for an urgent matter of public business. The Chief Rabbi had not raised any objection. Caullat's ignorance of Jewish religious regulations was verified. The delegation felt that he had exonerated himself on that point. In reference to the violent tone, Caullat explained that this was a very serious affair. The Junta delegation accepted the explanation offered although this affected the esteem for the Chief Rabbi, the Jewish community, and the Sheriffian authorities who were charged with protecting religious rights.[136]

Foreign Language Instruction

The reform Junta prided itself in its concern for social welfare and particularly education. Its views often clashed with Sagues who directed the AIU schools in Tangier. The Junta, like other Tangierians, prided itself in being multi-lingual. Sagues, on directive from Paris, viewed the proliferation of languages as a problem unique to Tangier. Sagues felt that it was an error to have children ages 6 through 12 taught four languages. There were 619 Spanish students attending French language schools in Tangier. There were 200 Jewish students in other French language schools and there were only 35 Jewish students in the Escuela Alfonso XIII. Sagues recommended the complete removal of the Spanish language from the curriculum. The Junta wanted the retention of the Spanish language. Sagues was willing to have Spanish and English in complementary classes and recommended that the time thus freed be given to Hebrew, a ploy to win over the Junta which had fought so hard to introduce proper Hebrew language into the instruction. The Junta diplomatically thanked Sagues for coming to the Junta first with his suggestions and said that they would carefully consider the proposal and forward it to a commission.[137] The Junta, with sixty years of precedent for teaching Spanish and English, recommended a compromise.[138] Guahnish felt that there should be consultations with the previous members of the Junta executive who had resigned, Abensur, Hassan, Cohen and Bendrao, since they had important business contacts in those languages. Edery felt that Spanish was of greater usefulness than French and therefore proposed that the final three classes be taught in Spanish and that every class have daily lessons in Spanish. This suggestion was accepted unanimously.[139] Other matters

discussed concerning education were: a lack of teachers; the use of corporal punishment by Mrs. Fonseca; the need for additional space; and random and frequent school closings.[140]

CHAPTER EIGHT

1930 until the Start of World War II

The reform Junta continued its efforts to alleviate the condition of the poor and stop begging in the streets which served as a source of embarrassment for the Jewish community at large. The Junta approached the Tangier-Fez Railroad for a reduction in fare so that the Junta would pay for a one-way ticket out of Tangier for those poor who did not fall into the categories for communal help. The railroad agreed to a one-way third class ticket at a 50% reduction.[1] The Spanish minister in Tangier contributed 125 ptas to the Asilo for the benefit of the poor.[2] The estate of Leon Bendrihen of Santiago de Chile provided additional funding for the poor through the intervention of the French consulate since Chile had no ambassador or minister stationed in Tangier.[3]

The End of the New Junta

The election of April 1930 brought about a return of the old regime. The reform Junta's brief tenure was at an end. Although not all the reformers were removed, the 1930 Junta provided a return mainly to the old wealth leadership.[4] The transition from the young Junta to the new mixed group took place on 27 April 1930. Rabbi Benchimol presided over the transition. Benoliel was ousted by popular vote and was no longer a member of the Junta. The new Junta consisted of: Isaac Abensur, A.H. Hassan, Moses H. Azancot, Jacob Cohen, Jacob Nahon, Dr. Guitta, Isaac J. Cohen, Amram Guahnish, Shemaya Benchetrit, Abraham Laredo, Moses J. Azancot, Salomon Knafo, Simon Benlezra, Jacob Assayag, and Isaac M. Nahon. Dr. Guitta, who had been on the reform Junta, cordially welcomed the new members and praised the previous Junta "que tan brillantesima labor han realizado un beneficio de la comunidad" (Whose brillant work had realized a benefit for the community). The Junta members insisted by acclamation that Abensur become the president. Abensur accepted the position "for the prosperity of the community." There was

an open vote for the remaining executive positions. For the two vice-presidents: Hassan-11 votes; Jacob Nahon-9 votes; Dr. Guitta-8 votes. The first two became vice-presidents. This was like the old days when the chief officers were from the Abensur, Nahon and Hassan banking families. Moses J. Azancot became secretary when Moses H. Azancot declined the nomination in his favor. Isaac J. Cohen became the treasurer. The comptroller election ended as a tie, reformer Guahnish-7 votes and newcomer Benlezra-7 votes. The president broke the tie by selecting the newcomer Benlezra "because he was older." Guahnish who had been an outspoken leader of the reformers graciously pledged his support.[5] The removal of the main body of the previous Junta was now complete. The only reformer on the new executive was Moses J. Azancot. The appointment to committees reflected the same turn of events.

Taxes: I.J. Cohen, Benlezra, Hassan.
Religion: Abensur, Isaac Cohen, Assayag.
Slaughterhouse: Benchetrit, Laredo, J.S. Cohen.
Welfare and Hygiene: Guitta, Benchetrit, Laredo, Isaac Nahon, Assayag.
Education: Moses H. Azancot, Guahnish, Laredo, Knafo, Moses J. Azancot.
Burial Society: Guitta, Benchetrit, Laredo.
Secretariat and Archives: Moses H. Azancot, Guahnish.
Real Estate: Benchetrit, Isaac Nahon, Guahnish, Assayag.
Legislative Assembly: Isaac Cohen, Knafo.
The reformers were in control only of the Burial Society and the archives.[6]

The Junta went on to consolidate its relationship with the important communal institutions. Sagues, the principal of the AIU school, saw the new elections as a positive turn of events. He met with Abensur who was also received by municipal administrator Pierre LeFur and Dr. Ricardo Ruiz. Rabbi Benchimol also found an ally in the old-style president, as Abensur sought to work through the Chief Rabbi rather than make him subservient to the wishes of the Junta. Abensur asked the Chief Rabbi to instruct the notaries and rabbis who solemnize marriages that they must inform the Rabbinical Tribunal of all marriages, the parties thereto, and the amount of the *Ketuba*. Records were to be kept of all circumcisions, *Guittim* (religious divorce decrees), titles of properties, and placed at the disposal of the Junta.[7] The Junta also set the fees of the Rabbinical Tribunal:

registration of marriages - free, reduced from 20f.
recording of events - reduced to 10f.
copy of the minutes - 50 centimes per line for a maximum of 18f.
translation from Hebrew into Arabic or reverse - 30 lines for 30f

translations from romance languages into Arabic or reverse - 30 lines for 30f.[8]

Jewish Influence on Other Organizations

The Colegio Italiano, in deference to their Jewish students, did not have classes on Saturday. The administration of the school wanted to have a Hebrew class with a Jewish teacher who would take the Jewish students to synagogue. The Junta was very appreciative.[9]

The Club International de Tenis, a French sponsored organization, wanted a Jewish representative on its board. The Junta named Isaac M. Nahon its representative.[10] The invitation represented the French appeal to the Jews just as the Colegio Italiano represented the Italian interests wooing the Jews.

Condition of the Jews in Tangierian Jails

The Cadi of Tangier had Maman jailed for real estate violations. The Junta felt that Maman had been jailed unfairly and requested assistance from the lawyer, Albert Menard, and from the Jewish delegates in the Legislative Assembly. As a result of the investigation into the Maman case, the Junta discovered that the local jails were still not complying with Article 6 of the Statutes of Tangier which allowed Jews to receive ritually prepared foods even in jail. Menard agreed to represent Jewish interests in this matter before the Mixed Tribunal.[11] The two cases, that of Maman's incarceration and that of the Jewish prisoners' right to kosher food, were unsatisfactorily argued back and forth with the *Mendoub*.

Education

The Junta turned to rectify changes made by the reform Junta on the Jewish educational system. They recommended:

1. One-half day weekly of nature studies in the field. The older children should learn agriculture on communal property in Bubana, a section then on the outskirts of the city.
2. Creation of commercial courses - a business orientation.
3. All classes to return to Biblical Hebrew and religious studies.
4. Retention of English language instruction in four classes and generalized usage of Spanish in all classes except that for the *certificado de estudios*.
5. Reduction by one-half day of the work load of Sr. Seruya and the widow Moryossef to save funds.
6. A yearly calendar for students and teachers.[12]

The *Mendoub* had mentioned to the Jewish delegates of the Legislative Assembly the need to teach Arabic in the Jewish schools. The Junta responded firmly but politely. If the *Mendoub* wanted Arabic taught in the Jewish communal schools, he would have to fund it.

Abensur was openly critical of the Rabbinical Seminary. He stated that the rabbinical profession is a negative one and that rabbis should be taught a livelihood. The Yeshiba cost 70-80,000f per year and Abensur felt that the results did not warrant this expenditure. The subject was delicate because of the religious significance of the school. Guahnish reacted with heated emotion saying "The Torah is at all times the most precious treasure, appreciated by Israel, for the Law is its life. Without it, there is no reason to exist. Rabbi Yohanan Ben Zakkai said that the reconstruction of the Temple will not occur without the authorization to open a modest school which provides for the needs of the people. Now, the most civilized nations reserve a place for the Jewish language and culture. How can we then close the seminary in which the instruction is based upon this legacy." Guahnish further answered the criticism of Abensur concerning the livelihood of the rabbinate by declaring: "The Rabbinical profession is different in that it is a vocation. The results obtained by the seminary are not negative because they form the teachers of Hebrew, the ritual slaughterers of fowl and kine, the cantors, etc. The students need not become rabbis." Moses J. Azancot stated that the attacks on the students were not justified. Abensur however looked at the situation in practical rather than spiritual terms. Abensur agreed that the primary and essential need of a Jewish community is the conservation of the Jewish patrimony which is its religion and culture. Furthermore, he stated that he would never vote to close the Yeshiba. Moses J. Azancot then suggested that the school be reorganized rather than closed and that the educational system be intensified, and this was agreed to and plans were drawn up to this effect. The Junta underwrote the budgetary deficit.[13]

Amram Guahnish

Suddenly, in 1930, at age 35, Amram Guahnish died, leaving the community in anguish. He was a primary leader in the reform Junta and one of the few members thereof to be returned to power. He was a fiery orator dedicated to tradition, religion and the Jewish people. He was born in Tangier in 1895 and attended the AIU schools there. At age 25, he became a member of the Junta and was instrumental in the reorganization of the community services, the creation of the seminary, the suppression of begging, the creation of the Asilo Laredo-Sabah, and the regulation of communal real estate. His father, Marcos (Mordejay) Guahnish was a founder of the Guahnish & Benchetrit Tobacco Company. Amram was multilingual, fluent in Spanish, French, Hebrew, Arabic and English, the Tangierian languages. He was also the president of the Casino de Tanger, the Jewish club.[14] Moses H. Azancot suggested to the Junta that a plaque in Guahnish's memory be placed in the dining room of the Asilo, another

plaque be placed in the seminary, the societies have a commemorative meal and that a kindergarten be created in his memory. These suggestions were unanimously accepted and the memorial service was held on 28 December 1930.[15]

Social Services for Children

Azancot's words asking for a memorial for Guahnish reminded the Junta of the need for a new kindergarten, the finances were not sufficient to build it. As an alternate gesture, a new wing , named in memory of Amram Guahnish, was added to the Salvador Hassan Maternity Ward and Day Care Center at a cost of 30,000f. With a monthly upkeep of 1,000f provided by the Junta, this wing housed 20 abandoned or orphaned boys.[16]

Hebrew Language Instruction at the AIU School

In March 1932, Hebrew language instruction in the AIU schools was reorganized by the Junta using the following guide lines:

1. Maintain the status quo for the current school year.
2. The new program should begin the next year with the following:
   a. One teacher per class.
   b. Augmented studies for classes 5,4,3
   c. Minimum expected results from each group.
3. Empower each teacher to carry out the program and explain to each teacher its objectives.
4. Organize a Sabbath service in the community hall for students of classes 5,4,3 under the leadership of Benmergui. This would be basically a youth *Minyan*.
5. Create a Hebrew Prize of 250f for the best student. The award would be called Premio Rabbi Mordejai Bengio, after the Chief Rabbi who helped organize the community.
6. Have the principal report trimesterally to the Junta concerning the nature of Hebrew instruction.
7. Courses to be given in the summer for Hebrew studies only.[17]

The education commission report was submitted by Moses J. Azancot and was agreed to by education commission members Moses H. Azancot, Abraham Y. Laredo and Salomon Knafo. Sagues, the principal, responded several weeks later. Sagues agreed that the Hebrew instruction was mediocre:

1. One cannot have two teachers for one class.
2. The quality of teaching was inconsistent.[18]

The Yeshiba

In May 1933, a cost cutting study of the Toledano Yeshiba yielded unsatisfactory results.[19] The teachers were unhappy with the lack of disci-

pline. Joseph D. Cohen reported that the Yeshiba absorbed a large amount of the communal funds but without positive results. There was irregular attendance by the teachers. Students were undisciplined. Teacher Mordejay Bensimhon was blind and yet wanted a raise. Now that Guahnish was no longer around to rouse the communal conscience, Laredo suggested that the number of teachers be reduced and that the Yeshiba be moved to the AIU boys' school. Several members agreed.[20] Other felt that the Yeshiba should be moved but only on certain conditions, such as no merger with the AIU and that Hebrew studies not be affected. Abraham Y. Laredo felt that it was extremely difficult to change the programs without a change of personnel.[21] *The Direction Générale de l'Instruction Publique* in Rabat promised a 100,000f subsidy for the school.[22] That grant by the French was later reduced to 20,000f.[23] Sagues asked that the entire Yeshiba be dismantled.[24] Discussion continued through the following year and into 1935.

Evaluation of the Financial Status

The continuing drain on community funds because of the constant influx of new people into the area demanded an evaluation of the cost factors in each of the community's institutions. The Education Commission agreed to a tuition charge of 10f per student per four months. The actual tuition payment would depend on the ability of the family to pay. The AIU boys' school had 578 students in 1935 of whom 300 were being fed and received free medical care at the expense of the welfare society called *Ouevre de Nourriture et d'Habillement* (Work of Nourishment and Clothing). The other 278 boys did pay their trimester fees. These payments totalled 2780f per trimester or 8340f per year. The AIU girls' school had 430 students in 1935, with 300 receiving assistance from *Ouevre de Nourriture et d'Habillement*. The remaining 130 students paid their 10f trimesterly tuition for an annual total of 3900f. The teachers' salaries were 1800f per year for nine months work, or 200f per month.

The Rabbinical Seminary had budgeted 6000f for an Arabic teacher who was not engaged.[25] There was a budget line of 4800f for a Hebrew teacher. The outcome of the discussions concerning the reorganization was that the Yeshiba would meet in the AIU boys' school and that its secular instruction had to be improved to be competitive with the AIU. Chief Rabbi Benchimol (who had attended the AIU school) and the principal Sagues subsequently met to work out the details. The consensus was that they were not obtaining the best possible results from the French language instruction. Benchimol suggested a serious reorganization of the Group A students. They were to have 18 hours weekly of religious instruction: 6 hours of Talmud, 3 hours each of *Orah Haim* (daily prayer laws)

and *Yore Deah* (kashruth laws), 3 hours of the weekly Bible portion with Rashi (commentary of the 11th century Rabbi Shlomo Isaaci), 1½ hours of the books of the prophets with the *Mesoudoth David* commentary, 1½ hours of grammar. For there to be a proper feeder school for the Yeshiba which was essentially a high school, they would need to develop an elementary school and recruit a young Hebrew teacher at a salary of 400f per month. There would be no tuition except for those students in Group A.[26] The continuing deterioration of the religious school worried the Junta and the community. Donations to the school had decreased sharply. Some individuals had even suspended payment on their pledges or were not honoring their commitments. Isaac J. Cohen, Efraim Medina and Messod Bendayan agreed to visit the regular donors to the Yeshiba and reassure them of the efforts being made for the Yeshiba. The Junta also agreed to write to the Toledano brothers to secure additional funding.[27]

The Abensur Junta sought to put its imprint on the Burial Society, *Hebrat Geumillut Hasadim*. The society was reorganized under the provisions of Article 18 of the *Dahir* issued by the Sultan on 15 February 1925.[28] The Abensur Junta had gained control over the Burial Society and had instituted the necessary changes to insure accountability and maintain control over this important and old institution of Tangierian Jewry.

The concept of a communally run butchery was not favorably received. The price of meat remained high and some solution had to be found. When Mimon Cazes wanted to open another kosher butcher, the Junta readily agreed with several stated conditions:

1. Cazes would rent the right for 124f.
2. The meat would be sold at a fixed price of the *Mehsab*
3. The butcher shop could be closed at anytime without prior warning.[29]

Meat sold for 4.9f per kilo in the Spanish Zone while it sold in Tangier at 12f per kilo. There was little control and many intermediaries, a Junta commission reported. Moses J. Azancot recommended that the Junta again buy heads of cattle in the market and sell the meat directly. The Junta decided to investigate the sale of the kosher meat in Tetuan and Ceuta.[30] Joseph (Yusuf) Maman, head of the butchers' guild, heard of these developments and requested a meeting with the Junta.[31] The Junta was not anxious to meet because of previous hostilities and thus did not meet. In addition, the concept of a communal butcher was tabled.

Many Jews reverted to various types of smuggling, including the smuggling of meat, into the International Zone. Some butchers brought contraband meat into Tangier from neighboring Arzila. The amount of contraband meat rose to 400 kilos per month with a yearly value of 38,400f.[32]

Ritual Bath

The Junta turned its attention to the ritual bath, the Mikve. There had been previous discussion of a new bath as the old one was in terrible condition. Some women and men preferred to use the nearby sea as a Mikve, which is permitted by Jewish law.[33] The Junta determined that they needed 100,000f for a new ritual bath and that there was demand for such a facility. The Junta was prepared to place the necessaary land at the disposal of Mr. Cohen for the construction of the Mikve. They also accepted his donation towards the costs thereof. Consequently, the Mikve would be named for Alia Isaac Cohen.[34] Moise J. Abecassis was placed in charge of supervising the ritual bath.[35] The community fixed the prices for the usage of the ritual bath.[36] Hanania Hazan was placed in charge of the administration of the ritual bath.[37]

Hospital Benchimol Affair or the Bendrao Scandal

With the internationalization of Tangier, a modicum of prosperity and dignity had arrived for Tangierian Jews. Some Jews had returned from Latin America with newly acquired fortunes.[38] The quixotic period of the reform Junta had been followed by a solidly conservative Junta and communal stability. The Jewish community also had a great measure of power within the Legislative Assembly. In 1931, the news of the *Asunto Benchimol* (Benchimol Affair) became a public scandal. Bendrao, as president of the board of Hospital Benchimol, had sold property belonging to the hospital. Much of the hospital's income, like that of the Junta, came from rents on properties willed to it. The Junta had objected to the sale but was reminded by the hospital's board that it was autonomous. The affairs became more complicated when the Junta learned that the property was sold to a holding company which, in turn, sold the property to a real estate consortium of which Bendrao was a partner. The Junta retained legal counsel in order to reclaim the property. Albert Menard was called upon once again to represent the interests of the Junta. The Junta also brought the case before the Rabbinical Tribunal. The question before the Rabbinical Tribunal was whether the property in question was *Hekdesh* (consecrated) or not. If the property was consecrated, then it could be sold for the hospital was the sole owner and arbitrator. If the property was not, then the hospital board had control only over the income from the property and had no legal right to sell the property.[39] The Rabbinical Tribunal ruled that the Junta was the supervisory agency over the hospital board which had autonomy but not independence. Therefore the property should be returned to the hospital and the monies returned to the purchasers.[40] Thus began four years of negotiations. Bendrao had profited handsomely from the resale of the property. When these events became public

knowledge, Bendrao offered the Junta a small property worth 100,000f, the same value as the original property. He had realized a 40,000 pta profit from the sale. The offer was rejected by the Junta.[41] There were offers and counter-offers. Eventually, a settlement was negotiated in 1935, in which Bendrao placed 100,000f in escrow, the interest of which would be used for the hospital.[42] Menard billed the Junta 20,000f for his legal services.[43] The Junta did not fare well during the crisis as attendance at meetings declined and discipline was breached with copies of the minutes relevant to the affair publicly circulated. After the agreements, the Junta tried to replace the hospital board. However, there was a clause in the will of Haim Benchimol, which funded the hospital in perpetuity, that board members had to be members of the family of Haim Benchimol. Menard advised the Junta that while it was true that members of the board had to be family members of Benchimol, the Junta could appoint family members who looked favorably on the position of the Junta.[44] Finally, on 7 April 1935, the documents of agreement between Bendrao and the Junta were signed and sealed.[45]

Disruption of the Junta

The community leaders were constantly at odds about the educational system within the communal schools. However, the Asunto Benchimol had occupied their time and their energies, and other matters had been ignored. Sagues tried to get the Junta to agree to a physical expansion of the school. The boys' school had insufficient space particularly if the religious studies program previously suggested by the Junta was to be incorporated.[46] The Junta did agree to transfer 15-20 boys to the Yeshiba in order to alleviate the overcrowding.[47] The Junta also wrote to the presidents of the Jewish communities in the French and in the Spanish zones to recruit students for the Yeshiba.[48] The devaluation of the peseta, as the result of the world wide depression of 1929, caused problems in 1931, and reduced the real earning power of the teachers' salaries. Rabbi Benchimol resigned from the Yeshiba because of ill health.[49] In 1931, the Colegio Italiano continued to be a blessing for the community servicing 100 Jewish pupils with a Hebrew teacher and kosher food. The Junta selected a committee to visit the principal and to officially thank him.[50] On the other hand, they were dissatisfied with the AIU school which was a financial burden on the community. The staff was constantly changing and there were difficulties in recruiting personnel.[51] There was a need for an Arabic teacher at the Yeshiba because of pressure from the *Mendoub*. The Junta felt the need to discuss fully with the Sultan's representative the utility of such lessons in the Yeshiba.[52] The Arab ruler responded that it was imperative for the subjects of a country to speak the language of

the country. His office would provide a teacher if financing was the only deterrent.[53] The firing of the Hebrew teacher Ezrah caused great consternation. Ezrah had successfully taught the older class. He was transferred to the younger classes at which he was less successful. Mismatched, Ezrah, deemed a failure by the principal, was removed. Moses J. Azancot prodded the Junta into action to reinstate Ezrah. The previous reform Junta was elected by an internal fight over the nature of the Hebrew teacher and the subject was no less volatile now. Azancot pushed a vote of support for Ezrah but no one wanted to place his name as a sponsor of the proposition. Nahon, as acting president, tried to table the motion by having the proposition considered at the end of the school year. The motion was put to a vote. Tempers flared. Nahon objected to Moses J. Azancot's language which seemed dictatorial. The argument grew heated and Isaac J. Cohen then requested most of the members of the Junta to resign and they walked out.[54]

For the next two and half months the Junta did not meet. Finally, on 26 June 1932, the Junta met in the presence of the Chief Rabbi. New elections were held which produced the following Junta: Jacob Nahon, Abraham Hassan, Aaron Abensur, Isaac Jacob Cohen, Abraham Y. Laredo, Y. Essayag, Mair E. Abitbol, Salomon Knafo, Leon Botbol, Abraham Jacob Laredo, Raphael Bendrihem and Guillermo Bergel. Also elected but not present at the initial meeting were: Simon Lezrah (formerly Benlezrah), Jacob D. Cohen and Moses H. Azancot. By acclamation, Isaac Abensur was elected honorary president of the community. The election for president, which had to be held twice, was by secret ballot.

The following were elected:

President: Abraham H. Hassan (6), Jacob Nahon (3), Aaron Abensur (2), Isaac Jacob Cohen (1). There had never been as many candidates for president of the Junta as in this election.
Vice-president: Aaron Abensur (10), Moses H. Azancot (6), Jacob Nahon (4), Y. Essayag (2), Isaac Jacob Cohen (1), Jacob D. Cohen (1).
Treasurer: Isaac Jacob Cohen
Secretary: Mair E. Abitbol
Assistant: Guillermo Bergel
Comptroller: Simon (Ben)Lezrah
Assistant: A. Jacob Laredo

The commissions were constituted in accordance with their usual procedures:

Taxes: Isaac J. Cohen, Aaron Abensur, Jacob Essayag, Abraham Hassan.
Religious Institutions: Rapahel Bendrihem, Isaac J. Cohen, Abraham Hassan.
Slaughterhouse: Leon Botbol, Abraham Y. Laredo, Abraham J. Laredo.

Welfare: Jacob Essayag, Abraham Y. Laredo, Guillermo Bergel, Joseph D. Cohen, Mair E. Abitbol.
Education: Moses H. Azancot, Abraham Y. Laredo, Raphael Bendrihem, Mair Abitbol, Isaac J. Cohen.
Real Estate: Jacob Essayag, Moses H. Azancot, Abraham Y. Laredo, Salomon Knafo, Isaac J. Cohen.
Burial Society: Leon Botbol, Abraham Y. Laredo, Raphael Bendrihem.
Secretariat and Archives: Moses H. Azancot, Mair Abitbol, Guillermo Bergel.
Delegates to the Authorities: Moses H. Azancot, Simon Lezrah
Delegates for the Soup Kitchen: Moses H. Azancot, Abraham Y. Laredo.
Delegates to the meetings of the beneficial societies: Leon Botbol, Abraham J. Laredo, Mair Abitbol, Joseph D. Cohen, Salomon Knafo.[55]

The Hassan Junta extended itself to control the major organizations of the community. The Burial Society resigned collectively. Consequently, the Junta named an entirely new society: Raphael Bendrihem, Leon Botbol, Raphael Benlisha, Abraham Nahon, Abraham Y. Laredo, Isaie Chocron, Jacob Hazan, Moise Bendayan, Dr. Guitta, Mordejay Guahnish, Shemaya Benchetrit, Leon Benlolo, and Rabbi Aquiba Sananes. The Junta then turned its attention to the removal of Ezrah from the school. A compromise was developed to allow Ezrah to leave and be replaced by a modern Hebrew teacher.[56]

The new Junta was faced with the reality of the growing communal deficit. There was a proposal to charge more tuition for the schools in order to balance the budget.[57] The debt had risen to 10,488.87f. The Junta decided to reduce the spending on educational supplies; to cut the teachers salaries by 33% as of 1 January 1933; to reduce the amount for the nutritional support from 13200f to 12000f. Abensur suggested that the Yeshiba be transferred administratively to the AIU boys' school in order to save money. Abraham Y. Laredo proposed a commission to study the cost factors and report at the next session. Isaac J. Cohen stated that the Yeshiba could not be changed because it is *Hekdesh* as the seminary also had a synagogue attached. The Chief Rabbi was consulted for a religious opinion. He ruled that if they move the seminary then they could move the synagogue. The entire proposal was tabled until the education commission could submit their report.[58] The cost of moving the school was calculated to be 50,000f, a sum which they did not have. They reduced teachers' salaries and raised tuition. They reduced the salaries of the *shohetim*.[59] This salary reduction led some teachers to resign their positions.[60]

The Burial Society, in order to raise funds, floated a lottery for 10,000f.[61] The Junta ordered that the monies collected from the daily donation called *Vayibarech David* be given to the Junta.[62]

Impact of the Depression

Although some in Tangier prospered from the internationalization of the port city, others continued to feel the terrible effects of the change in the world economy. The community as an institution was in debt. With people unable to afford much meat, the amount gained through the slaughterhouse tax was limited. The welfare society reported that the monthly *Hiluq* stood at 6,042f and an additional 1300f weekly for those in an extraordinarily difficult situation.[63] Private individuals were constantly bombarding the Junta with requests for assistance. No legitimate claim for financial aid was ignored.[64] The interest rate at which the Junta had to borrow money was raised from 3.5% to 6.5%.[65]

By 1935, three thousand Tangerian Jews lived outside the International Zone because of the lack of employment. The emigration from Tangier was disastrous for the community and accelerated the city's decline.[66] A. Pilo and A. Marquez became the official surrogates for orphaned and abandoned children.[67]

Cemetery

While the community faced increasing financial difficulties, they were favored by many community-minded individuals. In a letter dated 25 November 1932, Isaac Laredo wrote to president Abraham Hassan, that his father, Abraham M. Laredo, who had been *Sheikh* of the Burial Society for 14 years, left land near Soco Bueyes (cattle marketplace). This land was to be used for a cemetery. The plot was 12-13,000 square meters. The land could be sold and a different portion used for a cemetery if the leaders of the community desired this. In return the family felt that it would be a nice gesture if the community erected a memorial stone in his memory.[68] Permission from the municipality for this newest cemetery was not granted until the beginning of 1935.[69]

The community had the help of the Laredo family in securing the facility for the new cemetery, which opened after Kippur of 1935.[70] There would be four categories of payment for interment—a. free, b. 200f, c. 500f, d. 1000-1500f. The authorities helped to establish a bus route to the cemetery with a time schedule and specific fares; previously only taxi service enabled a visitor to reach the cemetery.[71]

The Persecution of European Jewry

Apparently the first news of the oppression of Jews in Nazi Germany and in the Soviet Union came from a Russian Jew who arrived in Tangier. He asked to be married but had no documentation to prove that he was unmarried and Jewish. The case was referred to the *Bet Din*.[72] On 23

March 1933, the Junta had an extraordinary session which included not only the entire membership but also the three judges of the *Bet Din*. The meeting was in response to a letter from the Rabbinical Tribunal who had interviewed this Russian Jew. At the same time, a letter arrived signed by ninety rabbis in Palestine concerning the grave situation in Russia. The Junta proclaimed the following Monday evening a special time of prayer, repentence and charity to aid the Jews in Germany and Russia. The president of the Junta felt that the call for fasting and prayer was solely a religious matter and the Junta should let the *Bet Din* make that decision. Abensur reminded the Junta that the maltreatment of Jews in Germany was public knowledge. Abensur insisted that the problem was not only Jewish as Americans, French, and English were also being maltreated. Abensur reassured the Junta that those governments would react properly and that the larger Jewish institutions would respond. He felt that anything the Junta might do could aggravate the situation and prejudice the position of the Jews in Germany. Laredo deplored the inertia of the Junta to the call for a *Taanit* (Hebrew: day of fasting). Chief Rabbi Benchimol responded stating that it was not the custom of the rabbinate in Tangier to declare days of fasting. Isaac J. Cohen stated that he had never remembered such an action nor did he remember such a grave situation. Rabbi Judah Azancot stated that the *Bet Din* would send a circular letter advocating the *Taanit* and financial assistance for the victims and the Junta agreed.[73] Two weeks later, the Junta received a letter from the German Consul in Larache directed to the *Bet Din*. The letter included a copy of a telegram from the Jewish Community Council of Hamburg (which had a Sephardic community). There was also a letter from the Central Association of German Citizens of the Hebrew Faith in Berlin complaining about the false accusations. Sagues transmitted a circular letter from a committee formed in Fez calling for solidarity in actions against Germany. Rather than mobilizing a communal effort, the Junta seemed afraid to take further action to intervene and decided to reserve all action for the moment and turn its attention to internal affairs.[74] Moses H. Azancot felt that it was imperative that the Junta join any form of protest against the treatment of Jews in Germany and not just lament the situation.[75] By May of 1933, the Junta received many letters and flyers concerning conditions in Germany and requests for action. The Junta had taken a line of prudence and inaction in this situation.[76]

Anti-Semitism at Home

Just as the Junta was becoming aware of the rise of anti-Semitism in Germany, incidents were being experienced at home. Students had been attacked on their way home from school.[77] In June of 1933, an aggressive

group of Moslems impulsively attacked Jews who were walking on the streets of Tangier. The Junta agreed to study the situation and to send a circular letter to the various synagogues to allay the concerns of the people and to make them aware of the need to be prudent when moving around. Similar events were taking place in other cities in Morocco. The Junta also appointed the president and the two vice-presidents as a special commission to report the case to the Moroccan authorities and to request greater protection for the Jews.[78] On 14 April 1934 there were public demonstrations against Jews by Arabs. The Junta was very agitated. The parade the previous day of Exploradores (Jewish boy scouts) through the streets had irked the Moslems. The Junta therefore wanted to disband the scouts. The Junta asked Abraham Hassan, Aron Abensur, Jacob Nahon, Abraham Y. Laredo and Mair E. Abitbol to meet with the *Mendoub*. They asked for protection for the Jewish community from these bands. Fortunately the attack had occurred on Sabbath afternoon when many Jews were at home. The Junta asked the beneficial societies to postpone their fiestas in order to minimize public displays by Jews. They ordered the head of the boy scout troop, Seruya, to abstain from having his troops on the streets until further notice.[79] A special communal meeting was held on 3 September 1934 to vent frustrations about the anti-Jewish feeling and the response by the Junta to ban the public appearance of the much liked scouts.[80] There were continuing problems with the Moslems particularly at parties sponsored by the various communal organizations. An urgent letter was sent to all the societies and organizations prohibiting them from sponsoring these parties. The Junta's actions were based upon Article 18 of the *Dahir* concerning holding parties or collecting funds without communal consent. Abergel particularly objected to the scouts and their loyalty to France. These acts, he felt, were jeopordizing the position of the entire community.[81] For a similar reason, the Junta postponed the establishment of the football club Hakoah.[82] Previously, anti-Semitic incidents were rare under international administration.[83]

European Refugees in Tangier

With the rise of Hitler, many European Jews began to find refuge in the International Zone of Tangier. They were usually assisted by the *Hebrat Hajnasat Orhim* (Welcoming Guest Society). The Society wrote to the Junta about the increasing need for financial assistance in its work with the refugees. Hospitalization was needed for some of the German refugees. The Junta postponed making a decision in order to study the need and the fiscal responsibility.[84] Two German Jewish doctors, Manter and Eisenberg, wanted to be appointed in their specialities in Hospital Benchimol. Dr. Dienermann offered his services free of charge to the

Asilo Laredo-Sabah. Cohn and Frederik Simon wrote to the Junta to intercede to obtain permission from the authorities for these doctors to practice. Aron Abensur explained the local laws which limited work permits and suggested that Junta president Abraham Hassan discuss the question with the local administrator to obtain permission. Hassan followed the advice of Abensur but first spoke to the *Mendoub* although he was not in a position to extend the license. The Junta decide to go to Sauvin.[85]

The *Hebrat Hajnasat Orhim*, originally established to welcome visiting rabbis to the city, was transformed into a refugee aid society, helping entire families who had made their way to Tangier. Moses H. Azancot suggested a coordinated effort for a popular collection to aid the German refugees. A committee was established to deal with the specific needs of each case. The Junta with its limited funds and its growing concern about being inundated with refugees felt that it should write to the Jewish community in Lisbon, the port of embarkation for Tangier, to prevent the frequent departures from there of these refugees.[86] Then Hungarian refugees arrived on an Italian ship which was originally destined for the United States. Italian authorities, fearing the outbreak of war, were afraid that the ship would be impounded in the United States. They ordered the captain to disembark his passengers in Tangier. One of the refugees, Dr. Benko, asked the Junta to help him obtain permission to practice. The Junta decided to do everything possible to help these German and Hungarian refugees.[87] Refugee Taub asked for a loan of 150 ptas to buy material so as to reestablish himself as a shoemaker to support his family.[88] He was given one-third of that amount.[89] Other refugees began to sidestep the Welcoming Society and write directly to the Junta for assistance.[90]

Hilda Laskar was a typical refugee and one of the earliest. During the pogrom of Kristallnacht in Dreisberg, Germany her brother-in-law's store was destroyed. He sent the family to Holland on a limited stay visa. They left Holland for Portugal. From Portugal they wanted to go to Algeria. The boat stopped at Tangier at Kippur time. They got off and were able to stay because Tangier was international and there were no visa restrictions. However, they spoke only German. Meir Dassas, a Jew working for the undercover police, was helpful as was *Hajnasat Orhim* which ran a hospice. Two Polish Jews had arrived earlier—David Seltzer and Max Beckerman. Dassas, who had no children of his own, showed himself to be particularly sensitive to the needs of the refugee children. Saturday nights, the various societies ran dances and socials for the refugees and the local community was invited.[91]

Elections of 1935

The next Junta was assembled after the elections of Passover 1935. As was customary, the Chief Rabbi presided until the new president took office. Many of those of the previous Junta were returned to office. The Junta was comprised of: Abraham H. Hassan, Aron Abensur, Isaac J. Cohen, Abraham Yona Laredo, Jacob Essayag, Judah Jacob Cohen, Leon Essayag, Dr. Abraham Marquez, Efraim Medina, Salomon J. Cohen, Joseph D. Cohen, Mesod Benasayag, Abraham Jacob Laredo, Salomon Knafo and Mair Abitbol. The following executive was elected:

President: Abraham M. Hassan
Vice-presidents: Aron Abensur, Mesod Benasayag
Treasurer: Isaac J. Cohen
Comptrollers: Abraham Jacob Laredo, Salomon Knafo
Secretary: Mair Abitbol, Salomon J. Cohen
Commissions were formed as follows:
Taxes: A.H.Hassan, Aron Abensur, Isaac J. Cohen, Leon Essayag, Abraham Marquez
Welfare: A. Marquez, M. Abitbol, E. Medina, M. Benasayag, Jacob Essayag
Real Estate: Abraham Y. Laredo, Joseph D. Cohen, Judah Cohen, Salomon Knafo, Jacob Essayag
Education: Aron Abensur, Abraham Yona Laredo, Leon Essayag, Mair Abitbol
Public Relations: Abaraham J. Laredo, Joseph D. Cohen, Salomon J. Cohen
Slaughterhouse: Abraham J. Laredo, Abraham Marquez, Salomon Cohen, Judah Cohen, Efraim Medina
Archives and Library: Mesod Benassayag, Efraim Medina, Salomon Knafo
Budget: Abraham Y. Laredo, Abraham Marquez, Joseph Cohen, Mair Abitbol, Salomon Knafo
Burial Society: Abraham Yona Laredo, Efraim Medina, Leon Essayag, Joseph D. Cohen
Health Facilities: Abraham Yona Laredo, Abraham Marquez[92]

Moses H. Azancot who had been on the previous Junta and was not returned to the Junta, resigned his position as a Jewish delegate to the Legislative Assembly. The *Mendoub* tried to get Azancot to reconsider but he declined. The *Mendoub* then asked the Junta to provide a list of three and he would select one as a replacement for Azancot. The Junta recommended Abraham Yona Laredo, Moses Marrache and Semtob Bengualid.[93] Moses Marrache was selected to replace Azancot.[94]

Burial Society

The Junta was very concerned with the nature of the Burial Society and its accountability. They reviewed and reorganized the Burial Society. Abensur presented the entire bookkeeping system to review all accounts

without exception. The Junta, in keeping with the regulations of the *Dahir* establishing the organization of the Jewish community within the framework of the international administration, nominated a new committee for the Burial Society.[95] The Junta established the official regulations of the Burial Soceity.[96]

The Guitta Scandal

A special session was called of the Junta under the interim presidency of Mesod Benasayag. Abraham Y. Laredo brought charges against Dr. Samuel Guitta, physician of Asilo Laredo-Sabah and long time leader of the Junta. Guitta was charged with billing the Asilo Laredo-Sabah for medicines which were never delivered. There were also charges of double billing. An inquiry committee was formed of Efraim Medina, Jacobo Essayag, Abraham Marques and Mesod Benasayag. Invited to the inquiry were Isaac J. Cohen, Abraham Y. Laredo, Abraham J. Laredo, Isaac Benoliel (adminstrator of Asilo Laredo-Sabah), Abraham Azulay (an employee of the Asilo) and Samuel Benatar. The panel reviewed the many receipts submitted by Guitta. A poor woman, named Plati, testified before the panel of inquiry that she was sent by Guitta to the pharmacy to pick up the prescriptions for the hospital, but she brought them to the doctor. Other receipts were for medication for Esther Bendayan, who was hospitalized at the time. Her son-in-law, Abraham Benmergui testified before two members of the panel that the medicine was delivered as requested to Dr. Guitta for administration to the patient. Benoliel and Azulay stated that these medicines for which the receipts were submitted had never been received. David Isaac Benidan testified that many times Guitta asked him to bring medicine from the pharmacy with prescriptions and the bills were forwarded to the Asilo. Guitta would submit the bills a second time as if he had personally paid them. The panel of inquiry felt that the charges were grave enough to be forwarded to the Junta.[97]

The Junta recommended that the Asilo suspend Dr. Guitta pending investigation and sent a delegation to meet with Dr. Samuel Marquez to discuss the entire question of the medical assistance program of the community and of the school.[98] Abraham Y. Laredo met with Guitta who submitted his resignation in return for dropping the charges.[99] The Junta hired Dr. Samuel Marquez as physician as of 1 September 1935.[100] Dr. Guitta had been receiving a salary of 6600f.

Austerity Budget

The budget of the Junta had to be cut. The loss of Dr. Guitta could have saved the Junta 6600f annually until he would be replaced. They halved the allotment for the pharmacy with the belief that many of the

Guitta bills were duplicates and the real costs were half of those actually submitted, thereby saving 5000f annually. They cut the *Hiluq* (welfare payments) by half to 6000f monthly and saved 72,000f annually. Aid to accident victims was reduced to 10,000f, a third reduction. The payments for the *Pan de Sedaka* (weekly dole of bread for the Sabbath) were halved. The allottment for Matza for the poor at Passover would be only 3500f, a reduction of 1250f. *Nedaba de Pessah por Pan de Sedaka* (Passover donation for the poor bread) would be reduced to 5%. The *Hiluq Shabuot* (dole for the festival of Pentacost) would be eliminated, thereby saving 1000f. The subsidies for the Asylum and the orphanage were fixed at 1800f, half of the previous amount. Electricity would be budgeted at 1200f, a 20% mandatory reduction at those institutions. The payments for passage for poor young men to leave Tangier were no longer available. Electricity at the *Maternelle* would be reduced by one-third.[101]

The Junta also wanted to eliminate the summer study program but there were 300 children who were fed during the day who might not otherwise have a substantial meal. Consequently, the Junta decided to operate a half day program and then serve lunch before dismissal. The cost would be 2000f. During rest of the day, the students would study various prayers. This suggestion of Isaac J. Cohen was readily accepted.[102]

Divorce Rate

From 14 April 1896 until 15 February 1922, there are no marriage records in the possession of the Community Council. Until 1922, no divorces are recorded. In 1926, however there were 11 divorces, 1927-7 divorces, 1928-7, 1929-1, 1930-8, 1931-13, showing a slight annual increment but no definitive pattern.[103]

CHAPTER NINE

The War Years

As the third decade of the century ebbed away, the Tangierian Jewish community played host to an ever increasing number of European refugees. Officially, the task of aiding these refugees fell upon the *Hebrat Hajnasat Orhim*. Prominent amongst the members were Gimol Hadida, Abraham J. Laredo and Abraham Pinto who helped some 200 refugees who had arrived in Casablanca to avoid further famine and distress.[1] Some of the arrivals into Tangier were small family groups. During the years 1938-39, nearly 1500 refugees arrived in Tangier, half of whom were Sephardim; the other half were East Europeans—Polish, German and Hungarians refugees.[2]

On the Island of Rhodes, off the coast of Turkey, the Italian administrators began on 19 September 1938 to apply the racial laws articulated in Italy. Leaders of the Rhodes Jewish community, including Abraham Elmaleh, David Aboulafia, and Abraham Franco protested to the governor. They realized however, the difficulty of the situation and began making preparations for the departure of the Jewish community. Three places were specified—Palestine, United States (which had a large immigrant population from Rhodes, particularly in Seattle) and Tangier. Two hundred refugees from Rhodes arrived in Tangier.[3] The families generally had three or more children with the father as the only breadwinner. Educated in the local schools, they were also multilingual—Ladino (Judeo-Spanish), Italian, Turkish, and French. Three of these languages were also spoken in Tangier. The men were generally craftsmen—shoemakers and the like. The Eastern Europeans came via Italy for the most part and later via Portugal.

In June 1940, France signed an armistice with Germany. The Jews in the Vichy occupied protectorate in the south of Morocco were adversely affected. In Tangier, the effect was at first felt through the loss of financial

support for education. The offices of the AIU were in German occupied Paris. The German authorities prohibited the forwarding of financial aid to the AIU school abroad, including Tangier. On the night of 14 June 1940, Spain invaded Tangier and removed the administration of the International Zone. The Alumni Association of the AIU and the Junta were called upon to raise the funds necessary to maintain the schools and feed the children.[4] The principal of the AIU school, Albert Sagues, maintained an heroic effort to keep the schools functioning and to maintain a loyalty to a country which had signed an armistice with the Nazi powers.[5]

The Spanish announced on 18 June 1940 that the occupation was to insure the neutrality of Tangier. As the only neutral power with an army in the area (Sweden and Portugal were also neutral and signatories), Spain claimed to have invaded Tangier in order to keep the peace. The Spanish authorities stated that they were uniquely able to protect the Jews from application of the racial laws of the Germans and their allies. The racial laws were frowned upon by the Spanish population.[6] The Spanish occupation authorities took pride in the fact that during their occupation, Jewish refugees found safety in Tangier.[7]

In August, three Italian warships were permitted to dock in Tangier and were protected from British naval units, which respected the neutrality of the International Zone, although Britain did not recognize the authority of the Spanish occupation. Britain warned Spain that she would be held accountable for her hostile actions after the war was over.[8]

In October 1940, the Spanish officials removed all vestiges of the International Zone and incorporated Tangier into the Spanish protectorate. Col. Antonio Yuste was appointed Governor of Tangier. All non-Spanish officials lost their jobs. The *Mendoub* was banished and replaced with a Spanish selected Basha, responsible to the *Khalifa* of Tetuan. The native police force, which included a large number of Jews, was disbanded. Only the British post office and the Mixed Tribunal remained. In December 1940 in a rare display of enmity, local Tangierian Italians sacked the British post office and the British owned stores of Saccone and Speed.[9] The Legislative Assembly, a source of political power for the Jews, was disbanded. The *Dahir* of 15 February 1925, which gave legal status to the Junta, was abrogated. All the Junta activities came under the scrutiny of the Spanish authorities. The administration was strongly anti-French and therefore the educational institutions of the Jews were clearly in danger.[10]

The Jewish owned businesses were heavily taxed and the collection of taxes was enforced. Licenses were hard to obtain. The leaders of the Jewish community were even more in peril since many had foreign citizen-

ship and had represented their nationalities in the Legislative Assembly. The vice-president of the Junta, Aron Abensur had been one of the three British delegates.[11]

Although there were no German citizens living in Tangier, (the only Germans were Jewish refugees who were born in Germany), Germany opened a large consulate there. The Spanish gave their erstwhile German friends the former Mendoubia which had served as the center of the international administration. The Nazis raised their flag in a town which had 1500 refugees from Nazi terror. The Germans were not permited to wear their uniforms. The Jews did not demonstrate against the presence of the Nazis, partially out of fear, partially because the Spanish authorities prohibited them from doing so, and partially because it was the practice of the Junta to utilize back door maneuvering.[12] The Nazis had little to fear from the Jews. On 9 February 1942, Goebbels reported that there was a serious explosion of German ammunitions which were hidden in the Mendoubia building. His concern was that the Spanish authorities objected to the storage of armaments. There also had been a large anti-British rally which was organized by the Germans with the assistance of the Arabs.[13]

In January 1941, the food supplies in Tangier were so low that some food had to be imported from Spain, particularly flour, beans, rice and olive oil. Vegetables were rationed and the driving of automobiles was prohibited on week-ends.[14] Some of the Spanish authorities strictly enforced these regulations. Others were amenable to bribery and blackmarketeering. Some native Spanish were anti-Franco but pro-German. They were arrested. Some were pro-Franco but anti-German. They were arrested.[15] Some Jews refused to sell anything to the Germans in Tangier. Other Jews sold them gold.[16] The Germans had a large contingent of men in Tangier to spy on the Allies. The Allies had a large contingent of men to spy on the Germans. The head of the German diplomatic mission was Kurt Rieth, who had arranged for the assasination of Austrian chancellor Dollfuss. Although the German mission was in the Mendoubia, its members lived in the Hotel Rif.[17] Young boys, Jewish and Moslem, were paid by each side to spy on the other.

The Jewish community tried to make some headway of the intrigue, and the new Spanish authorities while coping with the refugee problem. The American Joint Distribution Committee, through its agent in Lisbon, Donald B. Hurwitz, closely monitored the situation. Between January and May 1941, the JDC began to expand its aid. From April on, they spent nearly $12,000 monthly on the refugees in Tangier in addition to

supporting the school lunch program.[18] On 24 February 1944, Hurwitz presented the following report on the Tangierian refugee situation:

> Since the Spanish occupation of Tangier in June 1940, no Jewish refugees have entered the place. We understand though that none, with exception of Spaniards and Moroccans naturally, and American citizens and British subjects, are authorized to enter either Tangier or the Spanish Zone of Morocco, unless they have been granted a special authorization from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Madrid. Although this authorization has been granted with much difficulty in very few instances, in most cases no consideration seems to have been given.
>
> Most of all refugees, about 3000 including about 1,000 who left since, have arrived in 1938-39. It is interesting to note that in view of eventual further massive arrival of refugees, the Legislative Assembly of the International Zone of Tangier before the Spanish occupation, tried to pass a law prohibiting the admission of Jewish refugees proceding from central Europe into the Zone. This proposal met with the refusal of the Jewish members of the Assembly, who protested against any discriminative law and who manifested their decision to vote against unless the qualification of "Jewish" be deleted. The law was passed without any discrimination as to the Jewish race but it was decided that no refugee whose nationality belonged to countries non-signatories of the Act of Algeciras, should be permitted (entry) without a special authorization from the general administrator of the Zone, this for 6 months with the faculty of renewal and against a guarantee of 5,000f in cash deposited with the Banque d'Etat du Maroc in Tangier.
>
> The Spanish authorities in Tangier and the Spanish Morocco do not encourage or cooperate in any way in the entry of these people. They tolerate their presence in Tangier only, the Spanish Zone being free of them.
>
> Several refugees had been expelled from Tangier without being given reasons.[19]

The JDC worked closely with the *Hebrat Hajnasat Orhim* which came to be known as the Committee for Refugee Assistance. The committee was headed by Abraham J. Laredo, president; Abraham (Albert) Sagues (principal of the AIU schools), managing director; Raphael M. Laredo, secretary; Judah Jacob Cohen, treasurer; Albert G. Reinhard, (a refugee from Luxembourg), administrative secretary. The 1943 budget amounted to $54,750. The direct aid to individuals had to be increased after May of 1943 because of rising food prices. Until that time, the amount was $2000 servicing 321 individuals per month. As of June 1943, the monthly amount increased to $4,250. This amount serviced 318 individuals until October when there were 489 on the rolls. In November, there were 493 and in December, 520. By January 1944, there were 571 individuals receiving AJDC aid. As of June 1943, $1,000 monthly was allocated to *Oeuvre de Nourriture et d'Habillement* for food for students in the school. 750

students were served. In July 1943, $3,000 was allocated for clothing and the same allottment in September. A free loan fund was established with $1,500. Remittances were received under a special US Treasury license.[20]

The Ashkenazi refugees developed their own synagogue in facilities given to them by the Junta. First they met upstairs in the old AIU building. Then they rented an apartment on rue Tuajim. Then they used the building of the Junta. While the Ashkenazi Jews did not have their own *shohetim*, they refused to utilize meat slaughtered in Tangier and purchased their meat from Tetuan. They felt that the kashrut of that meat was more reliable.[21]

The refugees continued to be a financial drain on the Junta. Many, especially those from Rhodes, contained large family units. Twenty-five of the Sephardic refugee families receiving aid were considered especially large, having four or more additional dependents per married couple; only five Ashkenazi families fell into the same category.[22] There were more individual refugees from central Europe and many of them were able to fend for themselves, unlike the Sephardic refugees.

Because of the close relationship between Spain and Germany, many packages were sent from Spanish occupied Tangier to Germany. On 4 April 1944, the Vaad Hatzalah of New York authorized $3,000 to Aron Cohen of Calle Tetuan to include $1,500 for food packages to rescue Hungarian Jews. On 29 February 1944, three packages were received from Tangier according to a card received from Thereseinstadt Concentration Camp. On 25 December 1944, the Committee for Refugee Assistance sent 2056 packages and spent $3000 doing so. They received 500 visas for Hungarian Jewish children to enter Spanish Morocco and printed their own imitation labels of the Cruz Roja Espanola (Spanish Red Cross). On 22 October 1945, 48 children mostly very young, entered Tangier. Later that day apparently an additional 43 entered including one who had received a package while in Thereseinstadt. His nationality is listed as: Israelite. On 9 May 1946, two additional contingents of refugees, one of 40 and the other of 30, entered.[23]

The food packages contained a variety of items, some of which were difficult to obtain even in Tangier. Some companies gave discounts knowing the destination of the packages:

Almonds: Rosenbaum & Co.; Bentolila & Co.
Chocolate: Laredo & Co.(10% discount); Bendrao & Co.
Butter: Cohen & Co.; Marquez Co.(12% discount).
Paper: Cohen Co. (10% discount); Benadiba & Co.
String: Fargeon Co.
Garments: Benchimol Co.

Diverse Items: Cohen Co.; Back Co.
Soap, Wool, Needles: Fux Co.[24]

On 30 July 1945, Count Alfonso Garcia of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Spain announced that those Jewish refugees in Sweden, France and Italy who were listed for visas to Tangier would be allowed to receive them.[25] Clearly, an effort was being made to get these people into Tangier and from there to the United States. In February 1945, Canada closed immigration to these refugees. The President of the Junta, Joe Hassan, who held Portuguese nationality, was suited to represent the Jewish community in this effort since Portugal had been a neutral party during the war and many refugees had come via Lisbon. The Abensur family, although leaders of the community, were in a delicate position because of their British nationality.

Some of the refugees in Tangier did very well, such as Samuel Reichmann who entered the banking business.[26] With free trade in currency and various agents and refugees in Tangier, there was still money to be made in various forms of speculation and trade. Reichmann's wife, Renee, was extremely active in Tangier in cooperating with the Vaad Hatzalah of New York in an attempt to rescue Jewish children from the Nazis in Hungary and in sending packages to the inmates of concentration camps.[27] In February 1945, another refugee, Moise Weissman, began to serve as the representative of the World Jewish Congress even before the restoration of the international administration in October 1945. This organization supplied money, food, and medical supplies to communities which had given refuge to victims of Nazi persecution. After the war, France attempted to take over the administration of Tangier from Spain, but was blocked by the United States, which continued to recognize the international statutes governing Tangier.[28]

The wealthiest elements of Jewish life in Tangier during the war had not suffered financially. They lived in the Marchand to the north of the city. Others lived in the Suani, south of the city. Most Jews continued to live in the older sections of the city.[29] The problems the Jews faced included the lack of affordable housing and the constant deterioration of the school system. With the increased usage by the French government of the port of Casablanca and the development of Port Lyautey (Kenitra), the port of Tangier had to share the profits of trade that were formerly hers alone. By 1945, the WJC predicated that the situation in Tangier would only worsen as time went by.[30]

With the reestablishment of the International Zone of Tangier, in October 1945, refugees were once again allowed into the city, if they had family living there.[31] To enter, one needed a transit visa and a departure

visa from country of residence as well as permission of the Zone administrator. That permission was generally considered easy to obtain by having an influential local person act as a guarantor. Some of the transient visas were for Honduras, Dominican Republic and Nicaragua. These were preferable because they did not require translation from the Spanish text, saving both time and money.[32] The various exchange rates were also a major factor in obtaining passage.[33] On 6 September 1946, eight prominent refugees with funding problems sent a letter requesting additional aid before the High Holy Days.[34] The cost of maintaining a transient refugee was 50-60 US dollars per month. Medical assistance was also provided by the community.[35] Although another refugee, Anatole Estryn, wanted to become the representative of the WJC, Moise Weissman continued to do so, keeping meticulous records of expenditures, even noting the cost of postage per letter.[36] He was well thought of. When the WJC decided to phase out subsidies in Tangier in December of 1946, they discussed giving the remaining funds of 3,500f to Weissman.[37] The suggestion was made to find wealthy Tangierian Jews as a source of continuing support for the refugees.[38]

By the end of 1947, most of the European refugees had left Tangier. Only a few hundred remained. Some had married into Tangierian Jewish families.[39] Others had established themselves and did not want to uproot themselves again. The community numbered 10,000 by November 1947. Many of the Jews were businessmen. A small number were workers and artisans. A few were white-collar professionals. The general economic situation was regarded by Western standards as low. On 23 November 1947, the Junta voted to have Tangier become the 61st member country affiliated with the World Jewish Congress.[40] Joe Hassan, the president of the Junta was prepared to lead the community once again into the international scene.[41]

The return of an international administration to Tangier also set a dramatic stage for Moroccan nationalism. The Moroccans began to realize the vulnerability of France, the major protectorate power which had been defeated by the Germans. Negotiations began between the British, French, Spanish and American governments to allow the Sultan of Morocco, Mohammed V, to visit Tangier. No Sultan had been to Tangier since 1899 and the French hoped that the presence of the Sultan, whom they controlled, would embarrass the Spanish and gain political leverage for France. On 7 April 1947, a riot broke out in Casablanca between Arabs and Senegalese soldiers in the employ of France. No repercussions were felt in Tangier directly. On 9 April 1947, the Sultan left the capital, Rabat, for Tangier and arrived there the next day. He had travelled through the

Spanish Zone where the Khalifa of Tetuan had demonstrated his loyalty. The monarch expressed pro-Arab feelings upon his arrival in the International Zone, deleting any references to the benefits of the French Protectorate. The Sultan freed himself of his moral commitment to France and was now prepared to pursue a path towards independence.[42] The visit to Tangier was a political error for France. The Resident-General, head of the French Protectorate government, Labonne, was allowed to resign and was replaced by General Alphonse Juin.[43] The administration of the International Zone allocated $15,000 to celebrate this first visit of a Sultan in nearly half a century. Local authorities distributed 1000 cases of Coca-Cola, a special treat for the poor, in honor of the visit of the Sultan.[44]

In April 1947, Moise Weissman, who had worked so hard for the refugees and the WJC, died. Many of the refugees remaining in Tangier wanted to go to Palestine by that time, but the way was barred by the British. There was a small but vocal minority, advocating Zionist ideals in an Arab country. On 25 March 1948, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, president of the World Jewish Congress wrote to Junta president Joe Hassan:

My Dear Mr. Hassan,

For the first time since the affiliation of your community with the WJC, do I have the opportunity to write to you, as your affairs were treated by our organization department and its head, Dr. I. Schwarzbart.

As we are working towards our second session, I address to you a personal word and through you I send the most cordial thoughts to the Jewish community of Tangier, that you send delegates to our second session in the month of May.

We have passed through a critical period in our history. A fragment of our people are asked to help to surmount the difficulties and to go on the road to improve our people.

I am certain that you will occupy your legitimate place in our cooperative efforts and play your part in our communal responsibilities.

I pray that you convey my best regards to our colleagues of the committee and to the entire Tangierian community.

I hope to hear good news.

My best regards,
Dr. Stephen S. Wise
President[45]

On 30 November 1948, the WJC sent beginner's books to the Hebrew class taught by Moche Haim Benmalca. The community wanted additional texts and posters for the classrooms. Since the establishment of the State of Israel in May, 1948 the school curriculum had not really changed. The Otzar Hatorah (Hebrew: treasure trove of Torah) Association of New York

City, sponsored by Isaac Shalom, was asked to come to Tangier to improve the quality of religious education with little result. For the following twelve years, the requests continued to be made to the New York office with no action. Finally they established the Yeshurun School. The Yeshiba continued with 70 students who studied Talmud, rabbinical regulations, Hebrew, Spanish and French. The Junta had paid for five young men to be sent to Aix-les-Bains, France, for their higher Yeshiva education. The students found that the level of scholarship in France was not significantly greater than that to which they were accustomed in Tangier.[46] The AIU school had only one hour of Judaic studies per day. An evening school was opened with 200 students in attendance. An *Oneg Shabbat* (songs and discussions to enhance the enjoyment of the Sabbath) program was begun but lacked the financial support to insure its success. Various Zionist groups from Mizrahi to Dror also began to function.[47]

At the end of 1948, the WJC wanted to create a North African regional council to be affiliated with the WJC. The council would be headquartered in Algiers under Joseph Hassoun, president of the *Federation des communautees Israelites d'Algerie*.[48]

The renewed immigration to Israel of Tangierian Jews began much to the displeasure of the leadership of the Junta. Rabbi Judah Azancot was influential in motivating people to go on Aliya. The active Zionists publicly celebrated the departure of a group of Jews for Israel. The conservative elements in the Jewish community viewed the departure of Jews for Israel with mixed feelings of extreme caution and fear.

The International Zone had a favorable tax rate which benefited the merchants including the Jews. There was a sense of security with this administration. The political position of the Jews was assured with Jewish delegates in the Legislative Assembly once again as well as Jews representing the nationalities. There was a school system which had enough variety including schools for the wealthy who often sent their children to non-Jewish schools. The leadership remained in the hands of the more established families, particularly the bankers. Hassan was president and Nahon was vice-president. Chief Rabbi Benchimol was a descendant by marriage of the Bengio Chief Rabbis who were descendents by marriage of the original Toledano Chief Rabbis. There was a sense of continuity. While nearly one-third of the young men had left Tangier for Latin America, particularly Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil and Peru, many had returned with wealth and position. The Junta was aware that it had a competent *Bet Din*, recognized by the signatories of the Acts of Algeciras. The rabbis who served were Ankaoua, Azancot and Nezry. Modern Hebrew was being taught to appease the pro-Zionists. Throughout the Actas and the correspo-

ndence, the State of Israel is referred to as *Eretz* (Hebrew: land). The reference to Israel is made in such as a manner to least offend the Arabs who were technically at war with Israel. Often, the Tangierian Jews would refer to Israel as Jerez, a well-known city in southern Spain.[49] In this manner, they could talk about Israel and have the Arabs believe they were talking about Spain. Carlos Nesry, a lawyer and author, made reference to the fact that the Junta was neutral in its dealings with the World Zionist movements and with other major Jewish organizations. They were basically hostile to local Zionist groups. The Junta felt that this hostility was prudent in order to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with the Arab population. The clandestine local Zionist organizations were in contact with Paris counterparts. Their aim was to educate the masses towards emigration to Israel. As a result of their propaganda, many young men and even entire families asked the Junta for assistance to leave for Israel. The Junta found it difficult philosophically as well as financially to help these people. The religious concept of Zionism was now becoming a reality. Still many Tangerians had a feeling of indifference, passivity and inertia about leaving for Israel.[50]

Eighty percent of the remaining Jewish population were in a difficult financial situation. The other 20% had to assist their fellow Jews. The AIU had begun to finance the schools again but had been crippled by the war and could pay only 50% of the costs. The other 50% had to come from communal funds. There was a hospital, Asilo, an orphanage, the Yeshiba and other institutional responsibilities. In addition, in 1949, several hundred refugees still remained, some a decade after they arrived. Some of these remaining refugees were "stateless" or were denied passports by their country of origin. These Jews were at the mercy of the Zone administrators since they had no legal standing in the city. Several refugees had arrived clandestinely and were having difficulties. The cost to the community and the drain on the resources was great. Israel was less likely a refuge. The Junta ordered the circulation of a letter to the British ambassador concerning the internment of Jews in Cyprus. However, they were uncertain about dealing with emigration to Israel. Nevertheless the Junta suggested that they pair Tangier with the Israeli city of Tel-Aviv.[51]

On 10 March 1949, a delegation of Junta leaders was summoned to meet with the *Mendoub*. James M. Nahon, the vice-president, was among those who attended. The message the *Mendoub* had was a complaint against the exuberant Jewish assemblage which had sung the *Hatikva*, the Israeli national anthem, at the pier when emigrants left for Palestine on 27 February 1949. At the meeting, the *Mendoub* reaffirmed the friendly

ties between the Moroccan authorities and the Jews. He stated that Morocco would not tolerate those nationalistic elements which would try to find an anti-Jewish pretext. The delay between the event and the summons indicated to the Junta that discussions about the event had taken place at the highest levels. The Junta prepared a statement as an official answer which contained adequate assurances of the loyalty of the Jewish subjects. At the same time, the statement did not abdicate the right to free and peaceful emigration to Palestine.[52]

Election of April 1949

The Tangierian Jews elected a new Junta after the term of the previous one expired. It was noted that the Junta was elected in a free and democratic manner, unique in all Morocco. The fifteen members were: Leon Bengualid (830 votes); James M. Nahon (824); Jack Isaac Cohen (812); Jack Pinto (754); Joseph Garzon (700); Jacob S. Cohen (492); David Bergel (467); Joe Hassan (466); Messod Bengio (446); Abraham Isaac Laredo (432); Abraham Elbaz (430); Isaac Salama (429); Samuel Toledano (427); Moses Abensur (427); Isaac J. Cohen (415). The results were certified by the Rabbinical Tribunal and signed by the Chief Rabbi. James Nahon in his first presidential address focused on the problems facing the Junta in the postwar years. First, no one seemed to have a clear estimate of how many Jews remained. The number was between 10-13,000 people depending on the number of remaining refugees. There were 500 families on the welfare dole. Most received the small amount available through the Joint Distribution Committee, 1500f per month or $4. The Junta realized that this was meager, but their budget necessitated the limitations.[53]

Communal Institutions

The Hospital Benchimol had 25 beds. The dispensary took care of 4000 people per year. Only kosher food was served there. There was a synagogue in the facility. Very few people paid for medical care. The municipal authorities supported the Hospital but with only $0.50 per day per sick person. Consequently, the hospital was on the verge of closing. The Junta had recently opened an anti-tuberculosis clinic with the help of James Nahon. The monthly budget was $750. However, Nahon had donated only one-third of the money and the remainder had to be made up from private donations. Although these were Jewish institutions, Moslems were serviced as well. The school system had 1800 students in its ranks. But there were major complaints about the schools. The buildings were run down and the material was below par. The Junta had to raise half of the 15 milllion franc budget of the Jewish schools in Tangier. The Yeshiba

building was in disrepair. The Junta wanted to start a nursery, *Gan Yeladim,* and needed $500 to supplement the monthly school budget.[54]

Economic Status

The Junta had made major efforts to gain private contributions, *Nedabot,* to alleviate the situation of the poor. The Junta hoped to raise $45,000. This fund was to be collected from the 500 families that could afford to pay. When the collection was tallied only $20,000 had been collected from 180 people. One estimate of the population of Tangier in 1947 was 93,330 with 6,730 Jews representing 7% of the population. In 1950, a noted tourist guide estimated the Jewish population of Tangier as 25,000 out of an entire population of 140,000 or 18% of the entire city.[55] In 1952, the estimate of the Jews was 15,000 out of a population of 172,000 or 9%.[56] Regardless of the exact number of Jews in Tangier, their influence was felt. Haim Bendelac served as the sole Dutch delegate to the Legislative Assembly. At the same time, Junta president Joe Hassan served as one of the Portuguese delegates. This was in addition to the three Jewish communal delegates. With this degree of Jewish political power it is no wonder that of the International Zone budget for 1950-51 of 13,041,548.10 francs, 4 million francs went to aid the Jewish community and its institutions. The Moslem community on the other hand received 6 million francs, although some estimate that there were 40,000 Moslems and 12,000 Jews.[57] The Junta always maintained close ties to the Legislative Assembly. In the 1950 election, four Junta members were citizens of European countries, five had protege status. The rest were Moroccan subjects.[58] The Jewish population of Tangier did not increase from 1936 to 1951 except for the presence of the refugees. The school population for the AIU schools also did not increase, remaining at just under 1100.[59]

Some of the Jews had served in the Allied armed forces and obtained citizen status in that manner. Dr. Ralph Nahon, for example, had been a medical officer in the United States Navy. Several had fought for the Free French. Salomon Laredo was active in the anti-Vichy underground in Casablanca.[60] Salomon Pinto also was active in the resistance.[61] All these men returned to their former status after the war.

A number of Moroccan Jewish subjects were caught in France by the Nazis and their French collaborators. Neither French nor Moroccan citizens (Morocco did not exist as an independent country at that time), they became "expendable" and therefore were sent to concentration camps.[62]

Admission of Spain to the United Nations

The application for Spain's admission to the United Nations also caused problems for the Junta. Spain had been desperately seeking to enter the United Nations from which it was barred since as an non-belligerent pro-Axis ally it had not declared war on Germany, an early prerequisite for admission. Israel, the nation of the Jews, was prepared to vote against the Spanish admission to the world body because of Franco's close ties to Hitler and because the Israeli Socialist government could not see itself supporting a pro-Fascist government. The Junta, willing to submit to Spanish pressure, tried to communicate to the Israeli authorities the desirability of voting for the admission of Spain to the United Nations. Unable to write or telegraph directly, Joe Hassan sent a telegram to the WJC office in New York City to be forwarded to the Israelis:[63]

> The committee of the Jewish community of Tangier in a meeting held on August 20th has unanimously adopted a resolution to request the support of the Government of Israel to a proposal presented by the Dominican Republic to UNO asking the cancellation of the 1946 UNO recommendation to withdraw ministers and ambassadors from Madrid STOP On this occasion it is the duty of this community to express their gratitude for the generous treatment always given by the Government and people of Spain to the Jews in Tangier, Spain and Spanish Morocco and particularly during the past world war notwithstanding the critical circumstances prevailing at the time a fact which so far has not been sufficiently acknowledged STOP It is our conviction that the favorable vote of Israel will be most beneficial to our populations and to the future desirable friendly relations between Spain and Israel STOP Our community will be greatly obliged if you will consider our wishes in whatever action may be undertaken by your organization in this matter.
>
> Joe Hassan President, Jewish Community

Joe Hassan, as president of the Junta, then wrote to the World Jewish Congress to confirm his telegram and to request intercession on Spain's behalf. The aim of the telegram was to influence David Ben-Gurion towards making an adjustment in Israeli foreign policy. Hassan reviewed the benefits extended by Spain towards the Jews during the war:[64]

> Notwithstanding the compelling pressure of Germany to impose upon us racial discrimination, during the Spanish occupation of Tangier, thanks to the gallant and generous attitude of the Spanish Authorities, our community's Refugee Committee, hand in hand with the American Joint Distribution Committee, were able to operate freely and assist thousands of Jewish refugees from Europe and to send thousands of food parcels to the concentration camps in occupied Europe through the Spanish Red Cross.

> Many thousands of Jews fleeing from France were given shelter in Spain and allowed free transit.
>
> It would take long to enumerate all the assistance received from the Spanish Authorities under the difficult political conditions prevailing at the time and suffice to say that thanks to their intervention we and the Joint were able to rescue in 1944 several hundred children and adults in Budapest thanks to visas granted by the Spanish Government on our application.

In September 1950, Saul S. Bendayan and Joseph Salama attended the General Zionist Conference. They reported to the Congress that the Jews of Tangier were Zionist but that there was an aggressive conservative stand. Nonetheless, the 13,000 Jews were prepared to consider a Zionist list in the Zionist elections. There was the regular collection of the *Magbeet* (Zionist tax). Israeli and Zionist functionaries continued to work in Tangier which served as a transit point for Jews from southern Morocco leaving for Israel.[65]

On 1 October 1950, the American school was opened with a gift from Jacques Pinto. The school was based upon the State of Pennsylvania curriculum. It attracted 600 students, many of them Jews.[66]

In 1951, Raphael Bendrihen bequeathed his villa on the Boulevard Pasteur to the community to be a synagogue. The synagogue was named Shaar Raphael. It became the principal synagogue of Tangier replacing the Nahon Synagogue, Maasat Moshe.[67]

On 9 April 1951, the Istiqlal Independence Party met in Tangier and joined with two other nationalist parties of the Spanish Zone—Parti Democratique de l'Independene and the Moroccan National Front. The purpose was to form a united front to advocate Moroccan independence and the removal of the French, Spanish and International administrations.[68]

On 30 March 1952, a large crowd of Arabs gathered at the main police station near Soco Grande and demanded Moroccan independence and an end to the International Zone. The Europeans and the Jews were greatly frightened by the demonstration and by the death, in the crowd, of a young Dutch tourist who had been an innocent bystander. The International Police called for reinforcements from the Spanish Zone police and the French military authorities to prevent further tragedy at future demonstrations. The Spanish sent in police troops and the French sent in armored cars to quell pro-independence demonstrations. But the events were the writing on the wall. Many Jewish-owned stores were among those burned or looted in the attack on the Europeans which followed.[69]

In July 1952, there was a slight revision of the Statutes of Tangier which allowed for the addition of a British assistant administrator and a Moroccan member for the Mixed Tribunal. The International administrator also increased the size of the police force and purchased additional armored vehicles. In order to give people a feeling of normalcy the administrators built an amusement park, on the beach near the railroad station and called it Luna Park.[70] Luna Park became a favorite recreation spot for the Jews.

Despite the demonstrations and attacks, tourism continued to flourish. In 1952, 100,000 tourists visited Tangier with nearly 30,000 of them arriving by air.[71] The city at the time had 105,000 Moslems, 52,000 Europeans and 15,000 Jews.[72] Many banks catered to the tourists and to Europeans with money to hide. There were nearly 100 money changers, the majority of them Jews.[73] Many Jews sold gold jewelry by the weight to the tourists. The import duties were among the lowest in the world, making for great bargains for native and tourist alike. There was no income tax. Gold was bought and sold by weight. Hindu immigrants began to provide competition for Jewish businessmen. The Jacques Pinto Company, founded in 1880, imported 40% of all tea to Morocco. Jacob Alster, a war refugee who had arrived in 1935, owned an estimated $3,000,000 worth of real estate in Tangier.[74]

On 21 August 1953, the French government exiled Sultan Mohammed V thereby gaining him even greater support. Sultan Mohammed was dearly loved by Moslem as well as Jewish Tangierians. The Jews particularly saw him as their personal protector, earlier from the Vichy and the Nazis and then later from the Moroccan nationalists. They rejected the French substitute, Ben Arafa.[75]

On 21 January 1954, Maurice Perlzweig and A.L. Easterman of the WJC visited Tangier and met with the *Mendoub* who spoke appreciatively of the close relationship he had with the Jewish communal leaders in Tangier. The WJC delegates also met with the Chief Rabbi and with members of the American, British and French diplomatic missions.[76]

The educational needs of the Jews continued to be met by the AIU schools which had 571 boys and 577 girls in 1954. The Franco-Israelite school had 291 students.[77]

The winds of change were now sweeping Morocco. The nationalist movement had taken hold of the people. The Jewish community in Tangier realized this, but were split on the direction to take. Some supported the nationalists as a natural expression of the Moroccan people reacting against colonialism. Many others were against the independence movement because it could affect their lives negatively. They were no longer prepared to return to the status of the *Dhimmi*, to don the dark gabardine, and

remove their shoes when passing the Mosque. Still others, like Rabbi Azancot, were outspokenly in favor of Jewish emigration to Israel and to leave the decision about independence to those involved directly. Most felt however, that the most prudent course was to remain friendly to all parties and officially neutral. Tangier did not experience the number and intensity of riots and reactions experienced elsewhere in Morocco in the struggle for independence and reunification. Instead, the city became a transit center for Moroccan Jews heading for Israel. In 1955, a group of 200 children made their route to Israel through Tangier.[78]

The new Junta in 1955 consisted of Joe Hassan, president; Abraham I. Laredo and Jacques M. Pinto, vice-presidents; Stanley Abensur, secretary; and Jack J. Cohen, treasurer. They were forced to face the implication of the possible success of the nationalist movement. The fate of the Tangier International Zone lay not in its own hands but what would happen in the French Zone.

A mentally deranged Arab pastry vendor in Soco Grande began selectively hacking to death Europeans, among them Spaniards, British, an American tourist named James Batting, and several Jews. The Russians reported this incident as a large civilian strike with many fatalities representing a rejection of American interventionism.[79] To counter this apparent American influence, the USSR considered opening their own bank in Tangier.[80] Pro-Mohammed V demonstrations were occurring often becoming bloody as the police ruthlessly put them down. Jews began to feel that they might now suffer the same fate as the Europeans in an independent Morocco. The French, in an effort to assure Tangier's pro-French sympathies, sent their Sultan, Ben Arafa, to visit Tangier. In reality, he was sent there to remain in exile, never to return to Rabat. The French were ready to capitulate and return Mohammed V from exile. On 30 October 1955, the Arabs in Tangier wildly celebrated the announcement that France had agreed to Moroccan independence. The Moslems demonstrated the entire day and though generally peaceful there were times when it appeared that the crowd would become violent. At 6:00 PM, the international administrator van der Kerchove d'Hallebast addressed the crowd which had filled the Boulevard Pasteur. He spoke from the balcony of Hotel Rembrandt. Van der Kerchove agreed to meet with Moslem leaders to discuss a peaceful transition.[81] On 18 November 1955, Mohammed V ascended the throne of Morocco. The French Zone was to be freed in the following March. Three months later, the Spanish Zone would join it, followed three months later by Tangier. It was clear that Tangier would be returned to Morocco and its special status ended. Tangier's Coca-Cola plant celebrated by giving out 1000 cases of the drink.[82]

The last presidents of the Junta under the international rule were Joe Hassan (1953-53) and James Nahon (1953-55). Abraham Laredo (1956-1968) presided during the period of reunification.

Tangier under Moroccan Rule

The dissolution of the International administration and the rule of the Moroccan government radically changed the nature of the city. The Jewish-owned Banque Pariente, the oldest bank in Morocco, moved to Geneva. The bank had been founded by Moses Pariente, who had served as interpreter for the United States consulate in 1859. For nearly one hundred years, the bank had conducted its business from a modest building near rue des Siaghines. In 1953 the Bank moved to rue du Statut.[83] The bank was across from the Hotel Minzah. Its original beams had come from the beams of Nelson's ships sunk at Trafalgar. The safe had held the tribute paid by Morocco to Spain. Its 15 foot grandfather clock had been bought for Abdel Aziz years before.[84] The bank was symbolic of Tangierian Jews who saw themselves as different from other Moroccans, both Jews and Moslems. In 1956, Abraham I. Laredo became the president of the Junta. He continued in office until 1968. The major consideration before the Junta in those years was the migration of people out of Tangier to Israel, Spain, Venezuela and Canada. In 1956, all Jewish and Spanish owned bars were closed in keeping with the Islamic prohibition against the drinking of alcoholic beverages.[85] On 20 October 1956, the international status ended. By royal decree, Tangier was made the summer capital of the country as a gesture of reassurance to the local population.[86] With the loss of international status went the loss of power and influence of the Junta and the Jewish community. Embassies were removed to Rabat, the national capital. Not having an original Moroccan identity, the Tangieran Jews now found themselves Moroccan subjects. In October 1956, the Kadima camp was closed and emigration to Israel ceased to have legal approval. An underground network was set up via Tangier to Gibraltar for those Jews without passport or passage. Those with papers travelled to Spain or France.[87] The city saw an influx of Moslems and the rapid departure of Europeans.

On 12 November 1956, Morocco joined the United Nations.[88] A new American consulate building opened in Tangier. The Americans left their former building after being housed there for 141 years, although the property is to this day owned by the United States government. Slowly the Moroccan authorities began to rid Tangier of all the institutitons which had made it famous and attractive. The British Post Office closed on 30 April 1957. The enforcement of anti-homosexual laws forced a large number of the Europeans, particularly the English, to leave. As of October

1957, schools were compelled to teach Arabic as a language. In 1958, the Socialist government of Abdallah Ibrahim came to power and viewed Tangier as a particular sign of the hated colonial period of Morocco. Ibrahim had the monarch repeal the special charter of Tangier. Ibrahim also tried to stop the flow of currency out of the country through Tangier. On 18 October 1959, the special status of Tangier as a free monetary zone was repealed. Tangier became just another small port on the Moroccan coast.[89] This further exacerbated the already delicate economic balance of the town. The standard of living began to drop. Hunger and crime began to increase. Jewish emigration was further accelerated, particularly to Toronto, Canada where a contigent had settled beginning in 1956.[90] In July 1957, 1400 Jews were stranded in Tangier on their way from the former French Zone to Israel. Most needed welfare assistance while they waited in Tangier. The two AIU schools became barracks for 1000 of the transferees. In December 1957, an additional 200 emigres arrived. In July 1959, Esther Levy, the owner of Extourist Hotel was arrested because many of the emigres were housed in her hotel. The city still had 800 emigres remaining. Others were housed in three small hotels and a garage.They were fed by the local residents with the help of the JDC. Many finally returned to the south of Morocco. Forty Jews were placed on trial for illegally leaving the country. Two Jews were sentenced to one year; two received sentences of six months and the rest were freed.[91] Five hundred emigres remained in December 1961.[92]

The population of Tangier in 1960 was estimated at 142,000, with many Moslems moving into the city to take the place of the Jews and Europeans who were leaving.[93] In late 1960, the government decided to initiate work projects in the Tangier area, projects including water purification, new drainage system and new roads. Too late, the government realized that Tangier was its smallest province with no industry and little agriculture. In 1960, no cargo ship appeared in the once famous harbor. The longshoremen were without jobs. The economy was a disaster. The one currency of Morocco, the dirham, was pegged at 4.2 to the US dollar, and eliminated the need for the franc, the peseta and the various money changers, most of whom were Jews. Aron Abensur, who had served as president of the Junta as had his father before him, left the city for Switzerland. In 1960 Otzar Hatorah expanded its school, Yeshurun. It consisted of an elementary school (200 students); a teachers' seminary for boys (60 students); a teachers' school for girls (90 students); and a rabbinical school (10 students).[94] Much of the funding came from the JDC. In 1961, the AIU schools were forced to change their name to Ittahad (Alliance) in an Arabization of schools and related institutions. Hebrew language instruc-

tion was further restricted in an attempt to limit Zionist influences.[95] The Moroccan government also began to subsidize the schools.

In January 1963, King Mohammed V declared Tangier to be a free port once again in an attempt to revitalize the city and attract financial support. Once the emigration process had begun however there was no turning back. Particularly hard hit were the schools as the dwindling student population caused cutbacks and further indicated to parents the degree to which the population had been reduced. In 1965, Amram Amselem (who later moved to Montreal) served as director of Hospital Benchimol and Aquiba Benarroch (who later moved to Caracas) was the vice-president of the Junta and director of *Maternite Salvador Hassan*. During this period, Menahem Mergui served as president of the Junta except for 1963, when Abraham Haim M. Nahon served as president until his untimely death that same year. As the community continued to diminish, leadership of the Junta and the various social welfare societies fell into the hands of fewer and fewer people. In 1964, Benjamin Benarrosch served as vice-president of the Junta and president of the Casino de Tanger.[96]

The Tangier Jewish community suffered only slightly during the Six-Day War of June 1967. Several Jewish students on the Marshan were arrested when they were found to have a secret radio transmitter of the kind that amateur radio broadcasters enjoy as a hobby.[97] The King asked the people to remain calm and not seek revenge for the defeat of their Arab allies, against their Moroccan Jewish subjects. Emanuel Hart's Sports Hall, a teen-agers' recreation center, remained open and functioning during the war, even though this would have been a natural target for riotous Moslem youth.[98] Nonetheless an Arab claiming to be sent by Allah to revenge the taking of Jerusalem by the Jews, attacked Chief Rabbi Yamin Cohen, near his home on rue de Mexico. The Chief Rabbi suffered a severe wound to the neck. King Hassan II ordered his own physician to treat the rabbi who never fully recovered from the wound. Later, other Moslems would stop Rabbi Cohen on the street when he returned from synagogue on Friday and ask for his blessing.[99]

Leon Bengualid presided over the Junta from 1968 until 1976. In August 1972 one of the most critical blows came when the King's plane was shot upon by rebels from the Keneitra airbase. Pamphlets were circulated in Tangier, indicating that when the king dies, so will the Jews. This warning made the impetus for emigration all the more effective.[100] The threat was needless. The Jews of Tangier had, by the middle of the seventies, lost their influence and importance to the city that they had once helped make international.

The Azancot Era

Abraham Azancot has served as president of the Junta since 1976. He has seen the emigration of almost the entire community. His father, Rabbi Judah Azancot emigrated to Israel. His son, Ari, first emigrated to Israel and then Spain. In 1987, Chief Rabbi Yamin Cohen emigrated, spending part of the time in Canada and the rest in Venezuela where he has family.

CHAPTER TEN

Epilogue

The Tangierian Jews are now dispersed with only 400 remaining in the once vibrant Jewish community. For those who left, Tangier is a nostalgic reminder of a far away era which will never return. Today most Jews in Tangier are visitors holding Canadian, Venezuelan or Spanish Passports.

Tangierians in Argentina

Argentina currently has 500 families of Tangierian Jewish origin of whom 300 belong to the three communal synagogues. There is also a social club and a small secondary Hebrew school of 30 students. The Tangierian Jews in Argentina are considered the most assimilated of all the Sephardic groups.[1]

In Peru

Only isolated remnants exist of the many young Tangierian Jewish boys and men who travelled up the Amazon at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries to seek their fortune. Iquitos, Peru, the final city of their travels, has many people bearing Moroccan and particularly Tangierian surnames. The names remind us of Tangier: Israel, Abensur, Benzaquen, Toledano, Edery, Cohen, Pinto, Aserrat, Bohbot, Coriat, Dahan, Bendayan and Serfati. Of these Jews, only their non-Jewish Indian descendants remain.[2]

Between 1862 and 1869, Iquitos developed from a backwater village into a town of 2,369 inhabitants. Many young men from Tangier had gone there to peddle and trade in caucho wood. They had crossed the Atlantic Ocean and reached Belem, Brazil. In 1885, the brothers Moses, Abraham and Jaime Pinto were the first to arrive. The colony of Jews grew to 150 over the next decade. A Tangierian, Victor Israel, became the mayor of Iquitos. In 1909, 38 Jews founded the *Sociedad de Beneficen-*

cia Israelita de Iquitos. Victor Israel became its first president. In 1910, Pisa, who had taught in the AIU school in Morocco, visited Iquitos. He wrote back a description of the town he found:

> In Iquitos, live more than 200 of our former students from Morocco. Upon arrival, you would think that you were in a Jewish city. In the lettering of the stores on the great street Prospero you can read the names Cohen, Toledano, Benmergui, Delmar, Serfaty, Benasayag, Elaluf, Pinto, etc. exactly as in Morocco. There are more than 300 Jews in Iquitos, including Ashkenazim originally from Alsace. Of the Moroccans, one hundred are from Tangier, some fifty from Tetuan and the rest from the coastal cities and from Rabat and Casablanca. In Tangier, they speak of Iquitos as if a fabulous city with streets of gold. It is typical of the Tangierian to make his fortune in Iquitos. That is the vision and the dream of the young people. You must know without a doubt that the road is long and the climate is harsh. The most valiant, who confide in friends and parents, depart via Lisbon. When they arrive, they try to find the home of a correligionist. The first years for the immigrant are terrible. They have to adapt to climate, customs and commerce. However, they have valor and ambition and these give them the strength. The boss will leave Iquitos for health reasons and the employee becomes the boss.
>
> They do business with everything imaginable. They install great bazaars with various products: English textiles, French novelties, German hardware and American machinery. They travel up river by canoe or steamship and exchange merchandise for rubber. It is a hard life. Many times they have to live for months in the canoe. They eat only rice and plantains. They fight off alligators until an Indian comes to buy some goods. Many of the businessmen study the navigation of the rivers of the Amazon for months and obtain pilot's licenses. They are navigators, pilots, importers and exporters all in one. If one loses his merchandise, due to bad luck tens of miles up the Amazon, he will be helped by his correligionist. That is their life.[3]

In 1927, the president was Victor Israel, assisted by Alberto Toledano, Moises Benzaquen and Joseph Tapiero. Later, Salomon Azerrad became the president. In 1949, when Azerrad left for France, David Hachwell became president.[4]

In 1895, the Jewish cemetery was opened in a corner of the public cemetery. By 1949, there were 34 Jews buried there including: Moses Isaac Nahon, age 18; Ruben Benjil Bendrao, age 21; Semion Ansalem, age 32; Santos Anselmi, age 34; Isaac Bencesat, age 41, who died of beriberi; Isidro Gaadia, age 30, who died of yellow fever; Moses Edery, age 34, who died of tuberculosis; Eliza Bendayan, age 34, drowned; Isidro Levy, murdered; Jaime Bencesat, died while travelling. There were also the graves of women and children.[5]

Of the Jews who ventured to Iquitos, 60% returned to Morocco or went elsewhere. Fifteen percent paid for their venture with their lives. In 1948, only 11 of the original emigrants lived in Iquitos, 3 lived in Yurimaguas, 2 in Pucallpa and one in Contamana. They would get together only on the High Holy Days or when there was a need to say *Kaddish* (mourners' prayers). Cohen y Hijos Farmacia, which greets visitors today, is owned and operated by Peruvian Indians named Cohen. They know that their father was a Moroccan Jew. Today, some practice other religions, most do not practice anything. The last Jew born in Iquitos, Meier Cohen, died on 7 November 1956, just a month after Tangier was made a part of Morocco.[6]

In Israel

In 1980, an organization was founded in Jerusalem entitled Mabat—Mifgas Benai Tanger. The Spanish name was *Asociacion de Oriundos de Tanger-Israel* (The association of those who originate from Tangier in Israel). The purposes of the organization were:

1. To keep contacts between those who were originally from Tangier as well as those from the former Spanish Zone.
2. To preserve, before it is too late, the cultural, religious and folkloric patrimony of Tangierian Jewry.
3. To collect cultural material concerning the Tangierian Jews.
4. To preserve Hakatia, the Judeo-Spanish language of Tangier.

The leadership of the association in Israel was:

Alfonso Sabah	President
Yona Benchimol	Vice-President
Amada Nahon de Avital	Vice-President
Alegria Cohen de Florsheim	Secretary General
Aron Elbaz	Treasurer
Momi Cohen	Assistant Treasurer
Yusef Elmaleh	Coordinator of Activities
Amram Louk	Assistant Coordinator
Max Gozal	member
Ginette Benady	member
Esther Salama	member

Until his death, Rabbi Moses Azancot, who had emigrated to Israel, was an honorary member of the association. A congress of the former Tangierians was held in Israel on 2-5 August 1982. A second congress was held in the summer of 1989.

One of the major projects undertaken by the Tangierian Jews in Israel, through the extraordinary efforts of Sidney Pimienta, was the dismantling, shipping and projected reassembly of the Etz Hayim Synagogue in which

Rabbi Mordejai Bengio, the former Chief Rabbi of Tangier and the one responsible for the development of the democratic tradition among Tangierian Jews, had prayed. Norman Benzaquen of New York, who had prayed in that synagogue in his youth, was instrumental in making the transition feasible. Only the interior of the room used for prayer was moved. The Israeli authorities wished to charge import duty on the wood, benches, etc. After years of storage and negotiations, the artifacts had not been released. The congregation to which the interior was destined is called Darkei Noam. Its leadership consists mainly of non-Tangierian North African Jews living near the synagogue in Ramot Eshkol, Jerusalem.[7] On 2 March 1985, the synagogue was to officially open by a ceremony under the auspices of the Rishon LeZion Mordechai Eliyahu, Chief Sephardic Rabbi of Israel. A torch light parade was to be held by the members of the Bnai Akiba Youth Movement.[8]

In The United States

Only a small group of Tangierians are to be found here. They are associated in a group called Mabat after the similar and parent group in Israel. For legal reason, the group was incorporated under the acronym, Aficoman. The original group of Jews who had come in the twenties and thirties has generally disappeared. They had settled on the east side of Manhattan but often prayed in a small Harlem synagogue with Jews from the Ladino speaking areas of Turkey. That synagogue was called Etz Hahayim. The leadership and reorganization of the Tangierian group in the United States began through the impetus of John Stern, a German Jew who had found refuge in Tangier as a child.[9] The first meeting was held in 1985 at Yeshiva University. At that time, Daniel Bengio, a student from Spain at Yeshiva University sang typically Tangierian folk songs. The group in New York numbers approximately forty families. One of the leaders, until his death in 1986, was Abraham Pinto.[10] A smaller group reside in the Miami area and is headed by David B. Serfaty. They also meet in a Turkish synagogue.

In Canada

The majority of the Tangierian Jews began to immigrate to Canada in 1956 following the introduction of a liberal immigration policy in Canada and the independence of Morocco. The vast majority, numbering today nearly 5,000 people, have settled in Toronto. The early years were difficult ones for adjustment to the new country, new climate and absorption into the existing Jewish community. Rabbi Ochs was extremely helpful and his memory is greatly revered by the Tangierian Jews there. With great difficulty in raising the necessary funds, an old Ashkenazi synagogue was

purchased at Brunswick and Bloor Streets. The valiant efforts of David Hazan, Moses Benmergui, Moses Benayon, Frank Levy (who served as reader), Moses Oziel (who served as cantor) and his brother Samuel (renowned for his voice and musical ability) built and developed the congregation. The author is pleased to have been able to serve as their rabbi for three years. Leon Oziel was the president for most of that period. A dedicated young leader along the historic style of Amram Guahnish, Leon Oziel also died an untimely death in 1988 leaving behind his beautiful and devoted wife, Mercedes, three daughters and a son. Leon Oziel was the one who brought together the dream and the reality which became the Petah Tikva Anshe Castilla Synagogue, the premier Sephardic synagogue of the new immigration. Max Benaim served as youth director and later rose to president. Meyer Keslassy, a brilliant accountant, also served as president alternating with Leon Oziel during the completion of the construction of the synagogue. At the same time, Meyer Keslassy's brother, Samuel, was serving as vice-president of the community in Tangier. Another brother, Simon Keslassy, has served as president of the congregation. Currently, the rabbinic leadership is being provided by Rabbi Amram Assayag, a native of Tangier who was educated in Canada. The community school, Or Haemet Sephardic Day School, was developed through the efforts of many, including Jack Benquessus. Currently, the enrollment is nearly 200. Another grouping is called Minyan Sepharad which meets considerably north of Petah Tikva and has a majority of members who were originally from Tangier. Many of the members of Minyan Sepharad also belong to Petah Tikva Congregation. Congregation Tifereth Israel is headed by Salomon Assayag, a well known leader from Tangier. The rabbi of Magen David Sephardic Congregation, with members mainly from the former French protectorate, Yehiel Benayon, was born in Tangier and raised in the Petah Tikva congregation. He is the brother-in-law of Rabbi Assayag. Mr. Elie Mimran, a former president of Magen David, was also a president of Petah Tikva.

No proper Tangierian function is held in Toronto unless the entertainer and audience chant their rallying song, reflective of the feelings they had in Tangier: *Viva Espana*.

A small group of Tangierians Jews, numbering no more than 800, settled in Montreal. They are concentrated in the suburban area of Chomedey. Salomon Oziel, the son of Samuel Oziel and cousin of the late Leon Oziel of Toronto has served as president and developed the synagogue which included a great many members who are from other parts of Morocco. The original *Minyan* met in the Young Israel of Chomedey. This group was headed by Salomon Bendayan, until his death in 1987. David Ben-

dayan has served for many years as the sexton of the synagogue. Despite the small number of Tangierian Jews in Montreal, four of the thirteen leaders of the *Hebra Kadisha* Burial Society of the Sephardic community of that city are originally from Tangier—Meir Castiel, David Amar, Jacob Amselem and Simon Sabbah. One of the principal *Mohelim* and former rabbi of the entire community is Rabbi Asher Benoliel, a Tangierian.

In Venezuela

The majority of Tangierians are centered in Caracas which has maintained a friendly rivalry between those originally from Tangier and those from Tetuan. The Tangierians have their own synagogues and the Chief Rabbi of the Sephardic community is Rabbi Isaac Cohen, the grandson of Rabbi Yamin Cohen and great-grandson of late Chief Rabbi Judah Benchimol. The community is active and vibrant with leaders such as Jacob Carciente and Aquiba Benarrosh. A yearly *Semana Sepharad* (Sephardic Week) festival, at which this author had the opportunity to speak many times, is widely attended by all the segments of the community. The number of Jews from Tangier and Tetuan is estimated at 12,000. There is one communal school for the entire Jewish community and many of the Tangierian young people attend. Many have gone into business, or serve as professionals and academics.

In Spain

Many of the 12,000 Jews who live in Spain are originally from Tangier. The leader is Samuel Toledano, an articulate and consummate Tangerian. The community in Madrid has its own day school, Colegio Estrella Toledano. The community is served by Rabbi Yehuda Benasuly. Other communities exist such as in Barcelona, serviced by Rabbi Salomon Bensabat. Malaga is headed by Rabbi Joseph Cohen, originally from Tangier. Many of the more observant students have come to Yeshiva University in New York to continue their religious studies. The majority have gone into business and the professions. Most noted among the academicians is Jacobo Hassan of the Instituto Arias Montano.

In Tangier

The small remaining community in Tangier has come to realize that for the most part there is no future for the community. The Nahon Synagogue, Maasat Moshe, is being repaired and refurbished to be a museum. Aid in the project has come from Norman Benzaquen and Amy Sibony. The school is closed for want of students. There are basically no young people

left. The synagogues on rue des synagogues are closed except for the Shriqui Synagogue which is open on Sabbath morning. Outside of the rue des synagogues, only the Laredo Synagogue and the Benatar Synagogue remain open Shabbat morning. The main synagogue on the Blvd. Pasteur, Shaare Raphael, continues to function with the tireless efforts of Elias Bendrihen. The last Chief Rabbi, Yamin Cohen has left. By the time Rabbi Cohen left, he had performed approximately 2700 weddings, 935 circumcisions and more than 300 *Pidyon Haben* (redemption rites for the first born males.)[11] A young rabbi from the south of Morocco, Trudjman, serves the community although he does not speak Spanish. The Asilo continues to function and care for the elderly. Samuel Keslassy until his departure also eased their needs and was very concerned for their welfare.

Abraham Azancot continues to function as president of the Junta as he has for the last score of years. There are no longer any real elections. The Casino de Tanger, the famous social institution of the Jews, is nearly vacant save for some women who come there to play bingo or men who come for a lone game of cards. Most stores have been sold to Arabs. However, Azancot has meticulously maintained all the communal property and artifacts. Any attempt to sell or to purloin community objects is dealt with stringently. The community is maintained through the self-sacrificing efforts of Azancot, even though his family is dispersed and not in Tangier. Saturday morning he continues to hold a class in his home and teaches every afternoon in order that those who do remain, observe and maintain the religious standards of Tangier.

The schools have closed with only the AIU maintaining a small elementary school. The few high school students who remain now attend to the College Reynault.

During the Summer of 1986, one family from Israel returned to live in Tangier. Their teenage children were almost unable to find friends with whom to socialize. Israeli visitors sometime come to stay long enough to remember or to view what the city was like in its grandeur. The new cemetery as the Junta called it, continues to operate as does the Burial Society.

NOTES

Chapter One

1. *The History of Herodotus*, Translated by George Rawlinson, Edited by Manuel Komroff (New York: Tudor Publishing, 1928), p. 216. According to Greek mythology, Hercules had pushed Africa away from Europe where Tangier faces Gibraltar. The African side of the Straits continue to be referred to as the Pillars of Hercules.
2. Fernando de Menezes, *Historia de Tanger*. (Tangier: Tipografia Hispano-Arabiga de la mision catolica, 1940), p. 23. This is an important source for material relating to the history of the Portuguese rule in Tangier. De Menezes was a direct descendent of the hereditary Portuguese governors of Tangier. In 1535, the Rote family of Jewish merchants opened their commercial house in Tangier. pp 91-93. In 1537, the Portuguese inquisition followed the case of a new Christian named Joao de Campos who had opened a merchantile firm in Tangier. A similar investigation was held in 1577 for Henrique Nunes who had sought refuge in Tangier. See Maria Jose P. Ferro Tavares. *Judeus, cristaos novos e os descobrimentos portuguese*. Sefarad. Ano XLVIII fasc.2. pp 297-299.
3. Records found in the archives of the Bet Hatfusot, Museum of the Diaspora, Tel-Aviv University, Ramat Aviv, Israel. File: Tangier. A copy of the Megila de los Reyes (Scroll of the Kings) is in the possession of the author. The copy was made in the Bendrihen Synagogue in Tangier. Several printed copies are available. The festival was marked by reading the scroll, charity for the poor, gifts to the children and a festive meal.
4. Fernando de Menezes, p. 148
5. Enid M. Routh, *Tangier, England's Lost Atlantic Outpost* (London: J. Murray, 1912), p. 54. Routh reviews the entire period of the British occupation of Tangier and appears sympathetic to the British garrison's reaction to the Jews of the city.
6. Victor Vernier, *La Singuliere Zone de Tanger* (Paris: Editions Eurafricaines, 1955), p. 55-76.

7. Isaac Laredo, *Memoria de Un Viejo Tangerino* (Madrid: C. Barmajo, 1935), p. 305.
8. Graham H. Stuart, *The International City of Tangier* (Stanford: 1955), p. 10.
9. Jacob M. Toledano, "Hayehudim BeTangir." *Hebrew Union College Annual*. V8-9. Cincinnati, 1932, p. 485.
10. Abraham Laredo, *Les Noms Juifs du Maroc* (Madrid: CSIC, 1978), p. 674.
11. Jacob M. Toledano, p. 415. In 1744, the *Shohet* fled the city via the Moslem cemetery and then reached Fez.
12. Joseph Benaim, *Malkhe Rabanan* (Jerusalem: 1931), p. 62.
13. Abraham Laredo, p. 534.
14. Graham Stuart, p. 9. It was customary for Jews as *Dhimmi* to be required to pay special taxes, levies and fines.
15. Isaac J. Assayag, *Tanger...Un Siecle d'Histoire* 2nd. ed. (Tangier: I. Assayag, 1981), p. 31.
16. Joseph Toledano, *La Saga des Familles. Les Juifs du Maroc et leurs noms* (Tel-Aviv: Editions Stavit, 1983), p. 43.
17. Jacob M. Toledano, p. 486.
18. Isaac Laredo, p. 314. Although the mission has only recently moved from this building, the facility remains American and continues to fly the Stars and Stripes. The building can still be visited.
19. Abraham Laredo, p. 966.
20. Abraham Laredo, p. 998.
21. Joseph Toledano, p. 198.
22. Isaac Laredo, p. 49.
23. Isaac Laredo, p. 48.
24. Jacob M. Toledano, p. 486. The signatories are listed as "who are: Rabbi Moses Benassoulin, Samuel Hadida, Messod Puenquenos, Benseloum, Moses Asiboni, Messod Abecassis, Solomon Benassoulin, Jacob Bensousan, Isaac Halfon, David Sicsu, Judah Salama, Solomon Benassayag, David Attia, Joshua Benassayag, Solomon Garzon, Jacob Benhamu, Judah Azancot, Joseph Pimienta, Moses Pariente, Haim Gabbai, Isaac Benassayag, Abraham Bendelac, Joseph Benmergui, Solomon Benchimol, Abraham Bengio, Jacob Benassayag, Messod Benchetrit, Abraham Sicsu, Isaac Kattan, Abraham Asaul, Aaron Salama, Judah Chayyat, Isaac Benamour, Moses Benassayag, Machlouf Levi-Bensousan,Shalom Asiboni, Haim Azancot, David Arimi, Mordechai Attia, Abraham Aboab, Abraham Benseloum, Joseph Attia, Joseph Benassoulin, Jona Benassoulin, Ichoa Benassayag, Judah Kattan, Moses Laredo, Joseph Bengio, Samuel Mashiah, Isaac Sicsu, Abraham Benelbaz, Mordechai Castiel, Isaac Israel, Isaac Hadida, Moses Abuzaglo, Judah Puenquenos, Joseph Laredo, Isaac Abecassis, Jacob Serfaty, Isaac Benchayyat, Jacob Garzon, Solomon Pimienta, Moses Attia, Aaron Amselem, Messod Abecassis, Joseph Asousi, Yahya Halioua." The term Yeshiba refers to a school of Jewish

learning. In Tangier, the Hebrew letter Vet was pronounced like a "B" rather than the customary "V." Consequently the term, Yeshiva will be transliterated as Yeshiba in keeping with the Tangierian pronunciation.

25. The Tangierian Jewish community was basically an immigrant community, receiving immigrants mainly from Tetuan, Meknes, and Mogador. Most came for economic reasons, but some from Mogador came because of the earthquakes common to the area.
26. Jacob M. Toledano, pp. 488-89.
27. Isaac Laredo, p. 48.
28. Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911), p. 65-66. Twain, the pen name of Samuel Clemens, was reflecting on a thirty-six hour excursion to Tangier in 1867. His description is similar to that of the earlier period of the community. See William Lempiere, *A Tour of Morocco* (London: 1791). The change in garb depicted in the two descriptions reflected the desire of Tangierian Jews to be classified as Europeans. If the Jew had foreign protection or citizenship, then the Jew could wear European dress rather than the more repressive traditional garb which marked him as a Jew.
29. Abraham I. Laredo, *Lapidas de Alcazarquivir y Tanger. Sefarad. Ano IX.* Fasc. 2 (Madrid: CSIC, 1949), pp. 425-6. The surname, Serulla, is usually spelled Seruya.

NOTES

Chapter Two

1. Abraham Laredo, *Les Noms Juifs du Maroc* (Madrid: CSIC, 1978), p. 1124.
2. Abraham Laredo, p. 603. Population figures are from the Museum of the Diaspora. Ramat Aviv, Israel
3. Abraham Laredo, p. 1030.
4. John Waterbury, *The Commanders of the Faithful: The Moroccan Political Elite*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 200.
5. Abraham Laredo, p. 351.
6. Ibid, pp. 926-7.
7. Joseph Toledano, *La Saga des Familles. Les Juifs du Maroc et Leurs Noms* (Tel-Aviv: Editions Stavit, 1983), p. 152
8. Rabbi Moses Bengio had succeeded his father-in-law Rabbi Abraham Toledano, who was of the Toledano family which had moved from Meknes. Bengio however was Tangierian. Bengio served for 22 years. Consequently, the Meknes traditions of the chief rabbinate were continued.
9. John Waterbury, p. 200.
10. Antonio Calle, *La Heroina Hebrea* (Madrid, 1852).
11. Her tragic story is remembered by the Spanish speaking Jews of Tangier in the ballad "Cantar de Sol Asadeka" as well as in a highly stylized play infrequently performed by the Shir Ashirim Choir of Tangier. Heinrich Lebericht Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften* Vol. III, (Leipzig, 1885-1888), pp. 425-430. An additional version of the ballad in Judeo-Arabic was written by Joseph Elbaz and transmitted by Joseph Israel Benjamin, in 1862, to Fleischer who printed the poem in his analysis of Judeo-Arabic. The Fleischer analysis deals with the Judeo-Arabic language rather than the historical aspects. Even studies of folklore and folktales such as Dov Noy, *Moroccan Jewish Folk-Tales* (New York: Herzl Press, 1966) fail to shed adequate details on the final days of this Jewish martyr. Menahem Hacohen and Devorah Hacohen, *One People* (New York: Sabra Books, 1969), p. 62, although often cited, has inaccuracies. Her martyrdom is a shining example of the dedication of the Tangierian Jews to their Sephardic heritage. The date of her birth is given

as either 1814 [Jacob Toledano, *Ner Hamaarav* (Jerusalem: 1911)] or 1820 [D. Corcos, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 55/1964/65, p. 56]. The date of her death varies from 1830 [Ibid.] to 1834 [James Edward B. Meakin, "The Jews of Morocco," *Jewish Quarterly Review* (London, 1892), 8V4. pp. 369-396]. Her age at the time of her death varies from 13 [Jacob Toledano, "Hayehudim BeTanger," *Hebrew Union College Annual.* V 8-9 (Cincinnati, 1932), pp.481-492] to 17 [Eugenio Maria Romero, *El martirio de joven Hachuel o la heroina Hebrea* (Gibraltar: Imprinta Militar, 1837), p. 8] The Spanish ballad fails to reveal detailed historical accounts of the life and death of Sol, even failing to mention her family name. Two small volumes of the life of Sol Hachuel have appeared. One volume is by Eugenio Maria Romero, dedicated to the Spanish Duke de Rivas, and appeared in 1837. It is the earliest known source. An English translation, *Jewish Heroine of the Nineteenth Century: a Tale Founded on Fact* (London: 1839), with a second edition in 1857, appeared. The translator remains anonymous. Although claiming to have interviewed eye-witnesses as well as the parents, Romero did not write the book until 15 July 1837, two and a half years after the martyrdom. (Eugenio Maria Romero. Introduction). The statement relating to his beginning the book does not appear in the English version. The majority of the records indicate that the events began in the autumn of 1834. Since Sol spent a total of thirty-four days in captivity, she was most likely taken prisoner during the month of Marheshvan and into Kislev, corresponding to November-December 1834. During the thirty-four day captivity, Sol is never reported to have celebrated any festivals which a religious person would have done. This period is the only one in which there are no Jewish holidays.

12. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 84.
13. Ibid, p. 8.
14. Heinrich L. Fleischer, p. 430ff. Incorrectly, Joseph Elbaz dedicated his Judeo-Arabic version of the ballad to Soliqa bat Salomon Hachuel metoshabey eir Tanza Bat Simha (Solika, the daughter of Salomon Hachuel of the residents of the city of Tangier, the daughter of Simha). Geiger notes that the phrase daughter of Simha means that her father was Simha, as Simha is a male name. Simha was the mother of Sol; her father was Haim. Where Elbaz obtained the name Salomon for the father is unknown. However, Hacohen hebraized the name to Shlomo. The older child was a son, Issachar. (Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 8). The translator calls Sol, Phoebe, a direct translation of her Spanish name. [See *Jewish Heroine of the Nineteenth Century: A Tale Founded on Fact* (London, 1839), p. 4.]
15. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 10. In Spanish her name is given as Tahra and in English as Tahara. *Jewish Heroine of the Nineteenth Century,* p. 5.]
16. Andre Chouraqui, *La Condition Juridique de l'Israelite Marocain* (Paris: AIU, 1950), p. 53.
17. Corcos entertained the idea of two Moslem conspirators. Neither name is offered. The possible source for Meakin could be the Elbaz poem which

mentions more than one Moorish witness, although not necessarily two. Elbaz similarly does not mention Tahra de Mesoodi by name. Since we know of no other witness, we must negate the concept of more than one witness, which seems to have passed from Elbaz to Meakin to Corcos who wrote the article for the *Encyclopedia Judaica*.

18. The relationship between Moslems and Jews was governed by the Pact of Omar, which included a ban on preventing Jews from converting to Islam. For details relating to the effect of these regulations on the Jews of Tangier, see *American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. 8, 1906, pp. 92-98. Jacob Schiff described the restrictions to Secretary of State Elihu Root.
19. Jacob Toledano, p. 181. Toledano alone suggests that Sol, whom he considers to be age 13, was desired by one of her relatives to be his bride. The family argument which ensued reached to the governor's palace. But this turn of events has to be rejected in light of the fuller story of this tragic girl.
20. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 10.
21. Andre Chouraqui, p. 117-119. The Sultan, according to Malikite tradition, is the representative of Allah. The Basha represented the Sultan in the larger towns. The ruler of the smaller towns, tribes and douars, was the Kaid. The Kaid and the Basha had the right to judge civil, commercial or criminal matters. The Cadi (Koranic judge) was appointed by the Sultan to adjudicate matters of personal status.
22. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 13 and *Jewish Heroine*, p. 16.
23. *Jewish Heroine*, p. 17.
24. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 16.
25. Ibid.
26. Eugenio Maria Romero, pp. 17-29 and *Jewish Heroine*, pp. 18-26.
27. Eugenio Maria Romero, pp. 30-36 and *Jewish Heroine*, pp. 26-33.
28. Andre Chouraqui, p. 54ff. Sol's statement does not constitute blasphamy for she does not negate the divinity of Allah nor the truth of the prophet. The Jews were subjugated to the *Dhimmi* system. A review of that relationship can be found in Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi, Jews and Christians under Islam* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985).
29. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 51 and *Jewish Heroine*, p. 44.
30. *Jewish Heroine*, p. 45.
31. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 53. Diplomatic sources do not reveal the listing of Don Jose Rico as vice-consul in Tangier. Possibly the title is honorific. The Spanish version states "en el dia se hable este empleado en el puerto de Santa Maria" (on the day when he was employed in the gate of Saint Mary), which is lacking in the English version.
32. *Jewish Heroine*, pp. 45-49.
33. Menahem Hacohen and Devorah Hacohen, p. 62. Hacohen states that Fez was the place where a relationship developed between the Prince Royal and the imprisoned Sol whom he came to desire. Yet the English text clearly has

the Emperor order his son to welcome Sol. It is not the Prince's choice. *Jewish Heroine*, p. 57. The Spanish version contends that the Sultan meant that Sol be married to his nephew. (Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 93-94.)

34. Eugenio Maria Romero, pp. 85-91. and *Jewish Heroine*, pp. 65-70.
35. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 97 and *Jewish Heroine*, p. 7.
36. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 98 and *Jewish Heroine*, p. 7.
37. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 101 and *Jewish Heroine*, p. 7.
38. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 103 and *Jewish Heroine*, p. 80.
39. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 106 and *Jewish Heroine*, p. 82.
40. *Jewish Heroine*, p. 86.
41. Eugenio Maria Romero, pp. 113-119 and *Jewish Heroine*, pp. 87-92.
42. Eugenio Maria Romero, p. 120.
43. *Jewish Heroine*, p. 93.
44. The Spanish government did, in this case, attempt to intervene on behalf of the Jewish heroine and assisted her father in obtaining the necessary funds demanded by the Arab authorities.
45. John Waterbury, p. 24.
46. Marc Cohen, *Morocco, Old Land, New Nation* (New York: Praeger, 1966), pp. 15-17. Population figures are from the Museum of the Diaspora. Ramat Aviv, Israel.
47. Abraham Laredo, p. 985.
48. The salvage of Sieur Marius Rey and the subsequent auction of the goods provided a long list of buyers including many Jews. Those listed include: Mimon Benlebhar, Bensahl, Salomon Bensellum, Joseph Bengio, Messod Cohen, Joseph Cohen, Mose Cohen, Yusuf Cohen, Shalom Elazar, Mordechai Elkharrat, Issac Essebagh, Jacob Levi, Abraham Medina, Isaac Pinto, Jacob Pinto, Salomon Saraga, David Ashriqui, David Sicsu, David Tapiero, Joshua Toledano, Abraham Toledano and Isaac Toledano. Also participating were: Haim Benchimol of Larache, Abraham Bendelac, Moshe Bendaian, Moshe Benatar, Joseph Benchetrit, David Benchimol, Moshe Benchimol, Samuel Abensur, Simon Aflalo, Messod Ammar, Yousef Amselem, Isaac Attiya, David Azancot, Mesod Benassayag and Isaac Benasuli.
49. Abraham Laredo, pp. 249-250.
50. Luella J. Hall, *The United States and Morocco. 1776-1956* (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1971), p. 168. Edward Drummond Hay died of fatigue in 1845, much of his energies spent on these negotiations. His son, John Hay Drummond Hay, had arrived in 1844 and succeeded in entering treaties ending the payment of tribute by the European powers to Morocco. The younger Drummond Hay was considered an honest diplomat and refused bribes of $200 and $5000 in gold to award protege status. See Lawdom Vaidun, p. 84. See Eugene Delacroix, *Journal du voyage au Maroc* (Paris: 1893).

51. Megila de las Bombas is a special scroll commemorating the bombardment of 1844. For a French account of the attack on Tangier in 1844, see Albert Latreille, *La Campagne de 1844 au Maroc* (Paris: Librairie Militaire R. Chapelot et Cie, 1912), pp. 123-134.
52. Abraham Laredo, p. 910.
53. Ibid., pp. 391-392. He was also known as Souiri indicating that he had originally come from the city of Mogador, currently called Essaouiri.
54. Abraham Laredo, p. 1125.

NOTES

Chapter Three

1. Isaac Laredo, *Memorias de un viejo Tangerino* (Madrid: C. Barmejo, 1935) p. 391. Those notables included: Mimon Benlebhar, Bensahl, Salomon Bensellum, Joseph Bengio, Messod Cohen, Joseph Cohen, Mose Cohen, Yusuf Cohen, Shalom Elazar, Mordechai Elkharrat, Isaac Essebagh, Jacob Levi, Abraham Medina, Isaac Pinto, Jacob Pinto, Salomon Saraga, David Ashriqui, David Sicsu, David Tapiero, Joshua Toledano, Abraham Toledano, and Isaac Toledano. Also participating were: Haim Benchimol of Larache, Abraham Bendelac, Moshe Bendaian, Moshe Benatar, Joseph Benchetrit, David Benchimol, Moshe Benchimol, Sameul Abensur, Simon Aflalo, Messod Ammar, Yousef Amselem, Isaac Attiya, David Azancot, Messod Benassayag, and Isaac Benasuli.
2. Manuscript copy of a single meeting dated 3 Iyar 5613 (1853) in Judeo-Spanish. One page in length, this copy is in the hands of the author. Population figures are from the Museum of the Diaspora. Ramat Aviv, Israel.
3. The payment of the *Djizia* was an annual occurence by which the community presented the arranged funds to the local ruler for permission to reside in the locale. The *Djizia* was an integral part of the Pact of Omar which governed Moslem-Jewish relations. The payment was made by a leading representative of the Jews, usually the *Sheikh el-Yehud*, and was repaid by a slap in the face.
4. The Consistoire Israelite Centrale de Paris was an outgrowth of Napoleonic reformation of the Jewish community.
5. Chief Rabbi Mordechai Bengio is referred to in the minutes as *Yedideinu* (our dear friend) and is always listed first in the minutes if he attended the meeting. As Chief Rabbi, Bengio was also *Dayan* (chief rabbinical judge) and is also referred to as *Haham* (wise one). His prename is often spelled as Mordechai, Mordehai, Mordejai or Mordejay.
6. The minutes are entitled *Libro de las Actas* and are in folio size, handwritten in Judeo-Spanish. Pages and paragraphs are numbered. Sessions are numbered and dated in accordance with the Hebrew calendar. The minutes will be herein referred to as *MJT* (Minutes of the Junta of Tangier), date (corresponding secular date) and page number or session number or volume number

if available for reference. Consequently, this citation is *MJT*, 6 Heshvan 5620 (13 November 1860), page 2. The secular dates are determined by the relevant charts in S.J. Scheinman. *Angmudai Shaish* (Marble Pillars) (New York City, 1900).

7. Ibid. p. 1.
8. Ibid. p. 2-3. The consequence of this policy was the exclusion of the *Parnassim* (wardens) of the *Hebrot* from becoming the president of the Junta. Later this policy was abandoned.
9. For a detailed description of the effect of the Spanish-Moroccan War of 1859-60 on the life of the Jews of Tetuan and their subsequent evacuation and repatriation see Juan Bta. Vilar, *Tetuan en el resurgimiento judio contemporaneo* (1850-1870). (Caracas: Biblioteca Popular Sefardi, 1985), pp. 77-111.
10. *MJT*, 13 Marheshvan 5621 (20 November 1860), p. 4.
11. *MJT*, 16 Marheshvan 5621 (23 November 1860), p. 5. A plunim is a cone-like measure of caked sugar. A cortes is a short measure of cloth.
12. Tangier used a bewildering array of currencies: Old Spanish ducats, Spanish pesos (often indicated by $ or Esp$), Spanish Pesetas, French Napoleons, French Francs, English Pounds (£), US Dollars, Moroccan Hassani, Moroccan Francs, and a variety of local currencies. While not all the currencies were used at the same time, there were a sufficient number in circulation to cause confusion and provide the Jews with an occupation - money changing.
13. *MJT*, 18 Tebet 5621 (31 January 1861), p. 13.
14. The original discord which broke the control of the Tetuan Rabbinical Court over the Jewish community of Tangier involved a dispute over the kashruth of a cow. See chapter 1.
15. This meat-tax was called the *Tabahot* (Hebrew: butchering). Prior to the Junta's formation the tax was paid directly to the *Sheikh el-Yehud*, who served as the head of the Jewish community.
16. The *Matadero* was the corral, place of slaughter and dressing of the animal. At the same locale, the ritual inspection of the carcass was performed. For lack of a corresponding term in English, the Spanish term will be used. Otherwise the *matadero* will be referred to as the slaughterhouse although more than simply the ritual slaughtering occurred there.
17. *MJT*, 13 Marheshvan 5621 (6 November 1860), p.14.
18. Under Jewish law, *Halakha*, a permanent Jewish supervisor, *Mashgiah*, must be present if the meat will be processed or sold by non-Jews. The cost of this additional supervision is usually passed on to the consumer by the shopkeeper. See Shulkhan Arukh, Yore Dea, Chapter 27.
19. *MJT*, 7 Kislev 5621 (30 November 1860), p. 7
20. *MJT*, 11 Tebet 5621 (24 December 1860), as the secular date given for this session, numbered 11.
21. *MJT*, 26 Iyar 5621 (5 May 1861), p. 18.

22. The prayer is a citation from I Chronicles 29: 10-13. The Hebrew words, And then David blessed, are used to introduce the prayer.
23. These pledges were especially prevalent on the three pilgrimage festivals - Pesah (Passover), Shabuot (Pentacost) and Sukkot (Tabernacles).
24. The facility opened by the Hebrat Bikur Holim evolved into the first Jewish hospital in Morocco. This hospital remained the only Jewish hospital in Morocco until the modern occupation of Morocco by France. The physician at the hospital was usually sent by the House of Rothschild and played an important role in communal affairs.
25. *MJT*, 6 Tebet 5721 (19 December 1860), session 10. The committee included Jacob Cohen, Judah Toledano, Abraham Attia, Salomon Nahon, Jacob Saul Azancot, Moses Benassayag, Messod Benamour, Moses Laredo, Haim Hadida, Samuel Aboab, Moses Bendayan and Joseph Amar.
26. *MJT*, 22 Tammuz 5622 (19 July 1862), session? These sessions numbers are not indicated in the Actas and will be signified by a question mark.
27. *MJT*, 7 Kislev 5721 (30 November 1860), session 7.
28. The Poor Society had an income of 14,073¼ onzas with expenses of 13,956¼ onzas or a surplus of 117 onzas. The Hospital Fund had 121¾ onzas; the Wayfarers' Society 3,489½ onzas and the Burial Society under Joseph Toledano, 742¼ onzas.
29. *MJT*, 6 Tebet 5621 (19 December 1860), session 10. First week - Messod Abecassis and Moses Nahon; Second Week - Joseph Ashriqui and Moses Pariente; Third week - Joseph Toledano and Aaron Abensur; Fourth week - Judah Assayag and Rev. Jacob Toledano.
30. Chief Rabbi Moses Bengio and his son and heir, Rabbi Joseph Bengio died of cholera. Subsequently, the grandson, Rabbi Mordechai Bengio was elected Chief Rabbi. His great grandfather had been Rabbi Toledano of the family from Meknes. He preferred to use the Spanish transliteration for his prename, Mordejai.
31. *MJT*, 6 Tebet 5621 (19 December 1860), session 10.
32. *MJT*, 26 Adar 5621 (7 March 1861), session 19.
33. *MJT*, 1 Tammuz 5621 (29 June 1861), session 25.
34. *MJT*, 3 Hol Hamoed Sukkot 5622 (18 October 1862), session ?.
35. *MJT*, 1 Kislev 5621 (24 November 1860), session 6. The differential occurred because of the greater need for specialized foods for the Passover holiday which falls in Nissan and for the expenses of the Jewish New Year and Sukkoth holidays which fall in Tishrei.
36. Ibid.
37. *MJT*, 3 Hol Hamoed Sukkot 5622 (18 October 1862), session ?. The community although burdened by its own poor did all that it could to help the refugees. Many who had fled Tetuan during the disturbances chose to settle in Tangier when calm returned to the area.
38. *MJT*, 1 Kislev 5621 (24 November 1860), session 6.

39. *MJT*, 5 Tebet 5621 (18 December 1860), session 9. The Junta records with pride this exchange of correspondence with Sir Moses Montefiore whom they held in very high esteem.
40. *MJT*, 6 Heshvan 5622 (30 October 1862), session ?.
41. *Sisit* were the fringed garments worn in keeping with Biblical Jewish law found in Numbers 15:37-41. In Tangier, the Hebrew letter Tzadi was pronounced more similar to a hissed 's' than the more common 'tz'. The Tephilin are based upon Biblical Jewish law found in Deuteronomy 6:8.
42. *MJT*, 21 Heshvan 5622 (14 November 1861), session 35.
43. The development of the Alliance Israelite Universelle school in Tetuan began in 1860 and was met by stiff opposition from the local rabbinate which found the school to be lacking in sufficient allotted time for the religious studies. Tetuan at that time was occupied by the Spanish in an attempt to expand their limited foothold in northern Morocco. For a review of the activities of the AIU in Morocco see Michael Laskier, *The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco 1862-1962*. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1983).
44. *MJT*, 2 Iyar 5621 (10 April 1861), session 21. The warden of the Poor Fund was instructed to pay 35 ducats monthly for the school subsidy and to raise a special subscription called *Peqidim* (selectors).
45. *MJT*, 3 Elul 5622 (28 August 1862), session ?. Major donations came from : Messod and Joseph Abecassis (36.0.0), Salomon and Moses Nahon (30.0.0), Joseph Ashriqui (25.0.0), Messod Benassayag, his son and son-in-law (24.0.0), Joseph and Joshua Toledano (12.0.0), Moses Pariente and Aaron Abensur (12.0.0), Judah Assayag (12.0.0), Judah Azancot and son (12.0.0), Joseph Pariente (12.0.0), Sasson Azancot (12.0.0), Moses and Haim Benchimol (12.0.0), Moses Queroub (12.0.0). Other donations came from: David Sicsu, Samuel Pariente, Salomon Pariente, Menahem Joseph Abecassis, Habib Toledano, Joseph Laredo, Joseph Sicsu, Joseph Benassayag, Shemtob Cohen, Jacob Joseph Abecassis, Isaac Abecassis, Haim Toledano, Salomon Buzaglo, Moses Bendelac, Abraham Laredo, Salomon Laredo, Joseph Nahon, Abraham Attia, Haim Sicsu, Mimon Nahon, for a total of $298.0.0. The scholars were Chief Rabbi Mordechai Bengio (4 napoleons), Abraham Garzon (3), Moses Toledano (4), Eliahu Elmaleh (6), Samuel Pimienta (4), and Moses Bengio (4), a total of 25 napoleons monthly.
46. *MJT*, 6 Heshvan 5622 (30 October 1861), session 34. The funds were to be collected beginning the next Purim.
47. *MJT*, 11 Heshvan 5622 (4 November 1861), session 31.
48. *MJT*, 2 Shebat 5622 (3 January 1862), session ?.
49. *MJT*, 22 Veadar 5622 (24 March 1862), session ?. Tangierians, like other Sephardic Jews, call the second month of Adar, which is added during a Jewish leap year, as *Veadar* (and Adar) rather than the Ashkenazic *Adar Bet*. The name, Messod Cohen, is very difficult to read.
50. *MJT*, 11 Iyar 5622 (1 May 1862), p. 32.

51. *MJT*, 4 Abrahaman 5622 (31 July 1862), p. 36. This entry is in very good Judeo-Spanish and a different handwriting reflecting possibly a different author. The Tangierians, like many other Sephardim, call the Hebrew month Ab, Abrahaman (All-merciful Father). The *Vet* sound is missing in Tangier Jewry and the letter *Bet* is always pronounced as a hard letter, whether or not the letter had a pointillation in the center. In Castillian Spanish, the 'B' and the 'V' are both pronounced as 'B'.
52. *MJT*, 19 Abrahaman 5622 (14 August 1862), session ?.
53. *MJT*, 15 Iyar 5622 (15 May 1862), session 33.
54. *MJT*, 22 Tammuz 5622 (19 July 1862), session ?.
55. The Jewish community of Tangier was very charitable towards the various Jewish institutions in Israel regardless of ethnic origin. Many *Shelehim* (emissaries) came from various religious institutions in the Holy Land to collect money in Tangier. Some of the charities received regular allotments. Other charities received a one-time gift. Various *Kollel* institutions of higher Talmudic learning were favorites of the community including the *Kollel* of Jerusalem, Safed, and Hebron. The *Kollel de los Hasidim en Jerusalem*, and the *Kollel de los Magrebim* (Moroccans) also in Jerusalem received preferential treatment.
56. *MJT*, 17 Elul 5622 (14 September 1862), session ?.
57. *MJT*, 27 Tishrei 5623 (20 October 1862), immediately after the conclusion of the holy day period.
58. Ibid.
59. *MJT*, 30 Tishrei 5623 (23 October 1862). The object was to gain greater participation by the Junta members. However, the result was an unstable presidency.
60. *MJT*, 3 Heshvan 5623 (26 October 1862), session ?. Aaron was the son of Isaac Abensur who had obtained British protection by aiding the victims of the plague epidemic of 1818 in Tangier. The Abensur family continued to retain British citizenship and served in the British delegation to the Legislative Assembly during the internationalization period.
61. *MJT*, 11 Kislev 5623 (3 December 1862), session ?.
62. *MJT*, 15 Abrahaman 5623 (31 July 1863), p. 58.
63. *MJT*, 29 Shebat 5623 (17 February 1863), p. 51.
64. *MJT*, 20 Adar 5623 (10 March 1863), p. 52.
65. *MJT*, 24 Abrahaman 5623 (9 August 1863), p. 60. Also see *MJT*, 6 Elul 5623 (20 August 1863), p. 64. Those members were Moses Ashriqui, Abraham Benabou, Moses Serfaty, Isaac Cohen, Abraham Laredo, Joseph Azancot and Raphael Benatar
66. *MJT*, 12 Iyar 5623 (1 May 1863). The general approach of the Junta in dealing with objections to its authority was to send a small delegation of one or two of the members of the board to discuss the matter with the dissident and to arrive at a compromise. In this case, Joseph Ashriqui was sent. Later a

delegation would be needed to be sent to Ashriqui. The delegation included Moses Benarosh (who became their president), Levi Bengio, Messod Levi-Bencheton, Moses Anidjar, Jacob Edery, Moses Barchechet and Haim Levi-Bencheton.

67. *MJT*, 28 Tammuz 5623 (14 July 1863), p. 54. Arzila is a neighboring town which was included in the Spanish Protectorate. There is a variety of spellings including Arcila and Arsila.
68. *MJT*, 9 Elul 5623 (25 August 1863), p. 65.
69. *MJT*, 18 Elul 5623 (3 September 1863), p. 66.
70. The Junta makes a distinction between the religious teachers who are called by the Hebrew term *Melamdim* and the secular studies teachers who are called by the Spanish term *maestros* or *maestras*, reflecting that the secular teachers could be either male or female.
71. *MJT*, 3 Heshvan 5623 (27 October 1862), p. 73.
72. *MJT*, 25 Tishrei 5624 (8 October 1863), p. 73
73. Lipman, Sonia and V.D. Lipman, *The Century of Moses Montefiore* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 178-180.
74. Lalouche is also known by the surname Beniluz and Lalouz; each appellation is a common substitute for the other among Moroccan Jews. See Abraham I. Laredo, *Les noms des Juifs du Maroc* (Madrid: CSIC, 1978), pp. 643-644.
75. Accan, Lalouche and Aflalo received from 150 to 200 blows; Saiso reportedly received three times 300 lashes.
76. *Jewish Chronicle* (London, 6 November 1863), p. 6. Merry y Colon later rose to prominence in the Spanish foreign ministry.
77. Alliance Israelite Universelle Archives, Maroc VIIIB of 8 October and of 25 October 1863.
78. Lipman, Sonia and V.D. Lipman, pp. 180-182.
79. *Chronicle* (London, 11 December 1863), p. 8. The *Dhimmi* status relegated Jews to second class subject and defined their relationship to Moslems.
80. Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmi, Jews and Christians under Islam* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985), pp. 65-66.
81. *MJT*, 25 Elul 5623 (10 September 1863), p. 69.
82. Sir Moses Montefiore referred the matter to the Spanish Foreign Minister.
83. Spain responded that it would try to overcome the anti-Semitic image left by Merry y Colon.
84. *Jewish Chronicle* (London, 16 October 1863), p. 5-6.
85. *MJT*, 9 Veadar 5624 (17 March 1864), p. 89. The cost of gifts to the Basha was 1288½ onzas and was taken from funds held by Rabbi Jacob Toledano for this purpose.
86. Thomas Hodgkins, *Narrative of a Journey to Morocco* (London: 1866), pp. 23-35.

87. *MJT,* 12 Veadar 5624 (20 March 1864), pp. 90-91. Messod Abecassis, Joseph Toledano, Moses Nahon, Moses Benchimol, Menahem Nahon, Jacob Toledano, Haim Bendelac, Aaron Abensur and Messod Benassyag signed the document. Noticably absent were Judah Azancot, David Sicsu and Joseph Ashriqui.
88. Lipman, Sonia & V.D. Lipman, pp. 186-190. The local rulers reacted negatively to the protection extended by the Sultan towards the Jews, indicative of the weak authority the Sultan had in certain areas.
89. Moses Ashriqui was the son of Joseph. He left a legacy for the community hospital. His father had built the Shearith Joseph Synagogue. See Laredo, A., pp. 391.
90. *MJT,* 17 Veadar 5624 (24 March 1864), pp. 92-93. This *Dahir* did not give the Junta any more authority but it functioned as if it had real power.
91. Ibid. The British consul in Tetuan, Green, reported that the government had evil intentions towards the Jews. *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore,* edited by L. Loew (Chicago: Belford-Clark, 1890), p. 82.
92. Judah Assayag was born in Algeria which had been conquered by the French in 1830. All Algerian Jews came under the protection of France. He founded the Bet Yehouda Synagogue (Assayag Synagogue) in Tangier. He claimed that French protection excluded him from the authority of the Junta.
93. *MJT,* 20 Veadar 5624 (27 March 1864), p. 94. Assayag apparently was fiercely independent but communally minded.
94. *MJT,* 24 Veadar 5624 (31 March 1864), p. 96. The funds had been given for a specific purpose and many donors felt that they must be exclusively used for that purpose.
95 In Judeo-Spanish, the French word Monsieur is transliterated as Maseu and abbreviated by M. Sarmon is not a Tangierian Jewish surname.
96. Both parties agreed to let the Junta and not the French counsul decide the case. Proteges had the right to have their consuls try them.
97. *MJT,* 3 Iyar 5624 (9 May 1864), p. 100. The original case entered the records of 28 Tammuz 5623 (14 July 1863), p. 55. Shemtob Cohen was elected to the Junta on his own in 1870.
98. *MJT,* 9 Nisan 5624 (14 April 1864), p. 97. See Serfaty, A.B.M. on the relationship with the Jewish community of Gibraltar.
99. The Kosher Butchers Guild included Abraham Laredo, Joseph Bengio, Rahamim Bennlichoa, Judah Pinto, Messod Arruah, Salomon Cazes, David Azulai, and Joseph (Yusaf) Malka, who would later become the spokesman for the group.
100. *MJT,* 15 Abrahaman 5622 (10 August 1862), p. 58. The object was to limit the contact between individual butchers and the Junta and to centralize the means of communication in an effort to better regulate the butchers.
101. *MJT,* 28 Nisan 5624 (3 May 1864), p. 97. These reports were often not submitted.

102. *MJT*, 1 Elul 5624 (2 September 1864), p. 118. The ceremony for naming the females was called *Las Fadas* or *Zebed Habat* and was held after the thirtieth day of birth. No records of these events were kept.
103. *MJT*, 21 Abrahaman 5624 (21 August 1864), p. 117.
104. *MJT*, 7 Iyar 5624 (13 May 1864), p. 100. A Moslem who converted to Judaism faced the death penalty from the courts of the Cadi.
105. Although Montefiore was generous in his contributions to the community, there remained a debt which the Junta had to assure so as not to place itself in an embarassing position.
106. *MJT*, 11 Iyar 5624 (17 May 1864), p. 101. Moses Nahon has travelled with Montefiore and was asked to help defray the costs. Starting with a wax business in Tetuan, Nahon went into banking when he moved to Tangier.
107. *MJT*, 15 Iyar 5624 (21 May 1864), p. 102. Joseph Ashriqui, Moses Nahon, and Messod Abecassis 50 napoleons each; Moses Pariente, Aaron Abensur, Moses Benchimol, Joseph Toledano, 25 napoleons each; David Sicsu and Menahem Nahon, 13½ napoleons each.
108. *MJT*, 28 Iyar 5624 (3 June 1864), p. 104. Also see *MJT*, 29 Iyar 5624 (4 June 1864), p. 105.
109. *MJT*, 8 Elul 5624 (9 September 1864), p. 119. The *Amatezin* was a Moslem watchman who supervised the *matedro*.
110. Ibid. Whenever there were not enough funds the members of the Junta simply paid the bills themselves.
111. *MJT*, 11 Tammuz 5624 (15 July 1864). p. 110.
112. *MJT*, 14 Tammuz 5624 (18 July 1864), pp. 110-111. Mohammed Bargash, the Naib, served as a foreign minister for Morocco and was stationed in Tangier where the consulates were situated. Bargash objected to the protege system. See Lawdom Vaidun, p. 103.
113. *MJT*, 20 Tammuz 5624 (24 July 1864), p. 115. The Jews had very good relations with Drummond Hay and his assistant Reade and the American consul, Felix Matthews.
114. French medical training was considered the best available in Europe. The house of Rothschild often paid for the physician to come to Tangier. The physicians were not necessarily French (Schmidl was Austrian and Spivakof was Russian) but their training was French.
115. *MJT*, 20 Tammuz 5624 (24 July 1864), p. 114.
116. *MJT*, 10 Kislev 5625 (9 December 1864), p. 124. This Yeshiba later evolved into the Yeshiba Etz Haim of Tangier.
117. The rate of exchange was 2.5 onzas = 1$ (one Spanish Peso).
118. The *Maghzania* was the palace of the government. The rule of the Sultan did not extend throughout Morocco for there were areas where the government could not enforce its laws.

119. *MJT*, 21 Kislev 5625 (19 December 1864), pp. 125-126. The need for financial reorganization came with the desire to help everyone regardless of the availability of funds. The Junta felt a genuine need to satify the demands of the poor.
120. *MJT*, 19 December 1864, p. 129. The secular date is used and the session does not follow in the actas in order. Also see *MJT*, 24 Kislev 5625 (22 December 1864), p. 127.
121. *MJT*, 25 Tebet 5625 (22 January 1865), pp. 127-128. The Junta hoped that a tax collector would be more efficient than the submission of the tax by the butchers and *Shohetim*.
122. Levy objected to the power of the Junta leaders in interfering with the administration of the school. Levy felt that the Junta was pushing for a more rabbinic school. See Laskier, Michael, pp. 83-85.
123. *MJT*, 26 Abrahaman 5625 (15 August 1865), p. 130.
124. *MJT*, 10 Elul 5625 (1 September 1865), p. 132. The intention of lowering the taxes was to make meat more available to the poor even though this action insured less revenue for the community.
125. *MJT*, 10 Heshvan 5626 (30 October 1865), p. 133
126. Ibid. The Basha often used fear and threats to insure the payment of the *Djizia*.
127. *MJT*, 13 Heshvan 5626 (2 November 1865), p. 133. This was one of many schemes, all unsuccessful, to force the parents to pay tuition.
128. *MJT*, session 158 which bears no date, p. 134. Pinhas Toledano, Joseph Toledano, Messod Benassayag, Messod Abecassis, Moses Bendayan, Isaac Toledano, Judah Nahon, Menahem Nahon, Shemtob Cohen, Moses Nahon, Jacob Azancot, Mimon Delmar, Jacob Toledano, Habib Toledano, Joseph Menahem Nahon, Haim Toledano, Salomon Cazes, Joseph Laredo, Joseph Benassayag, Moses Pariente, Judah Pariente, Joseph Pariente, Menahem Joseph Abecassis, Haim Bendelac, and sealed by Mordechai Bengio, the Chief Rabbi.
129. Ibid p. 135.
130. *MJT*, 20 Kislev 5626 (7 December 1865), p. 135. Dr. Millard's salary was unclear, although the amount should have been general knowledge.
131. *MJT*, 21 Kislev 5626 (8 December 1865), p. 135. The various currencies also provided difficulties in determining the amounts.
132. *MJT*, 14 Tebet 5626 (1 January 1866), pp. 138-139. Messod Abecassis was the community president and warden of the Poor Fund, Haim Bendelac who claimed Dutch citizenship, and Moses Pariente was the founder of Bank Pariente in 1840.
133. The Junta attempted to divert the discussion into a more productive effort. It would have been of little good to belittle Sicsu in front of the Basha. The effort was to demonstrate that the Junta was more responsible and had the benefit of the entire city at heart.

134. The *Djizia* represented nearly 14% of the Junta's funds.

135. *MJT*, 15 Tebet 5626 (2 January 1866) p. 138, session 167. The leadership of the various groups and philanthropies changed between only a few dedicated community leaders.

136. Ibid. This was the same Judah Assayag who had previously held himself independent of the Junta. Now he needed funds so he turned to the Junta.

137. *Uba LeZion* (And a redeemer will come to Zion) is a prayer recited towards the conclusion of the morning service. Sections of the prayer come from the first chapter of Ezekiel.

138. *MJT*, 4 Tebet 5626 (21 December 1865), p. 137, session 164.

139. Needing to avoid sanction from the Moslem authorities, the Junta arranged for David Benlolo to be sent to the English colony at Gibraltar. Arrangements were made between the Junta president and Sarmon. Benlolo was sent with five napoleons from the coffers of the Wayfarers' Society. The details of this case are given in the minutes of the meeting of 15 Tebet 5626 (2 January 1866), p. 139, session 167.

140. *MJT*, 15 Tebet 5626 (2 January 1866), p. 140. Therein is contained a full listing of donations by 49 individuals in 44 pledges with fathers and sons, and brothers pledging together. Major contributions came from Messod & Joseph Abecassis, Joseph Ashriqui, Moses Pariente the elder, Salomon & Moses Nahon, Messod Benassayag & son. Lesser contributions were made by Moses Pariente, Aaron Abensur, Yehuda Picot & son, Samuel & Joseph Pariente, Sasson Azancot, Salomon Pimienta, Menahem Abecassis, Moses & Haim Benchimol, Moses Barukh(?), Jocab Abecassis, Mimon Cohen, Yehuda Assayag, Haim Bendelac, Joseph Toledano, Menahem Nahon & son Joseph, Isaac Joseph Abecassis, Menahem Abecassis, Isaac Nahon, Joseph Frija, David Azancot, Judah Nahon, Isaac Messod Abecassis, David Sicsu. Minor contributions were made by Joseph Laredo, Jacob Nahon, Joseph Sicsu, Shemtob Cohen, Salomon Abuzaglo, Salomon Laredo, Moses Bendelac, Haim Toledano, Abraham Laredo, Joseph Nahon, Haim Sicsu, Habib Toledano, Joseph Benassayag, Menahem Jacob Nahon.

141. Jewish law requires hospitality as a positive commandment. The behavior is supposed to emulate Abraham when he greeted the visiting angels. Genesis 18:2-4.

142. *MJT*, 17 Tebet 5626 (4 January 1866), session 168, p. 142. The Junta now had four meetings within a two week period because of the depressed economic situation and the increasing dependency on the community's social services.

143. Ibid. British currency as well as the older Spanish currency with pieces of eight were in circulation.

144. *MJT*, 16 Iyar 5626 (1 May 1866), p. 144, session 171. Mordechai Laredo was a teaching rabbi who dedicated his professional life to the advance of Jewish education.

145. *MJT*, 29 Shebat 5626 (13 February 1866), p. 142, session 169. The goal was to produce teachers for the AIU school system from among the native population. In the early years the teachers were consistently from the Balkan countries.

146. *MJT*, 6 Ab 5626 (18 July 1866), pp. 144-146. Although the weights and reliability of the meat had been regulated there were always incidents of violations. The major problem was the price of the meat.

147. *MJT*, 25 Nisan 5627 (30 April 1867), p. 151, session 183; *MJT*, 26 Nisan 5627 (1 May 1867), p. 152, session 185.

148. *MJT*, 20 Elul 5626 (31 August 1866), p. 146, session 175. The Junta hoped that Tangier would become an effective center of higher Jewish learning. The laxity of these scholars was a disappointment.

149. Ibid. Subscription was a simpler means of referring to the fundraising. The very same notables paid for the charities out of their own pockets in any event.

150. *MJT*, 6 Tebet 5627 (13 December 1866), p. 146, session 176. The stress caused by dealing with the fiscal crisis as well as the intervening holy days were factors causing the hiatus of four months. When the meetings resumed, only six people attended.

151. *MJT*, 19 Shebat 5627 (24 January 1867), p. 147, session 177.

152. *MJT*, 22 Shebat 5627 (27 January 1867), p. 148. session 178.

153. *MJT*, 20 Veadar 5627 (26 March 1867), p. 151 (really page 150 due to misnumbering of the pages), session 181. The lord who made the donation is not identified. Possibly Sir Drummond Hay made the donation as he was a close friend of Ashriqui. Joseph Ashriqui was a wealthy merchant who served as the interpreter for the Swedish consulate for more than 25 years. He was involved in some diplomatic intrigue and was saved from bankrupcy by the intervention of the French consul. See Abraham Laredo, pp. 391-392.

154. Ibid.

155. *MJT*, 26 Abrahaman 5627 (26 August 1867), p. 154, session 190. The secretary of the school board, Mordechai Laredo, resigned in frustration over the fiscal situation.

156. *MJT*, 24 Elul 5627 (24 September 1867), p. 154, session 193. Abecassis challenged the members of the Junta into action by resigning and thereby posing the possibility of another becoming the president and thereby needing to assume responsibility.

157. *MJT*, 29 Tishrei 5628 (27 October 1867), p. 157, session 195. The Junta could not afford to maintain the school but they needed to have the school opened.

158. *MJT*, Rosh Hodesh Kislev 5728 (27 November 1867), p. 159, session 199. All land sales had to be registered within thirty days of execution.

159. *MJT*, 4 Sivan 5628 (24 May 1868), p. 169, session 210. Population figures are from the Museum of the Diaspora. Ramat Aviv, Israel.

160. *MJT*, 12 Sivan 5728 (1 June 1868), p. 169, session 211.
161. Ibid.
162. *MJT*, 23 Adar 5728 (16 March 1868), p. 164, session 207. The Junta annually provided Matza for the Passover Seder. They bought the flour for the preparation of the Matza since the flour had to be watched from the time of harvest in accordance with the strictest application of Jewish law.
163. *Jikjikes* was a board game played like backgammon but could also be the dice game, craps. It was a scene of gambling, which is generally prohibited by Jewish Law.
164. *Al-Halawa* (Arabic: sweetened) was the careful addition of sugar to *Mahia* (Anisette) so as not to spoil the liquor. Although clear and transparent, *Mahia* turns milky white when water is added to it. Often, an herb was added to this sugary liqueur which turned the *al-Halawa* to a sky-blue color. This information was given to me in an oral interview with Isaac Ezogi of Tangier, August, 1987.
165. *MJT*, 28 Nisan 5628 (19 April 1868), p. 165, session 208. Card playing became a regular activity when the Casino de Tanger opened and became the principal Jewish social club.
166. *MJT*, 26 Tishrei 5630 (1 October 1869), p. 173, session 218. session 214 is dated 25 Tammuz 5628 (14 July 1868) and session 215 is dated 12 Tammuz 5628 (1 July 1868) in reverse chronological order. Over the next year, the Junta met only twice, with few details of the meetings remaining. The non-members included: Haim Benchimol, David Bengio, Mordechai Cazes, Moses Bendayan, Shemtob Cohen, Mimon Delmar, Yehuda Nahon, Habib Toledano, Joseph Pariente, Salomon Nahon, Yahya Benassayag, Joseph Friha, David Azoulai, Salomon Abuzaglo and Jacob Cohen.
167. *MJT*, 10 Iyar 5630 (11 May 1870), p. 175, session 222. The purpose of the Junta was to arrange the funds and simplify the fiscal situation of the community but its success led to further demand for funding.
168. *MJT*, 6 Marheshvan 5631 (31 October 1870), p. 178, session 226. The number of notables involved was increased. Many had become disillusioned with the administration of Menahem Abecassis.
169. *MJT*, report on the vote of 7 Marheshvan 5731 (1 November 1870), p. 178.
170. *MJT*, 12 Marheshvan 5631 (5 November 1870), p. 178, session 227. Moses Nahon was a banker and a close friend of Chief Rabbi Bengio. Bengio seemed pleased to hand over power to the efficient and social minded Nahon.
171. *MJT*, 28 Marheshvan 5631 (21 November 1870), p. 182, session 230.
172. *MJT*, 30 Marheshvan 5631 (23 November 1870), p. 183, session 231.
173. *MJT*, 14 Kislev 5731 (7 December 1870), p. 185, session 235.
174. *MJT*, 18 Kislev 5731 (11 December 1870), p. 186, session 236. The renewed Junta, after the coup, had now met eleven times in six weeks, demonstrating renewed energy and concern.
175. *MJT*, 25 Tebet 5731 (17 January 1871), p. 190, session 241.

176. The Hebrew term *Mashkon* is used.

177. Apparently, Isaac Sicsu died in 1869 and was replaced by Moses Anidjar as the ceremonial *Sheikh el-Yehud*. Anidjar was retained at the previous salary of 175 onzas per month.

178. *MJT,* 25 Tebet 5631 (17 January 1871), pp. 190-191, session 241.

179. *MJT,* 3 Tebet 5631 (26 December 1870), pp. 191-194, session 242. The highest taxed individuals were : Abraham Laredo, Aaron Abensur, David Bengio, David Azulai, Haim Hadida, Habib Toledano, Judah Azancot, Isaac Bengio, Isaac Friha, Joseph Pariente, Judah Nahon, Yahya A. Benassayag, Isaac Messod Abecassis, Moses I. Nahon, Moses Bendayan, Mordechai Cazes, Messod Benassayag, Moses Pariente, Messod Abecassis, Rabbi Pinhas Toledano, Shemtob Cohen, Salomon Nahon, Mimon Delmar, and his brother Salomon. The list was alphabetically arranged by the Hebrew order of the first names. A list enumerating fourteen individuals who did not pay their taxes was also included.

180. Ibid. The fee for the *Sheikh* had remained constant and was a throw-back to the days when the community was headed by the *Sheikh*.

181. *MJT,* 25 Tebet 5631 (17 January 1871), p. 195, session 243. The Rothschilds subsidized the hospital and the physician in attendance there.

182. *MJT,* Rosh Hodesh Adar Hamehudar 5631 (20 February 1871), p. 195, session 244. The Hebrew name for the month is very unique. The month usually is called simply Adar. The Hebrew word *Hamehudar* means the more beautiful.

183. *MJT,* 13 Adar 5631 (4 March 1871), p. 197, session 246. Samuel Hirsh later left Tangier to head the agricultural school in Palestine. Hirsh had considered the idea of introducing agricultural courses into the AIU school but found that the Tangierian Jews were not receptive to the idea. See Michael Laskier, pp. 128-129.

184. *MJT,* 26 Nisan 5631 (16 April 1871), pp. 199-200, session 248. The Junta generally used the threat of fines to enforce the regulations concerning the butchers.

185. *MJT,* 22 Kislev 5632 (4 December 1871), p. 207, session 258. Mordechai Cazes had founded an important commercial house in Tangier. See Abraham Laredo, pp. 1039.

186. *MJT,* 9 Iyar 5631 (30 April 1871), p. 201, session 249. Isaac Nahon was involved in the Hygiene Commission as well.

187. *MJT,* 11 Iyar 5631 (2 May 1871), p. 202, session 251. Moses Frija attended the Masaat Moses Synagogue as did communal president Nahon. Their apparent friendship helped to solidify their working relationship. See Abraham Laredo, pp. 996.

188. *MJT,* 11 Sivan 5631 (31 May 1871), p. 203, session 252. Abensur family were bankers and had business relationships with the Pariente family. They ap-

parently developed as a commercial firm during the British occupation of Tangier nearly two centuries before. See Lawdom Viadun. pp. 62-63.

189. *MJT*, 7 Tammuz 5631 (25 June 1871), p. 203, session 254. The class size does not seem to follow a predictable pedagogic pattern.

190. Frequently, physical punishments were used. Corporal punishment included hitting the student across his nails, knuckles or palms; twisting his ears or cheeks; or paddling.

191. *MJT*, 14 Heshvan 5632 (29 October 1871), p. 206, session 256. While the Junta liked the methodology of the AIU school it preferred the curriculum of the community school.

192. *MJT*, 21 Heshvan 5632 (5 November 1871), p. 207, session 257. Nahon indicated that the school would never achieve self-sufficiency and therefore it was useless for the Junta to try to make the school operate within a balanced budget. The Junta would always be subsidizing the school.

193. *MJT*, 22 Heshvan 5632 (6 November 1871), p. 208, session 258. Raising taxes often did not produce additional revenue because the poor were excluded from purchasing meat more often.

194. *MJT*, 27 Tebet 5632 (7 January 1872), p. 209, session 260. Abraham Cazes was instrumental in funding and organizng the new cemetery. See Abraham Laredo, p. 1014.

195. *MJT*, 27 Shebat 5632 (17 February 1872), p. 210, session 262. The delegation is very impressive with the two wealthy bankers and Joseph Toledano, a rabbi-notary and from the famous family. The Junta felt that such an impressive delegation would find favor with Abecassis.

196. *MJT*, 24 Adar 5632 (4 March 1872), p. 210, session 263. The events proceeded for the next six weeks.

197. Hayyim Cohen, *The Jews of the Middle East 1860-1972*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1973). p. 54.

198. *MJT*, 4 Veadar 5632 (13 March 1872), p. 211, session 264.

199. *MJT*, 7 Iyar 5632 (27 April 1872), p. 212, session 266. The limitation of imported meat from Tangier into Gibraltar negatively affected the communal revenues since the *Tabahot* were on each head of cattle slaughtered.

200. Ibid. but refers to the minutes of 3 Shebat 5630 (14 Januaray 1870). Legacies accounted for an important segment of the revenue of the Junta for special projects. Often the legacies included property left for the benefit of the community in general or a special project.

201. *MJT*, 6 Tishrei 5633 (8 October 1872), p. 215, session 272. The Junta often faced an adversary relationship with Joseph (Yusuf) Malka.

202. *MJT*, 29 Iyar 5633 (25 May 1873), p. 218, session 280.

203. *MJT*, 20 Kislev 5633 (9 December 1873), p. 215, session 275. Oran, although now in Algeria, was populated by Spanish-speaking Jews. There was a close bond with Oran and the northern cities of Morocco.

204. *MJT,* 5 Adar 5633 (13 Febrary 1873), p. 216, session 276. The twelve who showed were: Abraham Laredo, Jacob Cohen, Abraham Azancot, Abraham Nahon, Jacob Seruya, David Azoulai, R. Jacob Bengio, Salomon Abuzaglo, Yahya M. Benassayag, Moses Bendayan, David Bengio, Yahya A. Benassayag. The alms boxes were set aside in the synagogue to pay for the protection.

205. *MJT,* 1 Iyar 5633 (26 April 1873), p. 218, session 278. They had been appointed in March, 1872. Their term lasted only thirteen months.

206. *MJT,* 7 Tammuz 5633 (2 July 1873), p. 218, session 283. There was constant conflict between the Junta and the Central Committee of the AIU as to whether the Junta could afford to pay for the school or not. See Michael Laskier, p. 132.

207. *MJT,* 19 Elul 5633 (10 September 1873), p. 221, session 285. Yahya Benassayag was later to serve as president of the Junta. His particular concern was education. See Abraham Laredo. p. 364.

208. *MJT,* 6 Marheshvan 5634 (26 October 1873), p.221, session 287. Amongst them were: Rabbi Mordechai Bengio, Rabbi Joseph Toledano, Messod Benassayag, Menasse Nahon, Moses Pariente, Rabbi Joshua Toledano, Jacob Seruya, Isaac S. Nahon, Abraham Azancot, Joseph Friha, Habib Toledano, Eliezer Bensabat, Abraham Elazar, David Bengio, Isaac Judah Nahon, Judah A. Cohen, Shemtob Cohen, Salomon Buzaglo, Abraham Laredo, Rabbi Pinhas Toledano, Isaac Levy, Moses Joseph Nahon, Salomon H. Cohen, Moses Ashriqui, Judah Toledano, Messod Edrehi, David Cohen, Isaac Bengio, Jacob Azancot, Judah Nahon, Joseph Benzaquen, Abraham Amar, Moses Friha, Salomon Laredo, Moses David Benchimol, Jacob Cohen, Moses Bendayan, Mimon Bendahan, Mimon Delmar, Rabbi Jacob Bengio, Judah D. Cohen.

209. Ibid. Isaac and Moses Nahon were the sons of Salomon Nahon.

210. *MJT,* 6 Heshvan 5634 (26 Ocotber 1873), p. 222, session 287. No indication was made that the Junta would determine who was a virgin before marriage. There is also no indication that this law was actually enforced.

211. *MJT,* 12 Iyar 5634 (29 April 1874), session 290. The Toledano *Shohetim* were from the original family from Meknes who had the right to slaughter from the time of the separation of authority from Tetuan.

212. Luella J. Hall, *The United States and Morocco 1776-1956* (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1971). p. 202.

213. *MJT,* 2 Elul 5634 (14 August 1874), session 293.

214. *MJT,* session 296-300 corresponding to 5 Tebet 5635 - 24 Veadar 5635. (12 December 1874-31 March 1875)

215. Vilar, Juan Bautista, "Emigrantes Judeo-Marroquis en America durante el siglo XIX. in Escudo." Revista trimenstral de la Associacion Israelita de Venezuela. No. 48. Julio-Septiembre 1983.(2a Epoca). p. 22.

216. Ibid., p. 23-24. Special relationship was also developed with Argentina and many Tangierian Jews later settled there.

NOTES

Chapter Four

1. Frederick V. Parsons, *The Origins of the Moroccan Question. 1880-1900* (London: Duckworth, 1976), p. 90.
2. Douglas Porch, *The Conquest of Morocco* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), p. 18.
3. Frederick V. Parsons, p. 90.
4. Ibid., p. 137.
5. Ibid., p. 540.
6. Ibid., p. 91.
7. William Milligan Sloane, *Greater France in Africa* (New York: Shuster, 1924), pp. 70-73.
8. Pierre Guillen, *L'Allemagne et le Maroc de 1870 a 1905* (Paris: Presse Universitaire de France, 1967), p. 480.
9. Julien Viaud, *Into Morocco* (Chicago: Rand, 1892), p. 15.
10. Ibid., p. 13.
11. Isaac Laredo, *Memorias de un Viejo Tangerino* (Madrid: C. Bermajo, 1935), p. 295.
12. Julien Viaud, p. 22.
13. Ibid,. pp. 341-342.
14. See various entries in Abraham Laredo, *Les Noms Juifs du Maroc* (Madrid: CSIC, 1978).
15. Michael M. Laskier, *The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco 1862-1962* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), p. 83.
16. Ibid.
17. Michael M. Laskier, p. 84.
18. Ibid.
19. Michael M. Laskier, p. 85.
20. Isaac Laredo, pp. 259-274.

21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. *MJT*, 17 Elul 5650 (1890).
24. Ibid.
25. Abraham Laredo, pp. 709-710.
26. *MJT*, 17 Elul 5650 (2 September 1890).
27. *MJT*, 24 Elul 5650 (9 September 1890).
28. *MJT*, 5 Ab 1893 (17 July 1893). (It should be noted that these surnames indicate that they dropped the Berber "A" before the name to indicate "child of." Consequently, Abuzaglo became Buzaglo and Ashriqui became Shriqui).
29. Abraham Laredo, p. 711.
30. *MJT*, 13 Veadar 5654 (20 March 1894).
31. *MJT*, 26 Veadar 5654 (2 April 1894).
32. *MJT*, 1 May 1896. The secular date is used consistently from this entry onward.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.
35. *MJT*, 1 March 1896.
36. *MJT*, 15 March 1896. Members of the committee included Isaac Abensur, Samuel Nahon, Moise Nahon, S. Elmaleh, Raphael Bendelac, Y. Coriat, J.J. Toledano, Mordejai Bendelac and Haim Toledano.
37. *MJT*, 16 January 1898.
38. Ibid.
39. *MJT*, 19 April 1896. A letter was received from P.H. Toledano who had settled in New York City. Another letter was received from Abraham H. Azancot, a Jewish emigree who was living in Caracas and from Jacob Toledano who had travelled up the Amazon, to Iquitos, Peru. This letter is dated 7 June 1896.
40. *MJT*, 1 May 1896.
41. *MJT*, 30 August 1896.
42. Ibid.
43. *MJT*, 21 July 1896. There was a steady stream of correspondence with men who had travelled to South America. Abraham M. Israel wrote from Argentina as did Isaac J. Bengio, and Isaac J. Benhayon. Mose Azancot wrote from Cadajaz, Brazil. The letter was dated 16 November 1896.
44. *MJT*, 30 August 1896.
45. *MJT*, 21 July 1896.
46. *MJT*, 21 June 1896.
47. *MJT*, 16 November 1896.
48. *MJT*, 20 December 1896.
49. Ibid.
50. *MJT*, 7 February 1897.

51. *MJT*, 28 February 1897.
52. *MJT*, 4 July 1897.
53. Abraham Laredo, p. 212.
54. *MJT*, 21 January 1897.
55. *MJT*, 20 March 1897.
56. Caracas developed in a more orderly process. Venezuela and Argentina became more permanent settlements.
57. Oral history as told to the author by Mrs. Luna Bendayan whose husband and brother-in-law went to Iquitos, Peru as young men.
58. The Iquitos telephone directory reports a large number of Jewish surnames from Morocco although these people are Indians but they do have Jewish ancestry through fathers or grandfathers.
59. *MJT*, 27 April 1897.
60. *MJT*, 23 May 1897.
61. Ibid.
62. *MJT*, 14 June 1897.
63. *MJT*, 4 July 1897.
64. *MJT*, 18 July 1897.
65. Ibid.
66. *MJT*, 12 October 1897. The Junta gave him 125 pesetas.
67. *MJT*, 23 January 1898.
68. *MJT*, 16 November 1897.
69. *MJT*, 27 December 1897.
70. Abraham Laredo, p. 557.
71. *MJT*, 11 January 1898.
72. *MJT*, 20 January 1898.
73. Michael M. Laskier, p. 125.
74. Ibid., p. 128.
75. Ibid.
76. The document is in the possesion of the family of Luna Bendayan in Montreal, Canada.
77. The author possesses a copy of the document.
78. Frederick V. Pearson, p. 69.
79. Comte de St. Aulaire, *Confessions d'un vieux diplomate* (Paris: 1953), p. 77.
80. Douglas Porch, pp. 112-113.
81. Isaac Laredo, pp. 295-298. There were five Jews sitting, of fourteen members. They were: Isaac Abensur, Abraham Pimienta, Benjamin Braunschvig, Dr. Guitta and Isaac Laredo.

NOTES

Chapter Five

1. Walter Harris, *Land of the African Sultan* (London: 1889).
2. Madelaine Marie Louise St. Rene-Taillandier, *Ce Monde Disparu* (Paris: 1947), pp. 161-163.
3. Ibid., pp. 163-169.
4. Ibid., pp. 169-171.
5. Douglas Porch, *The Conquest of Morocco* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), p. 94.
6. Gabriel Maura Gamazo, *La Cuestion de Marruecos desde el punto de vista Espanol* (Madrid: M. Romero, 1905), p. 275.
7. Ibid., p. 274.
8. Abraham Laredo. *Les Noms Juifs du Maroc* (Madrid: CSIC, 1978), p. 1016.
9. Neville Barbour, *Morocco* (New York: Walker, 1966), p.46.
10. Ibid., p. 47.
11. Ibid., p. 48.
12. Douglas Porch, pp. 113-114.
13. Ibid., pp. 48-49. Peridcaris, it was later found, reclaimed Greek citizenship in order to avoid serving in the American Civil War. Apparently, Roosevelt knew this at the time of his famous telegram. The presidential bravado was good politics in an election year.
14. Rosita Forbes, *Sultan of the Mountains* (New York: 1921), p. 82.
15. Neville Barbour, p. 50.
16. Douglas Porch, pp. 43-49.
17. Gabriel Maura Gamazo, pp. 284.
18. Ibid., p. 251.
19. Pierre Guillem, *L'Allemagne et le Maroc de 1870 a 1905* (Paris: Presses Universite de France, 1967), p. 25.
20. Ibid., p. 52.
21. Ibid., pp. 59-65.

22. Ibid., pp. 328n.
23. Ibid., p. 396. They included: M. Bengio - John Schubach und Sohne, Hamburg; Semtob Cohen & A.H. Cohen-Robinow und Sohn, Hamburg; Jacob S. Cohen - Georgi, Leipzig; Jacob Coriat & Isaac Laredo - Atlas Linie, German Lloyd-Beck Maritime; Pinto Hermanos (Moises, Abraham, Jaymes, Samuel J.)—Robinow und Sohn, Hamburg; Sananes & Benassayag - Compagnie Laferme Tabac, Dresden; Moyses H. Toledano represented various German firms since 1878 and claimed German protege status; Aaron S. Toledano became an agent of Gebruder Haas after 1880; H.A. Toledano - Viktor Sperling, Leipzig; Joseph S. Toledano & Isaac S. Toledano - Haessner; Pinhas Toledano, after 1899 represented Haessner; Haim M. Toledano also represented various German firms. The entire Toledano family eventually claimed German protection because of their financial ties.
24. Ibid., p. 407.
25. Ibid., p. 490.
26. Ibid., p. 497.
27. Ibid., p. 513.
28. Eugene Newton Anderson, *The First Moroccan Crisis. 1904-6* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1966), p. 185.
29. Ibid., p. 189. Walter Harris had also been kidnapped and then later released.
30. Ibid., p. 192.
31. Ibid., p. 193.
32. Douglas Porch, pp. 137-9. Population figures are from the Museum of the Diaspora. Ramat Aviv, Israel.
33. Edward Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 90.
34. Ibid., p. 91.
35. Ibid., p. 94.
36. Ibid., p. 88.
37. John P. Halstead, *Rebirth of a Nation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 5.
38. Graham H. Stuart, *The International City of Tangier,* Second edition (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955), p. 47.
39. Ibid., p. 48.
40. Ibid., pp. 57-59.
41. Rosita Forbes, p. 41. Until internationalization the representative of the Sultan was the Naib. That position was later replaced by the Mendob. The position of Basha was more like the mayor.
42. Marc Cohen and Lorna Hahn, *Morocco, Old Land, New Nation* (New York: Praeger, 1966), p. 24.
43. Abraham Laredo, p. 680.
44. Ibid., p. 834.

45. Ibid., p. 1001.
46. The inscription from the tombstone of Rabbi Isaac Bengualid reads: "This marker here is the grave of the man who is loved above and adored below, a warrior, who fought the battle for the Torah, who gives and takes in the Talmud in truth. The students who were in his hand learned in clear terms and good taste. Who could surpass him in moral terms, his depth of knowledge, complete and fulfilled. A wealth of hymns, he goes in righteousness and tells the straight truth. All the people who are at the gates will surely testify and will surely state his righteousness and his humility. His fear of sin precedes his wisdom, clearly. His capacity is in learning to observe and fulfill. His labors are total and complete. A beloved man in whom the Almighty found pleasure and honored by all the rabbis and their students. He served in modesty. His lips befriended all who came close to him. Our rabbi and our teacher. The enjoyment of all ages. Honor and glory were his to be obtained. A man who cherished the Torah. Greatness, wealth and honor surrounded him. A storehouse of all good and wonderful virtues which doubly honored him. The complete Haham Isaac Bengualid, May the Almighty protect him. The Sainted. His name is known in all gates. The famous one in righteousness. The excellent judge. The son of Rabbi Shemtob of blessed memory. The light of the east. Enlightened author of the book Vayomer Yitzhaq. And Isaac went beyond his limitations to find a remedy for his ailment and he called it, My Father King. For so was the word of the King and His religion to benefit from the aura of the divine presence. To bear self-witness for his soul for there was his home. On Monday, the fourth day of the month of Abrahaman in the year 5674 of the creation. May his soul be bound in the bonds of life." (The date corresponds to 27 July 1914).
47. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 April 1915. Isaac Abensur then became the second generation of communal leaders. The Abensur family claimed British citizenship. As a banker, Abensur was familiar with the various currencies in circulation in Tangier.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., Since the local police force was of no effect and easily bribed, the Jews felt the necessity to police the area themselves by hiring patrolmen. Soco Chico was not far from Calle de las sinagogas.
50. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 3 May 1915.
51. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 30 May 1915. Laredo's views were often too radical for the conservative banker Abensur.
52. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 13 June 1915. The will of Haim Benchimol also provided for perpetual care for the hospital facility. Consequently, the facility was called Hospital Benchimol.
53. Ibid., There were no laws to establish not-for-profit tax-exempt corporations. Funding from the estate of Benchimol helped to move the school.
54. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 13 June 1915.

55. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 25 July 1915. The English, French and Spanish governments had their own telegraph offices as well as their own postal systems within Morocco. The *Maghzan* also had its own local postal system.
56. Ibid., The jail facility was deplorable and dangerous especially for a Jew who had to be incarcerated with Moslems.
57. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 21 November 1915.
58. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 3 May 1915. Apparently Assor was a French protege.
59. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 30 May 1915.
60. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 25 July 1915.
61. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 29 August 1915.
62. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 15 August 1915.
63. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 29 August 1915. Eventually meat prices rose as did the meat tax. The tax was simply the easiest and most cost-efficient means of raising the necessary funds.
64. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 15 August 1915. The birth records of males were based upon the circumcision records kept by the individual *mohel*. Since circumcision takes places eight days after birth, the date can be determined. Girls were named at a ceremony called *Zebed HaBat, Las Fadas*. No records of these events were made.
65. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 28 June 1915.
66. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 29 August 1915.
67. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 24 October 1915.
68. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 21 November 1915.
69. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 24 October 1915.
70. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 21 November 1915.
71. Ibid. The contractors were: Aquiba Levy 47 reales, Raphael Pinto 48 reales, Yona Dodo 48 reales, Rafael Pinto 49 reales, Yusef Elfasi 50 reales.
72. Ibid.
73. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 9 January 1916.
74. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 6 February 1916.
75. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 27 February 1916. Eventually Jerusalem fell to the British and General Allenby entered Jerusalem on foot.
76. Ibid.
77. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 12 March 1916.
78. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 9 April 1916.
79. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 26 June 1916.
80. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 9 April 1916. AJYB. Vol. 25 (1923), p. 331. This figure was used for the next decade until the census was taken in 1925.
81. *Birkhat Halebana* is a prayer recited monthly at the sight of the new moon until the ninth day thereafter. The ceremony must be held publicly and the sliver of the moon must be visible. Consequently, the congregants assembled

in the street to spot the moon sliver. After this criticism, the tradition developed in Tangier to go to the roof tops in order to sight the moon.

82. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 11 June 1916.
83. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 2 July 1916.
84. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 1 October 1916.
85. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 12 November 1916.
86. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 7 January 1917.
87. Michael M. Laskier, *The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco. 1862-1962* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), pp 100-120.
88. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 28 January 1917.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid. A Sephardi is a Jew of Spanish and Portuguese descent whose ancestors were exiled from Spain in 1492. Generally, in Morocco they were called *Megurashim*, exiles. They follow Jewish law as codified by Rabbi Joseph Karo.
91. Ibid. Jewish communities often kept communal records in books called *Pinkus*, which covered a variety of communal records including birth, marriage, death and by-laws of the community as well as commercial documents.
92. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 25 March 1917.
93. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 4 February 1917. There was an increase in the population but also a greater disparity between the middle class and the lower class.
94. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 25 March 1917. Braunschweig later became the head of the AIU and an important Jewish leader in France and Morroco.
95. Ibid. The Junta also had difficulty in projecting their expenses a year in advance. Therefore they were unable to predict the degree of spending and often exceeded their budgetary projection. This system had a built-in deficit.
96. Isaac Laredo, *Memoria de un viejo Tangerino* (Madrid: CSIC, 1935), pp. 128-130.
97. Under the terms of the previous election reform, electors were enumerated based upon their having contributed to the communal treasury. Consequently, only the wealthy and upper middle class, who were able to make donations, were allowed to vote. When the Junta was first founded there were no elections for membership on the Junta. Rabbi Bengio appointed the Junta and then the Junta elected the officers.
98. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 25 March 1917.
99. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 22 April 1917. Those voting against the resolution were Abraham Pimienta, Jacob Nahon, Moses Bengio, Isaac Cohen, A. Benassayag, President Isaac Abensur, and Abraham M. Laredo. The minutes report that Laredo spoke elegantly. Usually the Actas refrain from comments on the words of any member.
100. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 26 August 1917.

101. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 22 July 1917. *La Liberte* was a French language newspaper which had a large readership among the AIU educated Jews of Tangier.
102. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 26 August 1917. Laredo was continually concerned about social issues in order to remove inequities within the community.
103. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 3 February 1918. Capt. Contelle was the director of the *Bureau de ravitallement* (Provisions Office). Many provisions had to be imported into Morocco, especially as tastes and fashions became more Europeanized. The war had a negative impact on the amount of goods available for importation.
104. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 3 March 1918. The Jews spoke Spanish among themselves, even though the school conducted its classes in French. Consequently, the AIU school was called the Alianza.
105. Ibid.
106. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 7 April 1918. Tazi was a very prominent Moslem. He rose to the position of Mendoub, representative of the Sultan, during the 1930's. See Abraham Laredo *Memorias de un viejo Tangerino*, p. 538.
107. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 3 March 1918. Jews were willing to go to the hospital on the Sabbath as religious observance began to wane. Observant Jews may not go to the hospital on the Sabbath unless there is an imminent threat of death. Although the religious institutions remained observant, and could be called orthodox, the degree of observance began to drop.
108. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 7 April 1918. The Abensur and Hassan families retained considerable influence and political clout over the Jewish community. Their position as bankers secured their financial stability and ability to assist in funding the community.
109. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 6 May 1918. The circumcision records were the personal property of the individual *mohel*. Frequently, the *mohel* retained these records.
110. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 2 June 1918. Wills, deeds and arbitrated settlements were to be filed with the Chief Rabbinate.
111. Ibid. The word Kashruth was spelled in the minutes with a French spelling, Cachrut. The concern was expressed that there were lapses in the supervision of the meat because of the proximity of the Christian butchers. Meat which remained unsupervised or supervised by a gentile could be considered as non-kosher.
112. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 23 June 1918. Students were required to pass examinations offered by the French ministry of education through the AIU schools.
113. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 11 August 1918. The Chief Rabbi was informed of the appointment of the notaries since they were to attest to the documents to be filed in the office of the Chief Rabbinate. Only these notaries could attest to the documentation.
114. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 3 February 1918. The Junta could not deal with several major problems simultaneously. Consequently, the cemetery issue became overshadowed by the debate over universal male suffrage.

115. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 11 July 1918. The Burial Society paid the costs of interring the poor. The additional grave sites further depleted the space for new interments and projected the need for a new cemetery once again on to the agenda of the Junta.
116. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 12 August 1918. The epidemic increased the demands for the social services offered by the Jewish community. Consequently, Jews were forced to turn to the European facilities.
117. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 27 October 1918. During the previous two and half months the facility was greatly overburdened and the costs rose.
118. Ibid. Dr. Samuel Guitta was a surgeon who had graduated the University of Seville and practiced in Tangier from 1885. Although he was an officer of the Junta for many years, he represented Spain in the Legislative Assembly during internationalization. He was also the medical examiner for the Hygiene Commission. See Abraham I. Laredo, *Les Noms de Juifs du Maroc*, p 472. A son, Leon, did survive.
119. Ibid. The population of Tangier was in constant fear of epidemic, usually cholera.
120. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 20 November 1918. The medicine was dispensed through the communal dispensary.
121. Ibid. The expenditures necessitated by emergency relief prevented the Junta from formulating a balanced budget.
122. David S. Woolman, *Rebel in the Rif* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), pp. 62-63.
123. Ibid. The Nahon Synagogue, the principal synagogue of the community, was located on Calle Nahon, just off Calle de las Sinagogas.
124. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 16 February 1919. In the meanwhile, Torah VeHaim hired an elderly French teacher, streamlined the program and utilized back-up funds.
125. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 May 1919. Yamin Cohen was later to become the Chief Rabbi of Tangier, after reunification.
126. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 May 1919. The *shohetim* are called by the Spanish term, *sacrificadores*.
127. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 12 January 1919. For a review of the French effort during World War I including Tangier, see Ferdinand Foch, *The Memoirs of...* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1931).
128. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 23 March 1919.
129. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 30 June 1918. These taxes negatively impacted on the lower classes. Tangierian cuisine, although it included many fish dishes, emphasized meat meals. Very few dairy products were eaten.
130. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 23 March 1919.
131. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 25 April 1919. The lottery and the *Tombola* became methods of augmenting the budget.

132. In the aftermath of World War I and the Russian revolution, the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia as well as the Ukraine declared their independence. Counterrevolutionary forces, partisans and the general economic situation led to attacks on their Jews. The English occupation of Palestine and the disruption of the Turkish supply lines were deleterious to the small local Jewish community.

133. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 7 December 1919.

134. The Spanish government had political goals for the Asociacion Hispano-Hebrea. They were an effort to enhance the control of Spain over Tangier. AJYB. Vol. 14 (1912), p 193. The association was the suggestion of Lopez Ferrer, the Spanish consul in Tetuan.

135. Marruecos. Ano IV (2 Epoca). No.4. Madrid; Febrero, 1920, p. 11.

NOTES

Chapter Six

1. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 29 February 1920. Tangierian Jews moved to Casablanca with the establishment of the French Protectorate Zone in the southern segment of Morocco. They had previously opened their own synagogue in Casablanca.
2. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 14 March 1920. The Rabbis did not charge a fee for performing religious rituals.
3. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 16 May 1920. This was a frequent suggestion made to cut the deficit. See Michael Laskier, *The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), pp. 237-238.
4. Ibid. As Tangierian Jews migrated and then those communities disintegrated and disappeared, their cemeteries remained. A similar cemetery can be found in Faro, Portugal.
5. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 21 November 1920.
6. Ibid. The British Board of Jewish Deputies was called into existence by King George III in 1760 to grant political status to the Jewish community. The Anglo-Jewish Association, of which Moses Montefiore had been a member, was formed in 1834 as a response to the plight of persecuted Jews in other countries.
7. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 10 April 1921. Pulido frequently called the Sephardim, Espanoles sin patria (Spaniards without a country). He had overheard Sephardic Jews on the Danube, despite centuries of exile, speaking Ladino and became fascinated with the retention of the Spanish language and customs.
8. Ibid. The executive committee had a variety of individuals. Abensur and Hassan were bankers and possessed British citizenship. Abraham Pimienta (1860-1924), a lawyer by profession, was a son of candidate for Chief Rabbi. He was an honorary vice president of the Hygiene Commission. He was awarded the Chevelier de la legion d'honneur. Isaac R. Toledano was a promoter of tourism. Menahem Attias (1864-1942) was a writer and editor, who served as chancellor of the Belgian legation. Jacob Nahon was the son

of a banker and Amram Guahnish was the son of an industrialist involved in the tobacco trade.

9. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 2 May 1921. The Junta members reflected a variety of interests. Shemarya Benchetrit was an industrialist in the tobacco trade and partner with Amram Guahnish's father. Joseph Cazes was the son of an important merchant. Abraham Benassayag was the son of a previous president of the Junta and an Italian citizen.
10. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 May 1921. Some beggars had their selected spot to stand and beg. Begging became their profession. Moslem begging still has not been eradicated.
11. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 December 1921. This was an approach to corporations rather than individuals.
12. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 27 May 1923. The local police force was very ineffective. Internationalization improved the standards of police protection.
13. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 26 June 1921. The French government had opened a school for art and trade, basically a technical school. It was the only one of its kind in Tangier.
14. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 17 July 1921. The French tried to counter the pro-Spanish tendencies of the Sephardic Jews, who spoke Spanish as their mother tongue. The Spanish were always concerned because the Jews were being educated in pro-French schools.
15. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 May 1921. The community had no facility to treat mentally ill individuals and they were sent to Spain for treatment, usually to facilities under the auspices of the church.
16. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 September 1921. Many women preferred to give birth at home aided by a midwife. Interview with Mrs. Yvette Bendayan, 25 August 1989.
17. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 30 October 1921. Mrs. Roguero was a gentile but there were Jewish midwives as well.
18. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 September 1921. Monsonego's family later moved to Rabat. Since the position of *Sheikh el-Yehud* was abolished under internationalization, Monsonego served as the last *Sheikh el-Yehud* of Tangier.
19. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 30 October 1921. The Sultan retained power over the religious communities and therefore only he or his representative could confirm the position. The Chief Rabbi was informed as a courtesy.
20. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 12 July 1921. Albert Cohen was a supporter of Rabbi Benchimol and wanted to see that the interim status be replaced with a permanent appointment. The Junta did not have a qourum present at this confirmation vote.
21. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 September 1921 footnote relating to history of the chief rabbinate of Tangier. It is evident that there was strong feeling that Benchimol was too old fashioned and "Moroccan" to serve an increasingly secular and European-oriented community.

22. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 30 October 1921. The agreement was a victory for democracy. Although Albert Cohen supported Benchimol, he was prepared to allow for a democratic process in determining the rabbinate. Isaac Cohen was a rich business man who had migrated from Tetuan. He founded the *Siah Yizhaq* Synagogue. He had studied in England.
23. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 13 November 1921. The minutes reflect: La Junta se adhiere a la proposicion del presidente de dejar para otro momento mas propicio el reanunder las gestiones y asi acuerdo. (The motion was tabled). Abensur became more conservative in opposing change in the community.
24. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 29 February 1920. The Yeshiba continued to function until the period of reunification. Many of those ordained at the Yeshiba continue to serve communities throughout the world, including Rabbi Joshua Toledano of Philadelphia.
25. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 December 1921. There was no set curriculum and the program was often administered by young leaders, who were not always sensitive to the same concerns as were the members of the Junta.
26. Ibid. The schools had originally been segregated by sexes.
27. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 26 June 1921. All students were required to pass the examination given by the French Ministry of Education. The poor showing reflects the low level of education in the girls' school.
28. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 December 1921. Some Jews in Tangier sent their children to either Lycee Renault or Lycee St. Aulaire. In 1989, Lycee Renault served as the only high school for Jewish students in Tangier.
29. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 1 January 1922. It was to the benefit of France to have the Jews educated in their schools. The administration of these schools were also more inclined to accept Jewish students than Moslem students.
30. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 December 1921. The Hebrew notation in this entry shows that the secretary had only a rudimentary Jewish education.
31. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 25 December 1921. In an unusual event, the Junta had the resolution written directly into the minutebook and signed by the president, Isaac Abensur, as usual, and also Interim Chief Rabbi Benchimol.
32. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 1 January 1922. The secular holiday was not celebrated by the Jews. The entry states: Los servicios de Mizmaroth son de la incumbencia de Hesed VeEmet y que la Hebra de Guemillut Hasadim no se ocupera de ellos.
33. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 12 July 1921. Tiberias had a small Jewish population and suffered greatly during the British occupation from economic stagnation and hostile Arabs.
34. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 30 October 1921. These three cities were particularly important to the Jews. Jerusalem was the site of the holy temple; Hebron the grave of the biblical patriarchs, and Safed was the city of the mystics, particularly Isaac Luria and Haim David Joseph Azoulay who greatly influence the nature of prayer in Morocco.

35. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 16 April 1922. The Nahon Synagogue was the principal synagogue in Tangier until the opening of the Shaare Raphael Synagogue on Bld. Pasteur. In 1989, a committee was formed to restore the synagogue.
36. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 18 June 1922. *La Liberte* was a French language newspaper printed in Tangier and frequently read by the Jews. Some Jews served on the editorial staff.
37. In Jewish law, no desecration of the corpse is permitted. The exception is made if the information yielded by the autopsy could be used to determine the course and treatment of a plague. The Rabbi was correct in prohibiting the autopsy. Abensur's opposition to the rabbi can be felt in his pursuit of the case.
38. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 16 July 1922. Matters of faith were solely in the hands of the Chief Rabbi, a practice dating to the inception of the Junta under Bengio.
39. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 16 July 1922. *meziza* is the practice by which the *mohel,* after the incision, places the penis into his mouth to draw blood. This practice determined by Jewish law continues in many instances to this day.
40. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 31 December 1922. Abensur attempted to introduce Europeanization into the Tangierian rabbinate which remained the least modernized element of the community.
41. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 27 August 1922. The *bodek* is required by Jewish law to inspect the lungs and other internal organs to insure that they conform to health specifications mentioned in the Code of Jewish Law. Shulkhan Arukh. Yore Deah.
42. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 26 November 1922.
43. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 30 October 1921. In accordance with Jewish law, in order to be validated a document requires the signatures of two witness with the highest religious standards.
44. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 31 December 1922. Rabbi Benchimol ruled that playing ball was like gambling. A gambler is invalidated under Jewish law from serving as a witness. Azancot was pointing out the inconsistency in the decision of the Chief Rabbi.
45. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 22 August 1923. By referring the situation to committee, Abensur was undercutting the authority of the Chief Rabbi and indicating that he might be more knowledgeable. This procedure was a polite attack on the power of the chief rabbinate.
46. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 30 October 1921. The committee was sensitive to the feelings and position of the Chief Rabbi and therefore allowed him to deal directly with the comments of Azancot forcing the two to work together.
47. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 29 May 1921. Adele Reinhard Israel was born in Luxembourg and married a Tangierian, Albert Israel. She was involved in the founding of the Girls' School. Her son Andre returned to Luxembourg. The family is married into the family of the author.
48. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 26 November 1922. The Keren Hayesod was a financing organi-

zation for the Zionist Movement. The Fund was founded in 1901. To become a member of the Zionist organization, one had to pay a half shekel (25 cents).

49. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 28 January 1923. While many Tangierian Jews were sympathetic with the Zionist ideals, few envisioned themselves actually settling in Israel. When the Jews began to leave Tangier, few opted to settle in the Holy Land. Most felt a sincere desire to help those who had settled in the Holy Land during the Turkish period, particularly the religious institutions.
50. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 31 December 1922. Within a ten month period the price of meat increased 25%, an exorbitant amount.
51. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 28 January 1923. The tax would have increased the price of meat limiting the consumption by the poor.
52. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 27 May 1923. The increased tax on slaughtering was used to finance communal social welfare programs.
53. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 22 August 1923. The indecisiveness of Benchimol allowed the situation to simmer for a long period of time. Jews in neighboring Tetuan would not eat from the animals slaughtered in Tangier because they feared that the Tangierians were too lax.
54. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 October 1923. The reliability of kosher meat had always been a concern for the Junta.
55. The Junta felt that it would be improper to break the contract and return the deposit. While they would have been justified in keeping the money, their honor was more important.
56. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 20 January 1924. Judah Garzon was to assume the role of Moses Nahmias of a previous generation. Garzon was originally from Tetuan.
57. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 24 February 1924. Joseph Cazes was the son of Mordejai who had founded an important commercial firm in Tangier. Despite his wealth, he was considered a struggling small shopkeeper.
58. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 6 April 1924. Kenitra was a border town between the French and Spanish zones of Morocco.
59. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 3 May 1924. The new members of the Junta were Abraham J. Cohen, Abraham Benelbas, J.J. Levy, Joseph Benoliel, Messod Bendrao, and Isaac Coriat. Dr. Guitta was reelected to the Junta after a brief hiatus. Messod Bendrao was the scion of an original Tangierian family, an industrialist and wealthy real estate owner. Isaac Coriat's father had served on the Junta. Joseph Benoliel (1854-1936) was an educator and linguist.
60. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 May 1924. With the next meeting there are no longer the Hebrew dates alongside the secular date. Also the minutes were not taken down in the minute book but elsewhere and copied over with the copied version being edited. Consequently, and frequently, dates and sessions are out of chronological order.
61. The strategic position of Tangier in the Straits of Gibraltar, its use as a spy outpost and its buffering effect on the Spanish and French Zone in Morocco drew the attention of the European powers. The only viable solution was to

make Tangier an international zone incorporating the various aspects of international cooperation which had been developed since the formation of the Sanitary Commission towards the end of the eighteenth century. Since the Jews were represented as a separate entity on the Sanitary Commission, it was natural that they would retain that position in the international administration. For a detailed review of the international regulations, see Lawdom Vaidon, *Tangier: A Different Way* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1977), pp. 192-209.

NOTES

Chapter Seven

1. A.B.M. Serfaty, *The Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule* (Gibraltar: Beanland, Malin & Co., 1933), pp. 3-38. Serfaty has a complete review of the settlement of the Jews in Gibraltar in the modern period.
2. Lawdom Vaidon, *Tangier: A Different Way* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1977), pp. 195-196.
3. Ibid., pp. 199-200. It was agreed that under no circumstance would Germany and Austria be invited to any conference on Tangier even though they were signatories of the Act of Algeciras.
4. Graham H. Stuart, *The International City of Tangier* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955), pp. 75-77.
5. Sweden had been an original signatory to the Act of Algeciras and therefore had to sign although she had lost political power in Tangier.
6. Although Belgium was a small country with limited interests in Tangier, France viewed her as an ally against Spain.
7. Ibid., pp.82-83. Italy expressed her indignation at not being invited to the London conference of Great Britain, France and Spain. Eventually, Italy agreed to sign.
8. Graham H. Stuart, pp. 79-85.
9. Ibid., pp. 84-85.
10. Tangier had five postal systems before World War I—German, French, British, Spanish and Moroccan. After World War I, the German system was abandoned. National stamps were over-printed with the word Tangier in the national language. There were three telegraph systems—British, French, and Spanish.
11. Ibid., p. 86.
12. The two protectorate powers in Morocco had an equal number of seats in the 26 seat Legislative Assembly. Each signatory power had one seat on the Committee of Control which served as the second legislative chamber with review power over the Legislative Assembly.

13. The position of *Mendoub* officially ended the title of Basha. The purpose was to move Tangier from a municipality which is normally governed by a Pasha, to a special zone. Mohammed Tazi served as the first *Mendoub*. Upon his death, his son, of the same name, replaced him. See Abraham I. Laredo, *Memorias de un viejo Tangerino* (Madrid: Bermejo, 1935), pp. 538.
14. Graham H. Stuart, p. 87.
15. Ibid., pp. 88-89.
16. From the founding of the Junta, appeals had been received from many communities in Morocco to intervene in their behalf with the foreign consuls stationed in Tangier.
17. Arzila was a small city in the Spanish Zone. The autopsy would have been against Jewish religious law. This was not the first time that there had been pressure by the Spanish police to perform an autopsy.
18. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 24 June 1924. Angel Pulido and Manuel Ortega were very sympathetic members of the Spanish parliament and press respectively.
19. The French delegate had overstepped his relationship with the community. The Junta felt that the French wanted to interfere with the internal mechanism of the Jewish community. The strong criticism was atypical for the Junta which tried to balance the political consideration of the various powers.
20. The French needed to court the Jewish delegates in the Legislative Assembly to outvote the Spanish. The French found it to their advantage to drop the pressure. The Jews wanted to reestablish the equilibrium.
21. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 30 November 1924.
22. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 28 December 1924.
23. The Jewish delegation was very impressive. Menahem J. Attias was born in 1864, served on the Junta, a vice president of the *Hebrat Hajnassat Orehim*, a chancellor of the Consulate of Brazil, and editor of *El Eco Mauritano*. He eventually moved to Casablanca. Isaac A. Coriat had been a member of the Junta as had been his father, Abraham. Coriat died in 1960. Semtob Bengualid was the son of the famous Rabbi Isaac Bengualid.
24. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 19 February 1925. The expression used was: y recomcendardoles la defensa de los intereses de nuestra comunidad.
25. Ibid. Members of the Junta, particularly President Abensur, were afraid that a non-Tangierian rabbi would be too reactionary and insufficiently sensitive to the direction the community was headed, and insensitive to the political situation.
26. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 28 December 1924. The compromise allowed the Sultan, at least symbolically, to affect the internal affairs of the religious community. The Junta received three copies of the *Dahir* which reformed the community and established the Rabbinical Tribunal.
27. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 5 July 1925. Rabbi Jacob Meir Toledano from Meknes was distantly related to the original Toledano family which settled in Tangier in the eighteenth century.

28. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 21 June 1925. Jews continued however to be money changers as well as traders in gold coins of various currencies.
29. Ibid. The *Mendoubia* was the palace of the *Mendoub* which had housed the German delegation. During the Spanish occupation in 1940, the buildings were again given to the Germans.
30. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 3 January 1926. Since the Sultan retained authority over religious institutions in Morocco regardless of zone, the *Mendoub* visited religious institutions within the Jewish community to exercise symbolic control over them.
31. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 9 March 1926. Yamin Cohen was later to become the Chief Rabbi of Tangier. He currently resides half the year in Toronto and the other half in Caracas.
32. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 7 February 1926. Bigart was a very pro-French and anti-Zionist secretary general of the AIU.
33. Ibid. The administration often funded Jewish welfare projects to a greater extent than they funded Moslem projects.
34. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 7 February 1926. The administration was housed in the current tourist office on Blvd. Pasteur. The court met diagonally across the street where the Zagora Cafe is currently situated.
35. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 5 October 1924. Perl was a European Jew whose magazine was short lived. He was born in Poland but lived for a time in Argentina. The magazine was printed in Spain but intended for Jewish audiences. Perl often attacked the Zionist leaders in Morocco as being too pro-AIU. Perl had once converted to Catholicism but returned to Judaism and was called Rebbe Asher. See Michael Laskier, pp. 203-204.
36. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 31 August 1924. Isaac A. Coriat was also a member of the Legislative Assembly. His father, Abraham had served on the reform Junta of 1891. See Isaac Laredo, *Memorias de un viejo Tangerino*, p. 462. Also see Abraham Laredo, *Les noms des Juifs du Maroc*, p. 1061.
37. Interestingly, Marquez, is not listed in Abraham Laredo, *Les noms des Juifs du Maroc*. The surname is one of several not included therein.
38. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 15 January 1927. The *Dahir* had, at the request of the Junta, appointed Benchimol as acting Chief Rabbi. There had been much controversy over his appointment as the more modern elements did not feel sufficiently at ease with Benchimol. Although the Junta selected Benchimol to succeed Bengio, the appointment could only come from the Sultan.
39. Ibid. The Junta was aware of the close connection of the Jews with other diplomatic missions. The Bendelac family often represented the Netherlands. The Vaturi family had close connections with the Italians.
40. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 18 September 1927. They also recommended that Rabbi Abraham Bengio be appointed to the Court of Appeals. Bengio, a non-practicing rabbi, had served on the reform committee of 1891. See Abraham Laredo, p. 469.

The court was eventually allowed to remain moot as there were no rabbis to fill the positions.

41. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 5 October 1924.
42. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 9 June, 1926. The Junta had a special car made to transport the meat from the matadero to the butcher shops. Rabbi Jacob Ovadia continued in his position until he retired and moved to Montreal, Canada. He was, in addition to his duties as a *Shohet*, a notary and an officiant at the *Estudio* synagogue. See Abraham Laredo, p. 922.
43. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 24 June 1924. The English teacher had been paid for by the English Jewish community since the visit of Sir Moses Montefiore. See Michael Laskier, p. 176.
44. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 31 August 1924. The buildings and the majority of budget for the AIU schools came from the Junta, which contributed 330,000f out of 600,000f budget. The buildings were the property and the responsibility of the community. See Michael Laskier, pp. 176-177.
45. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 5 October 1924. Yomtov Semach remained active in his duties until his death in 1940. He served as AIU delegate for Morocco dealing with schools throughout the three zones, although officially the agreement determining his activities included only the French protectorate. See Michael Laskier, pp. 160-162.
46. Ibid. Judah S. Nahon was the son of a wealthy businessman who, like his father. was active in communal affairs. He died at the beginning of the twentieth century. See Abraham Laredo, p. 863.
47. Mrs. Adele Israel had been active in Jewish education and particularly Hebrew as a modern language. See Isaac Laredo, *Memorias de un viejo Tangerino*, p. 454. The Central Committee of the AIU was predisposed to the teaching of modern Hebrew. See Michael Laskier, pp. 235-237.
48. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 10 October 1926.
49. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 19 February 1925. The three rabbis taught in the school. Mordejai Bensimhon was a teaching rabbi. See Abraham Laredo, p. 1128.
50. Ibid. The amount of time does not seem significant.
51. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 24 April 1925. The rabbinic seminary was intended to develop future religious teachers for all of Morocco. Courses included Jewish studies, languages, general education and Hebrew. The training was to be five years, leading to the French advanced Brevet. See Michael Laskier, p. 237.
52. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 24 May 1925. The *Estudio* synagogue was located in an alley just north of the Calle de las Sinagogas. It is abandoned today.
53. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 21 June 1925. Perl often presented himself as if he was the supervisor of Jewish education in the Spanish Zone and therefore could comment on Jewish education in the International Zone. He was extremely anti-AIU.

54. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 11 July 1926. The foundation responded with some funding and the books became the core of the Rabbinical Seminary library.
55. *MJT,* Vol.3, 7 February 1926. In addition to corporal punishment, students were assigned punishments requiring them to write phrases many times over. The author has in his possession, courtesy of Ami Sibony, several such pages including lines such as *Gota a gota, se lieno la bota* (drop by drop, the flask fills) and *Ama a tu proximo como a ti mismo* (love your neighbor as yourself).
56. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 11 July 1926. The Petah Tikva program was designed as adult classes in the evening particularly Zionist oriented and Hebrew language. Moise Azancot was a leader of this program. Bonina Chocron left 2000 ptas. in her will for the maintenance of this group. See *MJT,* Vol 3, 10 October 1926.
57. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 6 September 1925. Isaac Abensur was the president of the society; Aquiba Sananes - director of washing the body *(rehisa);* Yona A. Laredo - director of washing *(rehisa);* Abraham Bensasun - director of candles; Jacob Hazan - director of grave diggers *(Kabranim);* General members included Amram Guahnish, Joseph J. Levy and Dr. Guitta.
58. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 1 November 1925. Under the statutes, there were many Jews who entered the police force. The chain of command was difficult as the head was Belgian and his assistants were Spanish and French.
59. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 23 May 1926. Moses J. Laredo was born in 1895 and died at age 31. During an epidemic, he exposed himself to contagion in order to help others. He was told that a Jewish cadaver lay in a field unattended. He went there to bury the body, caught the disease and died a few days later. In recognition of his help to others, the Junta named the Asilo in his memory. See Isaac Laredo, pp. 152 f.
60. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 15 August 1926. The ritual of attending the ritual bath was kept by the Tangerian women. There was a special ceremony, *Noche de banyo* (night of the bath) which marked the first time a woman went to the Mikve. She would attend with her mother and mother-in-law-to-be shortly before her wedding. A party was made for the women.
61. *Keren Hayesod* was founded in 1922 in order to collect funds to facilitate immigration, education, health care and settlements in Palestine. Jews were called upon to tithe to the fund. The umbrella agency which administered the fund was the Jewish Agency. Ariel Bension was the representative following the appearance of Nathan Halpern in the beginning of the 1920s.
62. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 10 October 1926. The split was developing between the older non-Zionist members of the Junta and the young Zionist members of the Junta. However, Benoliel, who had served in the agricultural school in Jaffa, Palestine was a leader of the Zionists although he was nearly seventy years old. Haim Toledano and Moses Azancot were graduates of the AIU and later taught in the school. They felt the need for a Zionist approach in the school.
63. Ibid. The Junta was quite convinced that these people were genuinely Jewish and was therefore concerned for their wellbeing. They are called the descendants of the martyrs.

64. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 17 October 1926. Correspondence between the group in Belmonte and the office of the author continues to this day.
65. Teatro Cervantes was the principal cultural center in Tangier. Generally, Spanish language plays, concerts and recitals were held there. The building remains standing today. See Isaac Laredo, *Memorias de un viejo Tangerino*, p. 466. The theater was the property of the Spanish government and was frequently used as a propaganda instrument.
66. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 28 November 1926. Semach became the delegate general of the AIU for Morocco thereby becoming the highest ranking administrator of the school system. Semach had failed to see the importance of the emerging Zionist sentiment. Semach was particularly angered by the activities of Halpern. Bigart, the secretary general of the AIU in Paris to whom Semach reported, was also strongly anti-Zionist. See Michael Laskier, pp. 202-208.
67. Ibid. Separately, Aurora Nahon, a teacher in the girls' school, wrote that she had Semach's approval to request a raise to 475-600f.
68. Michael Laskier, pp. 171-173. Falcon had served in Tetuan and was very suspicious of Spanish penetration into the area and into the AIU school system. The AIU did however try to maintain a balance in the languages because the International Administration provided about 12% of the budget. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 28 November 1926.
69. Ibid. Falcon was quite adamant on the independent administration of the AIU schools and its close relationship with the French government.
70. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 6 February 1927. He had been absent for five days before his retirement. He was given a pension of one month's salary.
71. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 15 January 1927.
72. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 15 January 1927. Benoliel had taught at a variety of schools in France, Israel and Portugal. He had returned to Tangier in 1921 and had become active in communal affairs. His library became the meeting place of many Jewish intellectuals. Isaac Laredo, p. 262.
73. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 27 March 1927.
74. Ibid. The power politics became more complex with the formal institution of the Legislative Assembly as compared to the Sanitary Commission.
75. Ibid. Bernard and Marinberg were members of the French delegation and Sotto attempted to demonstrate his desire to befriend the French against the Spanish. The Junta reacted in very emotional terms and had planned to talk to the English, Spanish and Mendoubian authorities as well. The Junta advocated the necessity to maintain the protege status.
76. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 14 May 1927. The executive committee was comprised of familiar faces who had been leading the community for many years. The bankers, Abensur, Nahon and Hassan continued to dominate.
77. Ibid. Only Isaac Abensur from the Jewish community had been consulted in developing the regulations governing the autonomy of the Jewish community under international rule and the role of the Jewish delegates to the

Legislative Assembly. This consultative role was held more than a decade before internationalization. See *American Jewish Year Book,* Vol. 13. 1911, p. 302. Every representative had to be at least twenty-five years old and a resident of Tangier for at least one year. They also had to be householders on the tax rolls. The term of office was for four years. See Graham H. Stuart, *The International City of Tangier* (Stanford University Press: Stanford, 1955), p. 114.

78. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 2 June 1927. By bypassing the delegates, the Junta demonstrated that the delegates were under the mandate of the Junta. This procedure paralleled that of the foreign consulates which would nominate their delegates to reflect their government's policy. Graham H. Stuart, p. 114.
79. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 12 June 1927. On 24 April, 1911, the French consulate validated the will. This was attested to in a letter dated 27 February 1913. The Supreme Court in Paris affirmed the will on 24 November 1914. However, settlement took some time. See Isaac Laredo, p. 345.
80. *MJT.* Vol. 3, 18 September 1927. Rabbi Benchimol objected to this attack on the Yeshiba. Coriat as a businessman and a delegate to the Legislative Assembly could use his position to be critical. He was however concerned about the image of the rabbis the Yeshiba produced and the quality of their sophistication and manners.
81. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 17 August 1927.
82. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 13 November 1927. The Actas reflect that the entire discussion was about Zionism and not about the teacher from Palestine. Abensur adjourned the meeting rather than be overruled by the majority opinion on this issue. These minutes are signed by the secretary Moses J. Azancot, himself a Zionist, rather than the president because of Abensur's resignation. Neither side of the argument had met the teacher and therefore could not judge his ability as an educator.
83. The remaining members of the Junta refused initially to accept the resignations of the older more established members. Symbolically the use of the name *Consejo* reflects the consideration that the remaining members did not constitute the Junta. The six who resigned represented the banking element as well as those who had extensive investment in real estate.
84. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 29 November 1927, page 528 of the Actas. The section is simply entitled divisions. Almost no mention is made of the resignations of Coriat and Bendrao.
85. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 8 December 1927. Aaron Abensur, a British delegate to the Legislative Assembly met with Guitta who was a Spanish delegate. Abensur stated that his father would not participate in the election because of declining health.
86. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 18 December 1927. Paul Alberge was the first adminstrator of the International Zone. He later became the chief of the treasury in the French Protectorate and was replaced by Pierre LeFur. See Isaac Laredo, p. 545.

87. Ibid. The vote was: President - Joseph Benoliel (10), Amram Guahnish (1); Vice-presidents (two to be elected) - Dr. Guitta (10), Levy (7), Benchetrit (1), Barugel (4); Secretary - Moses Azancot (10) one abstention; Treasurer - Jacobo Bentata (10), one abstention; Comptroller - Amram Guahnish (9), Laredo (1), J. Cohen (1). The same officers were elected for their positions.
88. Joseph Benoliel was born in Tangier in 1858 and educated in the AIU school as well as the Ecole Normal Oriental in Paris. For many years he was a teacher in Mikve-Israel School in Jaffa, Palestine. In 1881, he moved to Lisbon where he taught until 1921, when he retired to Tangier. He held the title of Portuguese vice-consul in Elkasr Kebir. He was a corresponding member of the Academy of Science of Portugal, The Royal Academy of Spain, Institute of Coimbra, Geographic Society of Lisbon, Association of Architects of Lisbon, and the Camonian Society. He translated works from Hebrew into Portuguese and from Portuguese into French. He translated the Treaty of Peace into Portuguese. His works were in French, Spanish, Portuguese and Hebrew.
89. The commercial course included fishing which was eventually abandoned for security reasons. These commercial courses continued until the community began to dwindle. In 1952 there were 46 students in the program. See *AJYB*, Vol. 53 (1952), p. 231. The Junta pledged 1200f to subsidize the school.
90. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 22 January 1928. See Michael Laskier, pp. 238-239. Albert Sagues, who later directed the AIU schools in Tangier did not recommend teaching modern Hebrew until 1936. However, the central committee of the AIU in Paris rejected the concept.
91. Ibid. The municipal police force had one hundred members. They were led by three inspectors, two commanders and one commander-in-chief, divided by nationality. They wore dark blue uniforms. There was little crime in Tangier and their major activity was removing beggars from the roads. There was also a gendarmerie of 400 men, which served as a paramilitary force. See Graham H. Stuart, pp. 122-123.
92. Dr. Ricardo Ruiz Orsatti was made the first director of public health in the zone of Tangier under the Statutes of 1923. He was a native Tangierian of Spanish nationality, who spoke Spanish, French and Arabic. See Graham H. Stuart, p. 127. Ruiz Orsatti had served as an official of the Spanish Post Office of Tangier (1890-1897), and as dragoman for the Czarist Russian consulate (1889-1917). For many years he had served as the Spanish delegate to the Hygiene Commission. He was active in the Asociacion Hispano-Hebrea and therefore was friendly with many Jews. Isaac Laredo, p. 241.
93. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 13 March 1928.
94. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 2 March 1928. Traditionally, the international administration gave funding for the Jewish schools, usually 100,000f per year through 1932. A disproportionate amount of money was allocated by the Legislative Assembly towards the Jews. In 1950-51, the 12,000 Jews received 4 million francs

compared the the 4 million francs the 40,000 Moslems received. See Michael Laskier, p. 177.

95. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 20 March 1928. The *Mendoub* had arrived on 1 December 1924 to assume his duties as the representative of the Sultan. el-Caid Sid Haj Mohammed Bu-Ashrin was the son and grandson of viziers of the Sultan of Morocco. See Isaac Laredo, p. 125 and p. 536.

96. Albert Sagues had been the director of the AIU school in Casablanca and devoted to the expansion of France into the region. Sagues had tried to secure French citizenship for the Jews of the French Protectorate. Sagues was well liked among those who attended the AIU schools. However, the Zionists were opposed to his pro-French attitude. See Michael Laskier, p. 168. Sagues' family was from Turkey. His son remained in Tangier to become a noted radiologist. See Isaac Laredo, p. 877.

97. Ibid. The funding was suggested as a reaction to the retirement of Ruben Toledano from the school system. The AIU had not previously prepared a package of benefits for their teachers.

98. Ibid. The wording is: Desde luego tal pluridad de lenguas los estudios generales pero no seria de desear que la redujamos porque ha de tenerse muy en cuenta que el universalismo constituye una de los mejores armas del hebreo marroqui especialemente del tangerino. (Ultimately, the many languages distract from the general education but there is no desire to reduce it because it is part of the universalism which constitutes one of the best protections for the Moroccan Jew and especially the Tangierian). The two European languages in official use were Spanish (the mother tongue of the Jews) and French (the language of instruction). English, long taught in the school, was the language of the British and Americans, the other representative powers in the International government.

99. Ibid. During this period Arabic was taught in the AIU schools in Tangier, Fez, and Casablanca only. Under pressure from the protectorate governemnts, Arabic was dropped in favor of more time in the study of the European languages. Michael Laskier, pp. 253-254.

100. Most of the foreign nationals were Jews who had acquired protege and then citizenship status while in Tangier, such as the Bendelac family which claimed Dutch citizenship and sat representing The Netherlands on the Legislative Assembly. Those with Argentinian citizenship were often individuals whose antecedents had migrated to Argentina and had returned to Tangier. A segment of the Osiel and the Benelbas family fell into this category. Interview with Luna Benelbas de Bendayan, Montreal, August 1989.

101. *MJT,* Vol. 3, 26 March 1928. Coriat was also the president of the Casino de Tanger, the main recreation center of the community. He died in 1960. See Abraham Laredo, p. 1061.

102. Semtob Bengualid was the son of Isaac, originally from Tetuan. He served for many years on the Legislative Assembly as one of the three delegates. He had particularly good relations with the Junta. Abraham Laredo, p. 535.

103. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 5 August 1928. These minutes are unusually sloppy and difficult to decipher. The Committee of Control was the second chamber of the municipal government and directly represented the consulates of the signatories of the Statutes of Tangier. For detailed explanation see Graham Stuart, pp. 116-119. The Committee of Control was established under Article 18 and Article 19 of the Statutes of Tangier.

104. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 9 November 1928. Apparently the societies were uncertain of the powers of the new Junta and its viability in the face of the resignations of the principal members of the Junta.

105. Ibid. See Michael Laskier, p. 176. The Board of Deputies did eventually continue their support of the English language instruction. The foreign consuls also ran libraries which were open to the public and conducted language classes. There were no municipal libraries. Lawdom Vaidun, p. 319.

106. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 24 October 1928. These minutes are not in chronological order.

107. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 30 October 1928. The object was to limit budgetary expenditures by restricting travel on communal funds.

108. *MJT*, Vol. 3, 1 November 1928. Michael Laskier, pp. 256-257.

109. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 24 November 1928. Jacques Bigart, secretary-general of the AIU, apparently reacted positively to the elements of the presentation concerned with raising the educational standards within the AIU system. The elements not dealt with were the constant turnover of staff, the automatic promotion of students, and the heterogenous nature of the classes.

110. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 12 November 1928. These minutes are not in chronological order. The development of the *maternelle* (nursery school), later to be funded by the heirs of Salvador Hassan in his memory, was a major benefit to the community. See Abraham Laredo, p. 594.

111. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 30 December 1928. The purpose of augmenting the salaries was to provide additional incentives for the teachers to remain.

112. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 9 November 1928. The population of Tangier rose dramatically under internationalization which offered greater economic opportunity. The Moslem population rose more quickly than did the Jewish population. See Graham Stuart, p. 318.

113. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 12 November 1928. The Junta felt that the problem was common to the native population and that a combined approach would yield greater results. When the allocations were provided by the Legislative Assembly, the Moslem community, without a social service infrastructure, was unable to meet the demands for services.

114. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 2 December 1928. The Junta tried to relieve the housing shortage for the new migrants by providing bed space in the Asilo. If the new migrants had a place to sleep they would not be arrested for vagrancy and spend their first night in Tangier in the local jail.

115. The laws are derived from the Talmud. Baba Metzia 39:A. The term is used in the Targum Yonatan on Genesis 39:4. The concept of the appointment

of surrogates over the estate left to minor children is found in Jewish law. The Hebrew term is *Apotropos* (guardian), derived from the Greek.

116. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 3 December 1928. They had met the previous day. The object was to provide an orderly adminstration of the surrogates. The court system was clearly defined in the Statutes. See Graham Stuart, pp. 133-140.

117. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 30 December 1928. Menard had been the lawyer for the Junta in the matter of the probation of the will.

118. Yomtob Sabah (sometimes spelled Sabbah) was a philanthropist from Tetuan who had moved to Tangier and served as president of the AIU Alumni association. His sons eventually moved away via Casablanca to other areas: Jacques to Argentina; Leopoldo to Venzuela; and Alfonso to Israel. See Abraham Laredo, p. 1018.

119. A young man who had developed leprosy was sent to Leprosera de San Luis in Sevilla at a cost of 75 ptas. per month. The international administrator, Alberge, granted 225 ptas. per month for three months to cover the expenses for this young man. The young man was subjected to pressures to convert. The Junta tried to have the Spanish minister in Tangier intervene. The father of the sick man, Moses Benzaquen, was working in Iquitos, Peru for the power company on the Amazon River.

120. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 3 February 1929. The facility became multipurposeful without the duplication of service of Hospital Benchimol.

121. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 3 March 1929. The Hassan family proposed the development of the poor house as a means of providing shelter for the homeless without taxing the services of the Asilo Laredo-Sabah. Abraham Hassan along with his brothers Jo, Augusto, and Samuel inherited the bank from their father. Abraham, and later Jo, became president of the Junta. See Abraham Laredo, p. 594.

122. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 10 November 1929.

123. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 22 December 1929. Benchetrit was an early industrialist in tobacco and had been very active in the Burial Society. Abraham Laredo, p. 1023.

124. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 12 March 1929.

125. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 22 May 1929.

126. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 14 July 1929.

127. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 8 September 1929. Laredo had Cohen's proxy, the first time that there was a use of a proxy vote to insure a quorum.

128. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 2 September 1929.

129. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 8 September 1929.

130. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 15 September 1929. The third meeting in two weeks. Cohen had Levy's proxy and M. Azancot had H. Azancot's proxy. Otherwise there were only five members present as well as the Chief Rabbi.

131. The Junta sent the commission to meet with Yusuf Maman as the spokesman of the butchers' guild. The butchers were apparently assuming that popular

complaints would sway the *Mendoubia* to rule against the Junta. The officials chose to stay with the establishment.

132. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 3 November 1929.

133. Isaac Laredo, *Memorias de un viejo Tangerino* (Madrid: Barmejo, 1935), pp. 383-4.

134. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 28 October 1929. There were eight present but not the Chief Rabbi. The *Dahir* which formulated the International Zone mandated that the representative of the Sultan guarantee the religious freedom of his subjects.

135. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 10 November 1929. No information is available about the Benasoulin case.

136. Ibid. The Junta had to develop a working relationship with those in power and yet maintain their independence in religious practices.

137. Sagues felt that it was error to have children ages 6 through 12 taught four languages. French was for general education, Hebrew for religious education, English and Spanish were introduced, he felt, without concern for the ability of the students. Sagues felt that the students spoke Spanish and did not have need to study it. English was an archaic remnant from the days of Sir Moses Montefiore and the British Board of Deputies. French alone, felt Sagues, was the practical tool for earning a living. See Michael M. Laskier, pp. 178-179. The Junta had to choose between English and Spanish within the AIU school or Hebrew for which it had fought.

138. Spanish would be maintained as part of the curriculum for the four primary classes. English would be maintained for classes 4,5,6,7,14,15,16. Classes 8-13 would have modern Hebrew substituted.

139. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 24 November 1929. There were to be three general classes in Spanish. Guahnish felt that there should be consultations in order to gain a better understanding of the commercial need for the various languages. Bentata cited the fact that many young men were required to know English. This plurality of languages was essential to the economic and cultural survival of the Tangierian Jew.

140. Ibid.

NOTES

Chapter Eight

1. *MJT,* Vol. 4, 2 March 1930. The Tangier-Fez Railroad ran near the beach, separating it from the city proper. The railroad was begun by Tangerians but it was operated by a French holding company with 60% ownership and the rest held by Spanish ownership. But the Spanish did not begin to place their track until 1919. During those three years there was an empty gap in the area of the Spanish protectorate. The entire length was completed by 1927. The international zone administration paid a disproportionate amount of the costs of the railroad. However, no Tangierian sat on the board of directors of the railroad. See Lawdom Vaidon, *Tangier: A Different Way* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1977), pp. 223-225.
2. *MJT,* Vol. 4, 16 March 1930. By now there were 12,000 Spaniards living in Tangier. Lawdom Vaidon, p. 237.
3. The French had begun to move into a primary position in Tangier. The number of British residents stabilized although there were many British tourists. The flight from London to Tangier via Marseille took a day and a half.
4. *MJT,* Vol. 4, 3 April 1930. The members of the Abensur, Hassan and Nahon families were prominently placed on the Junta. Guahnish and Benchetrit were from industrially prominent families.
5. *MJT,* Vol. 4, 27 April 1930. The transition was gracious but the old regime moved quickly to consolidate its power. There was little doubt that Abensur would be elected president.
6. Simon Benlezra was in charge of the regulation of the tobacco industry. He also served on the Legislative Assembly. Abraham Laredo, *Les noms Juif du Maroc* (Madrid: CSIS, 1978), p. 274.
7. *MJT,* Vol. 4, 30 April 1930. Benchimol agreed to the special registration of marriage certificates and that the *Mohelim* inform the Rabbinical Tribunal of all circumcisions. The records were placed at the disposal of the Junta.
8. *MJT,* Vol. 4, 25 April 1930. These minutes are out of order.
9. The Colegio Italiano or Scuola Italiana was housed in a beautiful building which had been a former palace. The expenses of the school were met by

the Italian government and therefore there was no tuition in the younger grades. The school, like the Jewish schools, concentrated on language instruction. See Graham H. Stuart, *The International City of Tangier* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955), p. 271.

10. *MJT,* Vol. 4, 9 July 1930. The British had a similar recreational activity called the Tent Club which was famous for pig-sticking.

11. *MJT,* Vol. 4, 6 July 1930. Out of sequence. Menard often served as the legal advisor and attorney for the Junta.

12. *MJT,* Vol. 4, 31 August 1930. The Junta objected to the haphazard manner in which this particular school was run. In *MJT,* Vol. 4, 3 May 1931, they reviewed the class structure. This was the report:

Class	# courses	teacher	# students	age
15A	9 at ¾ hr.	Benmergui	54	5

Most of these students knew the Hebrew alphabet.

14A	11	Benmergui/Seruya	46	6-7

Most of these students knew the Hebrew alphabet.

13A	9	Benmergui/Seruya	47	6-7

25% knew nothing, some could read.

12A	5	Benmergui	62	7-9

50% could read. Seruya was too sick to handle class.

11A	10	Seruya/Ezrah	50	7-11

In Seruya's class, 70% could read; the rest could not. In Ezrah's class, most read and a good part of the class could translate. They wrote in block letters.

10A	10	Benmergui/Ezrah	36	8-10

In Benmergui's class, most read with difficulty. In Ezrah's class, they read properly and could translate.

9A	8	Benmergui/Ezrah	34	8-11

In Benmergui's class, most read prayers correctly but with difficulty. In Ezrah's class, they read, translated, prepared lessons and wrote well.

Conclusions: Classes 12-9 are of the same basic type with a student population ages 7-11. The minimum expectation of the Junta was to have the students read properly.

8A	8	Bensimhon/Ezrah	34	9-11

In Bensimhon's class, the students read properly but without translation. In Ezrah's class, they read and translated properly. They composed simple sentences in Hebrew with limited vocabulary. However, the Junta felt that this was good enough.

7A	7	Benmergui/Ezrah	30	10-12

In Benmergui's class, most read Parasha (weekly Torah portion) with Taamim (cantillation) but without translation. Ezrah's class was the same as the previous.

6A	8	Benmergui/Ezrah	34	10-12

Same results as for the 7A class.

5A	6	Benmergui/Ezrah	30	11-15

In Benmergui's class, they read Parasha with Taamim. Some students translated well. Most did so with difficulty. In Ezrah's class, they read well and translated well enough. Some were prepared and some were not.

4A	5	Benmergui/Ezrah	36	12-15
3A	4	Bensimhon/Ezrah	12	14-15

Bensimhon's students read the Parasha well and with the Taamim and translated well enough. Ezrah's class read the book and translated well and had a good vocabulary.

The education commission of the Junta presented the results of their investigation as follows:

There were four categories. Classes 15,14,13 were ages 5-7 and they could not be expected to obtain very satisfactory results. There was a need for each student to have a knowledge of the alphabet and to be able to read.

Classes 12,11,10,9 were ages 8-11, and the Junta found that their needs would be better served with one teacher rather than two. The students should learn to read prayers properly and translate the principal prayers and have an adequate vocabulary.

Classes 8,7,6, were 9-12 years old. The students needed to read the prayers correctly, the Parasha and the Haftara (correspondent weekly portion of the prophets) with translation.

Classes 5,4,3A had insufficient hours for Hebrew with less than one class per day. The students were better served with only one teacher. The students should be able to read and translate correctly the prayers and the Parasha and have a good Hebrew vocabulary.

13. Although part of the minutes of 18 September 1930, the suggestions are dated 9 November 1930. The hours per week for the teachers were Chief Rabbi Benchimol, 5; Rabbi Azancot, 6; Nezry, 6; Rabbi Bensimhon, 10; Yahni, 27; Ballesteros, 15; Afriat, 18; Bocheron (who had previously been considered anti-Semitic) and Carayon, 12; for a total of 98 teaching hours per week. The salaries were fixed at: Benchimol, 400f; Azancot, 600f; Nezri, 600f; Bensimhon, 425f; Afriat, 500f; Yahni, 1266.65f; Bocheron, 160f; Carayon, 560f; Yahni, 240f. Total salaries were 4431.65 or yearly, 53,179.80f. Start up costs for that first year were 5000f additional. The income was from donations including those collected in Rabat, 1600f; David Cohen, 1500f; Judah Nahon, 750f; Sicsu, 720f; Shocron, 800f; Hassan, 1500f. These came to 24,250f.

14. Isaac Laredo, *Memorias de un viego Tangerino* (Madrid: C. Bermaja, 1935), p. 141. Guahnish was eulogized by Rabbi Judah Azancot, his son Moses Azancot, Joseph Benoliel (the past president of the Junta), Dr. Ricardo Ruiz (the adjunct administrator of the International Zone), Jacob Bentata (a member of the reform Junta), Rahma Toledano (the writer), Vincente Buylla (Spanish consul), Moses Benarrosh (secretary of the Jewish Community of Tetuan), A. Perl (editor of *Renacimiento de Israel*), Moses H. Azancot, David Edery, Alberto Berdugo of the Press in the French Zone, Albert Menard (Lawyer), D. Saurin (Lawyer), M. Sagues (principal of the AIU), S.D. Levy

(President of the Alumni Association of the AIU in Casablanca) and Felix Allouche (director of Le Reveil Juif de Tunis).

15. *MJT*, Vol. 4, December 1930. No day is given.
16. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 8 March 1931. A number of these boys were run-aways from neighboring cities.
17. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 14 June 1931. There were only seven present and therefore no quorum. However, there were no objections and everyone agreed. The prize was in honor of the late Chief Rabbi.
18. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 21 June 1931. Jacob Nahon presided, although the Junta could not react because there were difficulties in obtaining the necessary quorum and apparently the ruse of accepting proxies which was utilized by the reform Junta was no longer the accepted practice. Ezrah taught by rote and used the Bible which was not used for teaching language; Seruya was sick for many months; Bensimhon was satisfactory; and Benmergui was improving his results. It is interesting to note that the Junta liked the efforts of Ezrah while the AIU principal did not find them basically old-fashioned. A. Bergel also objected to Sagues who attended an anti-religion conference in Casablanca. This act was found to be inconsistent with his position as the director of the AIU school. When Bergel could not produce evidence of the attendance, the charges were dropped.
19. Rabbi Reuben Toledano had long been a teacher in the school before his retirement and death.
20. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 21 May 1933. Abitbol suggested that there was no benefit to move the school because the physical facility was not the problem. The administration of the school was the problem.
21. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 19 November 1933. Bensimhon retired after 28 years of service with a pension of 500f per month. Sr. Benadiba was his replacement.
22. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 10 December 1933. The education in French-supported or styled schools was supported by the French Protectorate government in Rabat.
23. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 24 June 1934.
24. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 27 May 1934. Clearly, Sagues felt that the Yeshiba was competitve and unnecessary.
25. The Arabic course would have to be paid for by the *Mendoub*. The teachers' budget line was 46,865f per year which the Junta wanted to reduce to 35,148.75f in order to save over 11,000f per year. Mair Abitbol objected to the salary cuts for the teaching staff. The allocation for school supplies was reduced from 6500f to 3500f for six months. They saved 6500f and the entire school budget was cut 38,000f. These savings depended upon the effective reorganization of the Yeshiba.
26. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 15 September 1935. The expenses would be: Rabbi Judah Azancot, 10,800f; M. Afriat, 8400f; Armand, 3200f; Zecharia, 14,400f; Miscellaneous expenses, 1200f; Arabic course, 6,000f; Study Hall rental, 600f; Facility rental, 4200f.

27. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 26 May 1935. The Junta turned to Pinhas S. Toledano and his brothers, Moses and Abraham, wealthy businessmen. See Abraham Laredo, p. 620.

28. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 4 January 1931. The members of the Society were: Mordejay Guahnish, A.M. Nahon, Leon Benlolo, Moses Bendayan, Jacob Hazan, Efraim Medina, Rafael Benlisha, Rabbi Aquiba Sananes, Leon Botbol (Secretary) and Yeshaya Shocron (Administrator). The new regulations included;

    1) The society was to have a twelve member board of its own members, three additional members delegated by the Junta, and ten delegates nominated by the Junta for a total of twenty-five.

    2) The directorate of the society was to be the treasurer, who was accountable to the board, and a secretary who would keep the minutes.

    3) The society was to have a business meeting once every four months and whenever necessary.

    4) All decisions of the society were to be by simple majority vote. When there was a tie, the president was to cast the deciding vote.

    5) When the president was absent, then the eldest member of the Junta delegation to the society would preside.

    6) The society was to have the following commissions: cemetery, *Rehisot* (washing), veladores (chandlers), sepulchers, and Festejos (commemorations).

    7) The president could intervene in order to correct any deficiency in the functioning of the society or its commissions.

    8) The areas of responsibility of the commissions were:

    A. Cemetery - set the time and the place of the burial in keeping with Jewish tradition.

    B. *Rehisot* - assemble the people necessary and competent to perform the washing of the body and to lead the ceremony.

    C. *Velas* - to attend to the spiritual needs of the grieving family.

    D. Sepulchers - to maintain an appropriate tombstone which covered the length of the coffin.

    E. Commemorations - to assist in the religious ceremonies and rituals relating to mourning.

    9) None of the three delegates of the Junta could serve on the commissions.

    10) The Junta and the board of the society would determine the rights of interment.

    11) The Junta could modify these regulations at any time.

29. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 2 November 1930. Out of sequence.

30. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 1 February 1931. The three rabbis of the Rabbinical Tribunal as well as the secretary, Marrache, attended this meeting at which Jacob Nahon presided.

31. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 15 February 1931.

32. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 23 June 1935.

33. Shulkhan Aruch, Yore Dea 201:2. The oceans, flowing rivers and springs can also be used for a *mikve*.
34. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 3 May 1931. The *mikve* committee consisted of: Isaac Cohen, Jacob Essayag, Abraham Laredo, Moses J. Azancot and an unnamed delegate of the Burial Society. The cost of the land purchase was 12,500f.
35. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 26 June 1932.
36. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 17 September 1932.
37. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 15 July 1933.

    Duchas calientes o frias (hot or cold baths before immersion in the Mikve) 5.00f
    Mikve frio 7.50f
    Mikve caliente 10.00f
    Hamam (steam bath) 10.00f
    Bano frances 7.50f
    Novias (bride's first visit) 25.00f
    poor ..... free
38. Judith Laikin Elkin and Gilbert W. Merkex, *The Jewish Presence in Latin America* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), p. 24.
39. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 6 November 1931. The Board would not have been able legally to sell the property if the rentals had to be kept. If the property was *Hekdesh* then the Board had jurisdiction over the property itself and had the legal right to sell the building.
40. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 21 June 1931.
41. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 12 July 1931. The Chief Rabbi also attended the meeting. The scandal was becoming public and there was peaked interest in the details as the members began to investigate the close relation of Bendrao and his real estate dealings.
42. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 6 November 1931. Isaac M. Nahon resigned from the Junta in order to become an assessor for the tribunal of the *Mendoub*.
43. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 21 June 1931.
44. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 7 February 1932. Menard also represented the Junta before the Appeals Tribunal and used the same arguments.
45. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 26 July 1935.
46. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 1 November 1931. Moses J. Azancot was absent but there were eight present. Jacob Nahon presided. There were no meetings that summer.
47. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 8 November 1934. The Yeshiba was always small and there was an attempt to recruit students from other parts of Morocco to enter the school in order to study for the rabbinate. The Jews of Tangier did not generally choose the rabbinate as a profession.
48. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 20 December 1931. Benlezrah acted as secretary.

49. Benchimol was given a pension of 250f per month.
50. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 6 March 1932. The Junta in general was very satisfied with the Italian school often called by its Spanish name, Colegio Italiano, rather than its Italian name, Scoula Italiana.
51. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 19 March 1932. Jacob Nahon presided over seven members. The teacher Benmergui resigned and moved to Rabat to teach there.
52. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 7 April 1932. There were ten members present.
53. Ibid. For the role of the *Mendoub* see Graham H. Stuart, *The International City of Tangier* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955), pp. 86-88.
54. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 26 June 1932. The counter revolution. Moses H. Azancot stated that he was unsure that there were any agreements on the salary. Laredo wanted to make a new motion, but Moses J. Azancot objected and indicated that there was a motion on the floor which had to be voted upon. Abensur objected to the tone of voice.
55. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 3 July 1932.
56. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 31 July 1932. Abraham Y. Laredo and Mair E. Abitbol agreed to his removal but they wanted modern Hebrew taught. Laredo then proposed that Ezrah cease to serve as Hebrew teacher as of 30 September and that he be given 1500f as indemnification for passage money and not for salary. Ezrah agreed to the proposal but wanted two months severance pay and £20 passage. They agreed to one month indemnification plus the £20 passage. Ezrah was not prepared to accept the lesser amount and retained an attorney to demand three months salary as severance pay. Rabbi Yehuda Azancot was also not ready to accept a pay cut.
57. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 17 July 1932.
58. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 24 July 1932. Moses H. Azancot presided over the last weekly meeting. The Junta had used the same argument about the nature of *Hekdesh* in the Bendrao affair.
59. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 10 July 1932. Moses H. Azancot presided. Jacob Essayag offered an alternative suggestion delaying the motion until the financial matter was cleared but accepting the principle of joint tenant with an independent administration.
60. Michael M. Laskier, *The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco 1862-1962* (Albany: SUNY, 1983), p. 256.
61. Lawdom Vaidon, *Tangier: A Different Way* (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1977), p. 289. Lotteries were held in great favor by Jews and Europeans in Tangier.
62. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 31 July 1932. The *Vayibarech David* was called so because of the morning prayer of that name. This voluntary collection at the prayer service of the morning was the original source of funding for the community in its formative years.
63. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 2 June 1935. Many of the migrants quickly became wards of the community.
64. Isaac Laredo, pp. 426-7.

65. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 31 July 1932. Abraham Levy was seriously ill and needed an additional 100f weekly. It was granted. Mordejay Abraham Pinto, the father of four, needed additional assistance. It too was granted. Salomon Bendayan needed his burro replaced. The Junta granted him 200f.
66. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 6 November 1932.
67. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 15 January 1933. Many others had rejected the position including Abraham Judah Cohen, Leon Essayag, president Joe Hassan and Bengualid.
68. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 27 November 1932.
69. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 27 January 1935. This new cemetery would fulfill the needs for the community and be the last institution formed.
70. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 7 November 1935.
71. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 7 November 1935.
72. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 29 January 1933.
73. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 23 March 1933.
74. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 2 April 1933. The German consul in the Spanish Zone was quick to respond to the statements in the Jewish community. Hamburg had a Sephardic Community and therefore its letter was very important.
75. Ibid.
76. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 4 May 1933. The Junta had developed its reputation by defending the various communities in Morocco and yet at this time the Junta took a wait and see attitude.
77. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 11 September 1932.
78. *MJT*, Vol. 4, undated minutes. This is not in keeping with the usual practice of the Junta nor the regulations of the community. This was however an emergency meeting. The Jewish population was referred to as Colonia Israelita de Tanger (The Jewish Colony in Tangier).
79. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 15 April 1934. Moses Serulla (Seruya) was the chief teller in the Banque d'Etat du Maroc in Tangier. In 1922, he founded the Boy Scouts in the Jewish Community. He received medals from the Moroccan and Spanish governments as well as the International Boy Scout Movement. See Abraham Laredo, p. 1035.
80. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 3 September 1934. A special session was held without the presence of the president and the vice-president.
81. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 14 October 1934.
82. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 22 October 1933. Hakoah was a Jewish sports team which played soccer.
83. In March 1930, Prof. Bocheron, a teacher of history at College Renault, the French government school, made anti-Semitic remarks to two Jewish students, who brought the charges to the Junta. The Junta complained in writing to the school principal. Within two weeks, Bocheron apologized.
84. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 24 September 1933.
85. *MJT*, Vol.4, 22 October 1933.

86. Guillermo Abergel censured his friend Moses H. Azancot for his zeal in offering community funds to the refugees. Azancot reacted by angrily resigning. The Junta sent a delegation to speak to Azancot and persuaded him to return to the Junta which he did.
87. The Actas refer to the refugees as Alemanes (Germans) and Hungaros (Hungarians), never as Jews.
88. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 29 October 1933. At this point, the Junta was willing to help, but to meet their growing deficit, they had to borrow.
89. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 5 November 1933. The Banque Comerciale offered a 250,000f loan at 7.5% interest. The Banque d'Etat du Maroc offered the loan at 5% instead of their usual 10% interest.
90. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 24 June 1934. A refugee named Joseph Lewinsohn was one of those.
91. Interview with Hilda Laskar, a German refugee married to a Tangerian Jewish native, New York, August 1988.
92. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 5 May 1935.
93. Ibid.
94. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 12 May 1935.
95. Those nominated were Mordejay Guahnish, Leon Benlolo, Raphael Benlisha, Abraham M. Nahon, Jacob Hazan, Moses Bendayan, Jacob Benchetrit, Mesod Ohayon, Yudah Pimienta, Isaac Bendayan, and Mesod Bengio.
96. Reglamentos

Article 1 - The committee of the Community confers the powers in accordance with the Dahir of 12 February 1925 as follows: cemetery, funeral processions and preparation of the corpse. The committee of the Burial Society will have 11 members other than members of the Junta and five members of the Junta inclusive of the president of the community who always has the right to be the president of this committee which shall be called the Comite de la Hebrat Guemilut Hasadim (Committee of the Burial Society.)

Article 2 - The Hebrat Guemilut Hasadim has as its objectives:

a. to religiously assist the moribund.

b. to provide a grave for the dead in keeping with our ritual and custom.

Article 3 - The executive of this committee will be composed of the president of the community, a secretary nominated by the committee and 14 voting members. The secretary is required to present the minutes of the previous session, convene the meetings, and sign the correspondence of the society in conjunction with the president.

Article 4 - The society will rely on funding from the Junta. Income and expenditures will pass through the communal treasury, only and exclusively in accordance with the Dahir. The income will be derived from the charges for burial, charges for tombstones, collections from supportors, donations, etc. The expenditures will be: buying material, emergencies, payment to chandlers and stonecutters. With respect to the aforementioned emergencies,

these will be handled by the office of the welfare commission of the community.

Article 5 - The committee will nominate five commissions. The commissions can add other members thereto. Each commission will have a minimum of three members. The committee will have final say over the composition of its commisssions. The commissions are: Cemetery, Chandlers, Stonecutters, Rehisot (washing and dressing the dead), Ritual and Pallbearers.

Article 6 - The committee will meet at least once every four months and any time when it is deemed necessary by the president or by a petition of one third of the members of the communal commission. The committee will determine its decisions by majority rule. In the case of a tie, the president will cast the deciding vote. The committee cannot meet without a minimal quorum of eight.

Article 7 - The society will have active members and honorific members.

The active members will participate in the work of the Hebra. They can make contributions at any time but will be expected to contribute 15f every three months.

The honorific members will have donated 1000f and will be mentioned by the Junta as having this privilege for their exceptional service.

The honorific members will be mentioned in one corner of the mortuary room in which the religious rites take place.

Article 8 - The Junta reserves the right to determine and exclude from the society anyone who denigrates the community in any form.

Article 9 - All members who contribute and do not pay for three consecutive sessions without justifiable cause, will be dropped without further advisement. Signed in Tangier, 9 May 1935.

97. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 11 August 1935. Messod Benassayag presided.
98. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 27 August 1935. Benassayag continued to serve as president.
99. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 15 September 1935.
100. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 23 June 1935.
101. *MJT*, Vol. 4, 23 June 1935. These cutbacks greatly affected the quality of life in the Jewish community as well as the nature of health care.
102. MJT. Vol. 4, 7 July 1935.
103. Records of the Rabbinical Tribunal.

NOTES

Chapter Nine

1. Abraham Laredo, *Les Noms Juifs du Maroc* (Madrid: CSIC, 1977), pp. 1002-3.
2. Michael M. Laskier, *The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco. 1862-1962* (Albany: SUNY, 1983), p. 178.
3. Marc D. Angel, *The Jews of Rhodes* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1978), p. 151. Among the refugees was Stella Levy who later wrote a book in English and Ladino about the Jewish community of Rhodes, entitled *I Remember Rhodes*.
4. Michael M. Laskier, p. 178.
5. Ibid., pp. 178-183. Sagues' strong personality and influence especially among the AIU trained professionals and upper class was effective in obtaining the necessary funds.
6. Garcias Figueras, *Spain, Franco and the Jews* (Madrid: 1988), p. 213.
7. Ibid., p. 214. The statement read: En Tanger se establecieron numerosas poblaciones judias del centro de Europa, que encontraron alli, bajo la autoridad espanola, un trato justo y cordial. (In Tangier, numerous Jewish populations from Central Europe have established themselves under Spanish authority and have encountered a just and cordial treatment.) A total of 1500 Jewish refugees were in Tangier, the majority staying for the duration of the war. A few individuals were able to obtain visas earlier. Some remained until 1960. Information based on an interview with John Stern, 1 March 1990.
8. Lawdom Vaidon, *Tangier: A Different Way* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1977), p. 230.
9. Ibid., p. 231.
10. Michael Laskier, p. 178.
11. Ibid.
12. Interview with Amram Bendahan, a native of Tangier.
13. Joseph Goebbels, *Diaries 1942-1943*, edited by Louis P. Lochner (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1948), pp. 73-74.
14. Lawdom Vaidon, pp. 231-232.

15. Ibid.
16. Interview with Amram Bendahan.
17. Lawdom Vaidon, pp. 236-237.
18. Michael Laskier, p. 178.
19. JDC #35385 General letter no. 877 to ADJC New York from ADJC Lisbon.
20. Report of Abraham Laredo to AJDC New York.
21. Interview with Amram Bendahan.
22. A JDC #85988 dated April 14, 1944 accounting letter #659. Cadeno and Alberto Arditti had 4 children; Rachel and Isaaco Benezra had 6 children; Mathilda and Abraham Barki from Aden had 6 children; Gracia and Salomon Behar had 8 children; Zimbel and Marcos Benchoan had 5 children; Rachel and Bechor Capelutto had 6 children; Elisa and David Cohen had 5 children; Sarah and Salomon Edery had 5 children. They were refugees who arrived from Paris although they were Moroccan subjects; Mathilda and Sasson Farhi had 7 children; Anna and Daniel Fonseca had 4 children and claimed Portuguese nationality; Rebecca and Moise Gabbay had 6 children; Selma and Isaac Gavison had 5 children; Marie and Yanna Giacomo had 3 children and his mother; Luna and Eliezer Haleva had 4 children; Mrs. Fortuna Levy had 6 children with her in Tangier while her husband was in Casablanca; Golla and Nissim Levy had 6 children; Capelemu and Celebon Maich had 7 children; Eliezer Mizrahi had counting himself 5 dependents including wife, children and mother; Rosa and Giuseppe Moreno had 6 children; Luna and Maurice Nathan had 4 childen; Mrs. Rachel Ohana, a French citizen from Paris, had three daughters and a grandson; Sara and Marco Seneor had 5 children and her mother; David Sulton had four dependents; Israel and Sara Telias had four children; Isaac Varon had 6 dependents; Mathilda and Leon Zoubi had 5 children. The Ashkenazi families are: Rayzla and Abraham Goldberg, Polish nationals from Antwerp who had 4 children; Bertha and Sigismund Grussgott, Hungarian nationals who arrived from Lisbon, had 4 children; Mrs. Ezekiel Hatzfeld had 8 children; Sara and Simha Poznantek, Polish citizens from Portugal, had 4 children; Guillaume Sand had four dependents.
23. Vaad Haatzalah correspondence 41/197 located at the Yeshiva University archives.
24. Vaad Haatzalah. 41/197.13.
25. Vaad Haatzalah. 41/197. 10.
26. Elaine Dewar, "The Mysterious Reichmanns: The Untold Story," *Toronto Life Magazine*, November, 1987, pp. 116-120.
27. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 8/2/45. There was difficulty in raising funds within the community as 2,500 of the 15,000 Jews in Tangier during the war were refugees, 15% of the Jewish population. The entire city numbered only 120,000. The Jews therefore were 13% of the general population.

28. Lawdom Vaidon, p. 242.
29. World Jewish Congress, report of 21 August 1945, p. 4.
30. Ibid., p. 5.
31. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 8/8/46.
32. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 27/9/46.
33. Ibid., p. 2. The official rate for the French franc was 100 francs per dollar. The rate in Tangier was 230-235 francs per dollar. The official rate for the peseta was 10 per dollar. The Tangier rate was 23-25 per dollar.
34. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 6/9/46.
35. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 27/9/46.
36. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 16/10/46.
37. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 13/12/46.
38. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 12/30/46, p. 3. That list included:

Aaron Abensur	Marshan 46
Jakob Alster	rue du Statut 64
Mr. Azagury	Sanlucar 18
Judah Balensi	rue Fouchauld 19
Amram Benaim	rue Goya 14
Haim S. Bendelac	Marshan 31
Isaac A. Bendrao	Blvd Antee
Mr. Bengualid	Mujahedine 2
Mesod Bensimra	rue Dr. Fumey 35
Isaias M. Chocron	rue Mexico
Joe Hassan	rue Salvador Hassan 2
Emanuel Hollander	rue Goya 43
Arthur Kornberg	rue de Vigne 22
Walter Bickart	Villa de France
Jacob & Isaac Laredo	Fuente nueva 6
Abraham Laredo	Dradeb 7
Maison Lasry	Siaghines 8
Jack Marques	Blvd. Antee 1
Menahem Muyal	rue Goya 10
James Nahon	rue du Statut 62
Nicolas Rosenbaum	rue Fouchauld 27
M. Rosenfeld	rue Foucauld 16
Samuel Reichmann	rue Moliere 25
J. Grussgott	rue Moliere 25
S. & M. Toledano	Bd. Pasteur 38
Abraham S. Toledano	Bd. Pasteur 43
Jacob J. Salama	rue Amerique du Sud
Banque Pareinte	Banque Hassan

39. Interview with John Stern, a refugee from Germany, who later married Alia, the sister of Abraham Azancot, August 1987. John heads the association of Tangierian Jews in the United States, Mabat. Most of the refugees went to USA or Canada.

40. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 10/12/47. Confirmed in an interview with John Stern.
41. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 23/3/48. Dr. Alphonse Kahn had hopes of continuing as the liaison with the World Jewish Congress.
42. John Waterbury, *The Commander of the Faithful: The Moroccan Political Elite* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 50. When confronted, Mohammed V responded that he purposely deleted the references to France to avoid exciting the heavily Spanish audience.
43. Stephane Bernard, pp. 55-58.
44. Mark Cohen and Lorna Hahn, *Morocco, Old Land, New Nation*. (New York: Praeger, 1966), p. 67.
45. World Jewish Congress Archives.
46. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 11/3/49.
47. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 30/11/48.
48. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 16/12/48.
49. Often, the Tangierian Jews would refer to Israel as Jerez because the Hebrew letter Tzadi is pronunced in Tangier as an "s" sound. This made Jerez sound like erez, for land of Israel.
50. Carlos Nesry report to the World Jewish Congress.
51. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 4/3/49.
52. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 11/3/49.
53. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 14/6/49.
54. Ibid.
55. Herbert A. Serra Williamson, *Tourist Guide Book of Spain* (Madrid: The Times of Spain, 1950), pp. 317-18. No Jewish places of interest in Tangier are mentioned.
56. Graham H. Stuart, *The International City of Tangier* (Stanford: University of California Press, 1955), p. 185.
57. Michael Laskier, p. 17.
58. Ibid., p. 176.
59. Ibid., p. 227.
60. Abraham Laredo, p. 714.
61. Ibid., p. 1003.
62. Solomon Gaon & M. Mitchell Serels, *Sephardim and the Holocaust* (New York: Yeshiva University, 1986), pp. 98-100. Messaoud Aknine was 73 years old when he was rounded up and deported in convoy 52 from the Drancy Concentration camp in France to the Auschwitz death camp in Poland. He was gassed on 26 March 1943. Albert Benhaim was 61 years old and was on the same death train to Auschwitz as his compatriot. David Bounan was 27 years old when he was sent from Drancy on convoy 64 to Auschwitz on 7 December 1943. Maurice Cohen-Azancot was 54 years old when sent on

convoy 53 on 23 March 1943 to his death. Albert Elbaz was age 40 when killed by the Nazis. His brother, Jacob Elbaz, was age 42 when he was sent on convoy 62 on 20 November 1943 to death in Auschwitz after a three day train ride. Albert Kessus was 21 years old when he was sent on convoy 61 on 28 October 1943 to his death. Sol Orhagoun was 26 when she was sent on convoy 59 on 2 September 1943 to death in Auschwitz.

63. World Jewish Congress Archives, copy of telegram.
64. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 24/8/50. For a detailed discussion of the pressure put on Israel to vote in favor see Antonio Marquina & Gloria Ines Ospina, *Espana y los judios en el siglo XX* (Madrid: Espana-calpe, 1987), pp. 243-250.
65. *American Jewish Yearbook*, Volume 54, 1953, p. 392.
66. Abraham Laredo, p. 509
67. Lawdom Vaidon, p. 257.
68. John Waterbury, p. 53.
69. Lawdom Vaidon, pp. 261-64.
70. Ibid., p. 264.
71. Graham H. Stuart, p. 191.
72. Ibid., p. 185.
73. Lawdom Vaidon, p. 280.
74. Ibid., p. 281.
75. Ibid., p. 272-3.
76. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 1/21/54.
77. Graham H. Stuart, p. 179.
78. World Jewish Congress, correspondence dated 13/9/55.
79. Natalia Sergeevna Lutskaia, *Ocherki Noveiskei Istorii Marokko* (Moscow: Naika, 1973), p. 301.
80. Luella Hall, *The United States and Morocco 1776-1956* (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1971), p. 1051.
81. Lawdom Vaidon, pp. 274-5.
82. Ibid.
83. Graham H. Stuart, p. 179.
84. Lawdom Vaidon, p. 316.
85. Ibid., p. 277. French bars were protected by their original agreements of Moroccan independence.
86. Luella Hall, p. 1051. Tangier became the summer capital in order to appease the population of the city.
87. Mark Cohen, p. 113.
88. Stephane Bernard, *The Franco-Moroccan Conflict, 1943-56* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 370.

89. Eleanor Hoffman, *Realm of the Evening Star* (Philadelphia: Chilton, 1965), p. 267. Ibrahim was under the influence of Casablanca businessmen who viewed Tangier as their largest competitors. As a socialist, Ibrahim viewed the businessmen and the bankers as the capitalist enemy.
90. Rom Landau, *Portrait of Tangier* (London: 1952), p. 310.
91. *American Jewish Yearbook*, Volume 61, 1960, pp. 322-325.
92. *American Jewish Yearbook*, Volume 62. 1961, p. 351.
93. John Waterbury, p. 11.
94. Michael Laskier, p. 329.
95. Ibid., p. 333.
96. Abraham Laredo, p. 530.
97. Lawdom Vaidon, p. 361.
98. Ibid.
99. Interview with Rabbi Yamin Cohen, Tangier, July, 1984.
100. Lawdom Vaidon, p. 381.

NOTES

Chapter Ten

1. Robert Weisbrod, *The Jews of Argentina* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979), p. 154.
2. Ibid., p. 27. The telephone book of Iquitos and environs for 1988, the latest published, reports the following listings with Moroccan surnames: Edward Abecassis, Joaquim Abenzur, Americo Asayac, Estrella Asayac, Jose A. Asayag, Sara Benaun, Moises Bendayan, Julia Bendayan, Manuela de Bendayan, Teresa de Bendayan, Marina Benita, Ramon Benites, Ricardo Benites, Abraham Bensus, Willy Benzaquen, Luis A. Benzaquen, Lydia Benzaquen, Victor Hugo Cohen, Carlos Cohen, Tulio Cohen, Jorge Coriat, Alberto Cohen, Alberto P. Cohen, Armando Coriat, Carlos Coriat, Ramon Coriat, Ramon P. Coriat, Alberto Delmar, Lisbino Elaluf, Daniel Elaluf, Juana de Elaluf, Juana Prado de Elaluf, Jack Elaluf, Jacob Elaluf, Victor Kanaffo, Ivanne de Kanaffo, Juan Kanaffo, Teddy S. Kanaffo, Mercedes de Pinto, Orlando A. Pinto, Catalao Pinto, Hilda Suarez de Pinto, Amorin Pinto, Herlinda Pinto, Ricardo Pinto, Cesar Pinto, Laura Pinto, Luis Pinto, Luis E. Pinto, Alberto Toledano, Cesar Toledano, Samuel Toledano, and Irene Toledano. Two Moroccan surnamed individuals are listed in neighboring towns: Julio Amiel in Yurimaguar and German Elaluf in Caballococha.
3. Gunther Bohm, *Judios en el Peru Durante el Siglo XIX* (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1985), p. 102.
4. Alfredo Rosenswig, *Majshavot* (Buenas Aires), pp. 19-25.
5. Ibid., pp. 25-27.
6. Ibid., p. 30.
7. Letter of Mabat dated 16 March 1986. Their address in Israel is: Mabat, Rehov Zafirim 13/23, Ramot, Jerusalem, Israel. Correspondence should be sent to: Mabat, PO Box 542, Rishon-le-Zion, Israel.
8. The leaders of the synagogue included: Nissim Benoliel (Tangier); Moshe Benzaquen (Tangier); Yaacob Hadani (Casablanca); Amram Levy (Marrakesh); Yehuda Nahori (Oran); Yosef Nizri (who was educated in the AIU school in the Marshan of Tangier but who was originally like many other Tangierians

from Mogador); Moshe Pimienta (Tangier); Mordejay Schwatz (Paris); Samuel Souraki (Oran); Moshe Uziel (Oran). 22 families live within walking distance of the synagogue. The author of this paper was made a member of the religious supervisory council of that synagogue in order to insure the correct continuity of the Tangierian rite.

9. Stern had married Alia, the daughter of Rabbi Azancot. He was also thereby the brother-in-law of Abraham Azancot the current, and for the last two decades, president of the community in Tangier. Together with the author of this paper and the renowned professor of Hakatia, Dr. Alegria Bendelac, they formed the executive of Mabat.
10. It was Pinto who collected the entire prayer service according to the Tangerian ritual on audio tape which is now housed at Yeshiva University. Pinto also paid for the reproduction and free distribution of the service of the Burial Society of Tangier. Yeshiva University distributed those booklets. Pinto also donated a collection of books used in Tangier to the Sephardic Reference Room of Yeshiva University library in memory of his father, Yaacob Pinto.
11. Interview with Rabbi Yamin Cohen.

IMPORTANT TANGIERIAN JEWS

Citation Code:

Laredo = Abraham Laredo, *Les Noms Juifs du Maroc* (Madrid: CSIC, 1977). This citation is then followed by the page of the entry.

MUVT = Isaac Laredo, *Memorias de un viejo Tangerino* (Madrid: C. Barmejo, 1935). This citation is then followed by the page of the entry.

Saga = Joseph Toledano, *La Saga des Familles. Les Juifs du Maroc et Leurs Noms* (Tel-Aviv: Editions Stavit, 1983). This citation is then followed by the page of the entry.

Abecassis, Isaac - son of Yahya. He was originally from Rabat and was a rabbi in Tangier in the 18th century. (Laredo, 211).

Abecassis, Isaac - son of Messod. He was a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier, 1795. (Laredo, 211).

Abecassis, Isaac - son of Messod. Isaac was a rabbinical notary who, with Rabbi Mordekhay Laredo, legalized the signatures of the Haskama of Tangier of 1795. (Laredo, 211-212).

Abecassis, Menahem - son of Messod. His property was registered in the Habous of Tangier in 1815. (Laredo, 212).

Abecassis, Menahem - son of Messod. He was a founder of the Hygiene Commission of Tangier in 1884. In 1907, he was a members of the Junta. He succeeded his father as interpreter to the USA Legation. He contributed to the publication of Kerem Hesed. (Saga, 14).

Abecassis, Messod - son of Isaac. He was a rabbi in Tangier in the 18th century. (Laredo, 211).

Abecassis, Messod - son of Isaac. He was a distinguished member of the Burial Society and a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier of 1795. (Laredo, 211).

Abecassis, Messod - son of Isaac. Born in 1799, he was a notable of the community. (Laredo, 212).

Abecassis, Messod - son of Menahem. He was president of the Junta at the end of the 19th century. He was also the interpreter for the USA Legation. He was concerned primarily with education and contributed to the publication of Kerem Hesed, as did his sons, Joseph, Moise and Jacob. (Laredo, 212).

Abecassis, Moses - a signatory of the Haskama of 1795. (Laredo, 212).

Abecassis, Yahya - son of Yahya. He was a rabbi in Tangier in the 18th century. The original Yahya might have come from Mogador where there was a Messod Abecassis. (Saga, 14).

Abensur, Aharon - son of Isaac. He was an interpreter for the English Legation in 19th century. He received English citizenship by an act of Parliament for the service rendered by the Abensur family. (Laredo, 1030).

Abensur, Aaron - son of Isaac. He was a banker in Tangier who succeeded his father as UK delegate to the Legislative Assembly. Aaron also headed the Banque Pariente. He moved the bank to Geneva in 1960 when the Royal charter suppressed trade in Tangier. He was president of the Junta and died in Geneva in 1964. (MUVT, 95 f).

Abensur, Esther Hassan de - wife of Aaron Abensur, Esther was the president of Femina and with her brothers participated in donating the Maternite Salvador Hassan. (Laredo, 1031).

Abensur, Esther Toledano de - wife of Moses Toledano, she was a member of the committee of the Asilo Laredo-Sabbah. With her sister, Luna Pinto, and her cousins, she gave the building in memory of her uncle, Isaac S. Toledano. (Laredo, 1031).

Abensur, Hola Assayag de - wife of Isaac Abensur, she worked for ONH, La maternelle, Femina and other women's causes. (Laredo, 1031).

Abensur, Isaac - He served as the vice consul of UK in 1818. He helped in the control of the plague of the same year. (Laredo, 1030)

Abensur, Isaac (II) - son of Aaron. He was a banker and important personage in Tangier. He served as honorary dragoman of the Austro-Hungarian Legation until WWI. For 30 years, he served as president of the Junta. In 1884, he was one of the founders of the Hygiene Commission. He was the head of one of the oldest Banks in Tangier. He served as the English delegate to the Legislative Assembly and died in 1937. (Laredo, 1030-31).

Abensur, Moses - son of Isaac. (1896-1949). A banker, he served as a member of the Junta. (Laredo, 1031).

Abensur, Samuel - He was involved in the Sieur Marius Rey Affair of November 1842. (Laredo, 1029).

Abensur, Stanley - Head Banque Pariente in Geneva. Before then, he was the secretary of the Junta. (Laredo, 1031).

Abergel, David - member of the Junta and its comptroller for many years. He was the honorary consul of Cuba until his death in 1961. (Laredo, 214).

Abikhzer, Isaac - a teacher-rabbi in Tangier at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 207).

Abitbol, Meir - a member of the Junta in the 20th century. (Laredo, 201).

Abouzaglo, Jacob - son of Salomon. Jacob was a notable of the community in the beginning of the 19th century. (Laredo, 197).

Abouzaglo, Mordekhai - Fifteenth century from the Draa, he went to Safed to study mysticism with Rabbi Haim Vital. He wrote the Maanot Hakhma and

is mentioned in the Ketouba of the family as traditionally written in Tangier. (Laredo, 195).

Abouzaglo, Moshe - a signatory of the Haskama of 1795. His son Salomon was the head of the Burial Society in the 19th century and his great-grandson was elected in 1929 to the Legislative Assembly. (Laredo, 197; Saga, 134).

Abuzaglo, Salomon - son of Messod. He served as president of the Burial Society Hebrat Hesed Ve Emet in Tangier in the 18-19th century. (Laredo, 197).

Aflalo, David - an active member of the Hebrat Guemilut Hasadim, David helped with the construction of the new cemetery in 1871. (Laredo, 357).

Aflalo, David - a lawyer originally from Tangier who moved to Alexandria, Egypt in 1887. (Laredo, 357).

Aflalo, Joseph - He served as chancellor and interpreter of the Italian Consulate in Tangier for many years. He lived at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. (Laredo, 358).

Aflalo, Salomon - a founder of the Hygiene Commission in 1884. (Laredo, 357).

Aflalo, Simon - He acted as the bailiff and auctioneer during the sale of Sieur Marius Rey in Tangier in November 1842. (Laredo, 357).

Alazraqui, Victor - a businessman who served as a member of the British Chamber of Commerce in Tangier and the British colony at Tangier. He also served in the RAF during WWII. He died in 1968. (Laredo, 262).

Albo, Carlos - Originally from Tetuan, Carlos owned real estate in Tangier although he moved to Caracas. He died in Caracas in 1965. (Laredo, 267).

Alvo, Jaime - worked with the youth in Tangier and was an active member in the Wayfarers' Society as well as other cultural and religious institutions. (Laredo, 267).

Ammar, Messod - mentioned in the Sieur Marius Rey Affair of November 1842. (Laredo, 951).

Ammar, Messod (II) - the *Sheikh* of the Jews in Tangier in 1910. (Laredo, 952).

Amar, Yeshaya - during the reign of Moulai Mohammed (1757-1790) after thirty years of anarchy, the Alaouite dynasty renewed the tradition of the court-Jew with the appointment of Yeshaya ben Amar, who was born in Gibraltar. The family had originally moved there from Fez. With the technological help of the British, Amar oversaw the construction of the new pier in the port of Tangier. (Saga, 43).

Amiel, Joseph - he was a translator for the vice-consul of UK in Tangier in the second half of the 19th century. Consequently, he had British protege status and was helpful in the affair of the arrest of eight young Jews. At the end of the affair in 1880, he and his son fled to Jerusalem. (Saga, 47).

Amor, Isaac - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier of 1795. (Saga, 47).

Amselem, Aharon - a signatory of the Haskama of 1795. (Laredo,337).

Amselem, Amram - a medical doctor and one of the most celebrated surgeons and urologists in North Africa. He was born in Larache, but directed the Hospital Benchimol in 1965. (Laredo, 337).

Amselem, Youssef - one of those mentioned in the Sieur Marius Rey affair in 1842. (Laredo, 337).

Anidjar, Moses - *Sheikh* of the Jews of Tangier in 1895 and a member of the Junta of 1891. (Laredo, 339).

Anidjar, Samuel - He, with his brother Isaac, gave land to the community in memory of their brother Judah. (Laredo, 339).

Anqaua, Michael Issachar - Vice-president of the Higher Rabbinical Tribunal of Rabat and president of the Rabbinical Court of Appeal in Tangier in 1950. (Laredo, 346).

Anqaua, Mordekhay - originally from Sale, he was Chief Rabbi and president of the Rabbinical Tribunal and member of the Junta of Tangier starting in 1950. (Laredo, 346).

Arama, Elias - son of Moshe. He was a noted businessman in Tangier. (Laredo, 965).

Arama, Moshe - a religious poet and musician in Tangier at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 965).

Asayol, Abraham - a signatory of the Haskama of 1795. (Laredo, 347).

Assayag, Jacob - He was born in Tangier and then moved to Argentina. He returned to Tangier and later joined the Junta. (Saga, 308).

Assayag, Pinhas - He was a journalist and a man of letters. He used the pseudonym, Veritas, and collaborated in the periodicals *La Patria, El Imparcial, El Liberal* of Madrid and other Spanish journals. He took an active part in the reformation of the Junta elections and was the secretary of the Junta at the end of the 19th century. (Laredo, 362).

Assayag, Judah - Founded the Beth Yehouda Synagogue in Tangier in the 19th century. (Saga, 308).

Assor, Jose - a member of the Moroccan Chamber of Commerce in Tangier in 1950. (Laredo, 960).

Attali, Jacob - a businessman originally from Tunisia, he and his brother went to establish themselves in Morocco as the proteges of the Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah. However, when Sultan Mohammed died and was replaced by his son, Moulai el-Yazid, Jacob and his brother were arrested. Jacob was beheaded in Tangier in 1791. His brother escaped death by converting to Islam. (Laredo, 966).

Attias, Menahem - a polyglot writer (b.1864 Tangier-d.1942 Casablanca). In Tangier, he was a chancellor of the Consulate of Brazil, 1898-1900. In 1920, he was a member of the Junta. In 1921, he was a member of the Hajnasat Orhim Society and was a member of the Legislative Assembly. He wrote for *Maroc Press* and was an editor of *El Eco Mauritano*. (Laredo, 938). In his youth, Menahem had studied in the AIU school and with Pierre Senac, a teacher of French in the Catholic Mission. For many years, he was also treasurer of the Casino de Tanger. (MUVT, 254-255).

Attias, Mordekhay - a teacher-rabbi in Tangier at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. (Laredo, 937).

Attias, Rahma - along with her sisters Estrella and Rica, she was a leader of the schools in Tangier in the beginning of the 20th century. They were the daughters of Mordekhay. (Laredo, 937).

Attiya, Abraham - son of Moshe. He was a member of the Burial Society and helped to develop the new cemetery of 1871. (Laredo, 937).

Attiya, David - along with Mordekhai, Joseph and Moshe, signed the Haskama of 1795. (Laredo, 936-7).

Attiya, Isaac - Figured in the Sieur Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 937).

Auday, Samuel - son of Yahya. He is mentioned in a document dated 1753. (MB, 62).

Auday, Yahya - a rabbi who died in Tangier in 1727 and had founded the oldest synagogue in Tangier which still bears his name. (Laredo, 235). (Saga, 63: The author seems to have confused the grandfather with the grandson and hence the 100 year discrepency stating that he died of the plague of 1827).

Azaguri, Elias - son of Samuel. He was a businessman and industrialist in Tangier and was a member of the British Chamber of Commerce. His sons were Samuel, Aaron, Sidney, and Abraham. (Laredo, 241).

Azancot, Abraham - son of Sasson. He was a *Mohel* of Tangier. He continued the family tradition as serving as supplier of the French Navy at Tangier. In 1871, he helped found the new cemetery. (Laredo, 250).

Azancot, Abraham - son of Moses. He joined the Junta in 1967 (Laredo,251) (Saga, 66 incorrectly states that he has been president since 1983).

Azancot, David - son of Haim. In 1830, he served as dragoman of the French consulate in Tangier as had his father before him. He met with the French painter Eugene Delacroix (who painted his sister, Rachel) and writer Alexander Dumas, who mentions him in *La Veloce*. David negotiated with the Moroccan government on behalf of the French before the bombardment of Tangier in 1844 by Prince de Joinville. He retired from service and died in Tangier in 1875. He is mentioned in the Sieur Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 249-50; Saga, 66).

Azancot, David - son of Abraham. He was a polyglot sociologist and dealt with ethnic questions. He continued the family tradition of service to the French legation in Tangier. In 1930, he was in the service of the French consulate in Tetuan. (Laredo, 250).

Azancot, Haim - a signatory of the Haskama of 1795. (Laredo, 249).

Azancot, Haim - son of Sasson. He served as the dragoman of the French consulate in Tangier at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1820, while on a French steamship, he contracted the plague and died at the age of 29, leaving three sons and two daughters. (Laredo, 249).

Azancot, Haim - a religious poet at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. (Laredo, 250).

Azancot, Judah - a signatory of the Haskama of 1795. (Laredo, 248).

Azancot, Judah - a rabbi for many years. With the start of the Statutes of Tangier, he was one of the three judges mandated for the rabbinical tribunal. He succeeded Chief Rabbi Benchimol and served as president of the Rabbinical Tribunal. (Laredo, 250).

Azancot, Fernando - He was one of the orphaned children of Haim Azancot. Known in Hebrew as Moshe, he was tutored in the Spanish Franciscan school, the Catholic Mission. He was very bright. At the age of nine, he was the victim of a rape. He was taken to Spain and baptized with King Fernando VII serving as godfather. Fernando served in the court of Spain and as preceptor of King Alphonso XII. Fernando married Dona Carmen who had been the wife of Admiral de Bula and had served as a lady-in-waiting to Queen Isabel II. In 1860, he returned to Morocco for the first time. Morocco was at war with Spain and he participated in the conclusion of the peace treaty. There he met his brother David, who was negotiating on behalf of Moulay el-Abbas, uncle and plenipotentiary of the Sultan. In 1875, on the way to Casablanca in the role of vice-consul of Spain, he employed several Jews, including Abraham Yahya Sicsu and Salomon Benabu. When Don Fernando Azancot died, he was buried in the Catholic cemetery in Casablanca. His daughter Carmen visited Tangier a number of times to gain financial settlement of the inheritance. (Laredo, 249; MUVT, 98-99).

Azancot, Moses - son of Judah. A rabbi, he was secretary-general of the Alumni Association of the AIU in 1926. He contributed to the creation of the Asilo Laredo-Sabbah. (Saga, 66).

Azancot, Moise - b.1880. He went to Argentina at age 14. Many years later he returned to Tangier and worked on behalf of the community. He wrote a treatise on behalf of Judaism: Polemica religiosa en defense de los judios. He also wrote against Nazism: A propositode los metodos medioevales por el nazismo aleman. He founded the International Chamber of Commerce and was their honorary president. He was a vice-president of the Junta and a delegate to the Legislative Assembly of Tangier. At various times he was president of the Casino de Tanger. Also wrote: Debere y derechos de los espanoles en Tanger. He spoke on Maimonides in 1935 in Tangier, Madrid, Cordoba and Casablanca. (Laredo, 272; Saga, 66).

Azancot, Moise - son of Judah. He was a rabbi, b.1895. He was a principal organizer of various institutions for public assistance in Tangier. A member of the Junta and a Jewish delegate to the Legislative Assembly, 1928-1932. He was one of the three rabbinical judges. (Laredo, 251).

Azancot, Sasson - probably a son of Haim. He was a notable of the community at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. (Laredo, 249).

Azancot, Sasson - son of Haim. d.1889. He was a commercialist who contributed to the development of Morocco. He was honorary interpreter of the consulate of USA and consular agent for the Prussians in Rabat and Larache. In 1885, he became a member of the Orden de los Hospitalarios in Madrid. (Laredo, 250).

Barchilon, Joseph - died in Tangier at the beginning of the 20th century. He founded a synagogue which was demolished after several years. He was elected to the Junta in the 1891 election. (Laredo, 445).

Barchechat, Meir - was postal receiver in Tangier in 1965. (Laredo, 1156).

Barugel, Abraham - he was born in Gibraltar in 1860 of Tangierian refugee parents who had fled to that city during the war with Spain. In 1886, he was named chancellor of the Belgian Legation in Tangier where he served for twenty years and was elevated to the rank of chancellor-dragoman. He received the medal civil first class, knight of the order of Leopold. He retired at an old age to Lisbon. (Laredo, 449).

Benabu, Salomon - originally from Tangier, he became the attache of the Spanish Consulate in Casablanca at the end of the 19th century. (Laredo, 920).

Benaceraf, Fortunato - Born in Tetuan, he moved to Caracas and then returned to Tangier and died there in 1950. (Saga, 94).

Benaioun, Salomon - a printer, editor, journalist at the end of the 19th century. His printing house printed works in Hebrew, Arabic and French. He edited the Judeo-Arabic journal, el-Horria, *le seder ha-abodah du jour de Kippur d'accord avec le Minhag de Tangier*, and other prayerbooks. (Laredo, 578).

Benamor, Isaac - a signatory of the Haskama of 1795. (Laredo, 954).

Benarroch, Abraham - businessman in Tangier in 19-20th centuries. (Laredo, 529).

Benarroch, Dr. Aquiba - son of Yamin. He was an obstetrician-gynecologist who was born in Melilla. He studied in the University of Madrid and in Barcelona. Aquiba served on the Junta in 1952 and was Vice-President of the Junta 1958-64 at which time he left Tangier for Casablanca. While in Tangier he was the director of the Maternite Salvador Hassan. He was also the chief of pre-natal services for the OSE-Tanger and for Hospital Benchimol. In 1964, he received first prize from the Asociacion de medicos, escritores y artistas de Espana for his study of *La Tia Tula* by Miguel Unamuno. (Laredo, 530).

Benarroch, Benjamin - a businessman who was born in Melilla and later became vice-president of the Junta in 1964. He was active in the Hebrat Gemilut Hasadim and a member of the board of the Hospital Benchimol. He also served as president of the Casino de Tanger. (Laredo, 530).

Benarroch, Carlos - Brother of Benjamin. He was a folklorist and writer. He moved to Barcelona. (Laredo, 530-1).

Benarroch, Felix - was born in Fez but became a financier and banker in Tangier. (Laredo, 511).

Benarroch, Messod - son of Abraham and administrator of the Quppa for Rabbi Meir Baal HaNess in Tangier. (Laredo, 529).

Benassayag, Abraham - son of Yahya. He was vice-president of the Junta for 25 years. Abraham also served 20 years on the Hygiene Commission and 5 years as its treasurer. He was an advisor to the board of the Banque d'Etat du Maroc and died 25 November 1925. He had Italian citizenship. (Laredo, 114).

Benassayag, Isaac - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 363).

Benassayag, Isaac - an industrialist at the end of the 19th century when he opened the tobacco firm of Sananes & Benassayag. (Saga, 308).

Benassayag, Jacob - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 363).

Benasssayag, Messod - a figure in the sale of the the Sieur Marius Rey affair in November 1842. (Laredo, 363-4).

Benassayag, Messod - d.1966 in Tangier where he had served as president of the Junta in the 1940's. (Saga, 308).

Benassayag, Moses - elected to the Junta in 1891. (Laredo, 364).

Benassayag, Moshe - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 363).

Benassayag, Solomon - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 363).

Benassayag, Yahya - served as president of the Junta for many years in the 19th century. He created many institutions including the schools and the seminary. (Laredo, 364).

Benassayag, Yeshua - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 363).

Benasuli, Ayush - a prominent property owner mentioned in documents of 1853. (Laredo, 351).

Benasuli, Ayush - son of Yonah. He was born in Algeciras in 1860 and died in Tangier in 1926. For many years he was a member of the Hygiene Commission of Tangier, vice-president of the Asociacion Hispano-Hebreo and of the Spanish Red Cross of Tangier. He was decorated with the cross of Isabella the Catholic by King Alphonso XIII. He was elected to the Junta of 1891. (Laredo, 351).

Benasuli, Juan - son of Ayush. He was also known as Yonah. b.1888 d.1962. He was the first Tangierian to receive an engineer's diploma from the Ecole Centrale de Paris. He served as vice-president of the Spanish Red Cross and as president of the Casino de Tanger. (Laredo, 351).

Benasuli, Moshe - he served as administrator of customs in the port of Tangier for the Sultan Mulai Sliman in the 18-19th centuries. (Laredo, 351).

Benasuli, Yonah Nahon - elected to the Junta of 1891. (Laredo, 351). At the same time his son was also elected to the same Junta. (Saga, 59).

Benasulin, Isaac - mentioned in the Sieur Marius Rey Affair of November 1842. (Laredo, 351).

Benatar, Abraham - born in Tangier, he became a teacher in the AIU school in 1873. He was murdered in Tangier in 1938. (Laredo, 944).

Benatar, Albert - was born in Tangier of a family originally from Fez. He became the standard-bearer of the Order of Lawyers of Rabat. He then moved to Paris where he practiced law and became the president of the French Sephardic Federation. (Saga, 63).

Benatar, Judah - founded the Minhat Yehouda Synagogue in Tangier in 1866. (Laredo, 944).

Benatar, Moshe - mentioned in the Sieur Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 944).

Benatar, Moses - was born in Tangier and moved to Casablanca where he died very young. His wife was Helene, nee Cazes. He served as president of the Alumni Association of the AIU. (Saga, 63).

Benatar, Samuel - son of Judah. He headed the Minhat Yehouda synagogue founded by his father. He was an expert *mohel* and headed the Burial Society of Tangier. (Laredo, 944).

Benatuil, Mose - son of Jacob. He was a member of the Burial Society of Tangier in 1871. (Laredo, 254).

Benatuil, Salomon - he served as the consul of Brazil in Tangier in 1900 and was a member of the Hygiene Commission. (Laredo, 254).

Benbaruch, Salomon - was born in Tangier and then moved to Casablanca and finally to Montreal where he is on the Burial Society. (Laredo, 448).

Benchetrit, Joseph - mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 1120).

Benchetrit, Samuel - he was born in Tangier and emigrated to Argentina where he died young in 1935. He was a journalist and writer who used the nom de plume of Samtrit in the periodical *El Porvenir* (MUVT, 279; Laredo, 1120).

Benchetrit, Shemaya - a leader of the Burial Society of Tangier in 1909, he was an industrialist who owned an inportant tobacco manufacturing plant at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 1120).

Benchimol, Abraham - son of Moses who succeeded his father as interpreter of the consulate general of France in Tangier. There is a certificate made by Jacques Denis Delaporte, vice-consul of France, for services rendered in 1832 on the delicate visit of the Count de Mornay. In 1836, Benchimol accompanied Baron Frey de la Rue on his visit to the sultan in Meknes. In November 1844, he was recommended for a recompense by the Prince de Joinville. In September 1855, Benchimol actively participated in the treaty of that year. The Sultan Mulai Abderrahman gave him a *dahir* of protection for his service and named him administrator of customs in Tangier. He and his family became hereditary proteges of the French consulate. (Laredo, 1124-5; Saga, 96).

Benchimol, Abraham - son of Judah. Abraham succeeded his father as an officiant in the Sheerith Yoseph (Shriqui) Synagogue. He died while still young. (Laredo, 1126).

Benchimol, Abraham - a businessman in 20th century Tangier, he was active in behalf of Hospital Benchimol. (Laredo, 1126).

Benchimol, Cota - daughter of Moses, she was a teacher in the girls' school of the AIU at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 1126).

Benchimol, David - along with his brothers Moshe and Haim (of Larache), was mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 1126).

Benchimol, Habib - son of Moses. He was elected many times to be president of the Casino de Tanger. He died in 1967. (Laredo, 1126).

Benchimol, Haim - son of Abraham. He succeeded his brother, Moses, as interpreter of the legation of France in Tangier. In 1868, he was chancellor-adjoint.

In 1876, he received a medal. Later, honored as a knight of the legion of honor. 1884, he was named honorary vice-consul of France. He received a *dahir* of protection from Moulai el-Hassan. He was a rich banker and philanthropist who helped to create the AIU schools in Morocco. In 1885, during a visit to Fez, the poet Shalom Azulay wrote a Hebrew poem in his honor. He helped the young against the reactionary elements in the community by supporting reform of the electoral process in 1890 and introduced universal suffrage into the Junta. He was elected the president of the new Junta and remained active for 10 years. He founded Hospital Benchimol, the only such institution in Morocco at the time. He was helped by his wife, Donna Toledano de Benchimol. Haim died in Marseilles in 1907 and was buried there. They had no children (Laredo, 1125-6).

Benchimol, Haim - b.1834-d.1915. He was a journalist and had hereditary protege status from the French. In 1880, when the French tried to limit the extension of the protege status, there was to be no limit on the protection extended to the Benchimol family. Haim collaborated with Levy Cohen in owning the first French language journal printed in Morocco, *Le Reveil du Maroc*. The journal was to push for religious freedom, human rights and against the type of anti-Semitism of Edouard Drumont. Haim also expounded the French cause in Morocco. (Saga, 96).

Benchimol, Josue - b.1864-d.1945. In 1881, he accompanied Yahya Benassayag to Casablanca to found the first modern Jewish school there under his direction. In 1884, he returned to Tangier as part of the editorial staff of *Le Reveil du Maroc*. In 1889, he founded a mixed school in Larache. 1891-2, he managed the school in Tangier. In 1907, he became a Spanish citizen. In 1914, he became the commercial attache of the Consulate General of Spain and represented that country in the international syndicate of Tangier. Founded the Hajnasat Orhim Society in memory of Rabbi Moshe Toledano (el-Hasid) and presided over that organization until his death. (Laredo, 1126-7).

Benchimol, Judah - succeeded in 1917 as chief rabbi of Tangier upon the death of Mordechai Bengio. With the international statutes, in 1924, he established and led the Rabbinical Tribunal until his death. He also headed the yeshiba. There is a *quppa* in his memory established by his son, Abraham. (Laredo, 1126).

Benchimol, Messod - son of Josue, he was member of the Hajnasat Orhim Society. (Laredo, 1127).

Benchimol, Moses - This ancestor of the Benchimol family in Tangier moved there at the end of the 18th century. From 1803-1813, Moses served as the interpreter for the consulate general of France. (Laredo, 1124).

Benchimol, Moses - son of Abraham. He suceeded his father as interpreter for the Consulate General of France in Tangier. He served with Monsieur E.de Chastiau before the Sultan Moulai Abderrahman in 1850. After the meeting of M. Berard, minister plenipotentiary and Moulai Abderrahman of 19 August 1863, France gave him and his family perpetual protection. (Laredo, 1125).

Benchimol, Salomon - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 1124).

Benchimol, Samuel - son of Josue. He succeeded his father in the Hajnasat Orhim Society and was its treasurer for many years until his death in 1966. (Laredo, 1127).

Benchimol, Yonah - b.1931 he served as secretary-manager of the regional tribunal and as Director of free trade zone in 1966. In 1967, he served as secretary of the Junta. (Laredo, 1127).

Bendahan, Abraham - mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 228).

Bendaian, Moshe - mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 501).

Bendayan, Isaac - son of Messod, he was for many years a member of the Malbish Arumim and other beneficial institutions of Tangier in the 20th century. (Laredo, 502).

Bendayan, Messod - an active Mebrat Hesed VeEmet. He died of old age in 1967. (Laredo, 502).

Bendayan, Messod - son of Isaac and a member of the board of the Hospital Benchimol and a director of the bank. (Laredo, 502).

Bendayan, Moshe - an active member of the Burial Society at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 501).

Bendayan, Shalom - son of Moshe. He was a leader, like his father, of the Burial Society.(Laredo, 502).

Bendayan, Yeshaya - an administrator of the Rabbi Yahya Auday Synagogue for many years. (Laredo, 502).

Bendelac, Abraham - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. The family tradition states that they arrived in Tangier in the 17th century from the Netherlands. (Laredo, 502).

Bendelac, Abraham - mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 502).

Bendelac, Abraham - son of Haim. He went to study in the Ecole Normale de Paris of 1870 and became one of the first teachers for the AIU in the Orient. He returned to Tangier and founded an important commercial house representing the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet de Marseille. (Laredo, 502).

Bendelac, Haim - son of Abraham. He succeeded with his brother Shemtob in the father's business concern. He served as the delegate of the Netherlands in the legislative assembly, He died in 1965. (Laredo, 503; MUVT, 460).

Bendelac, Mordechai - son of Haim. He was a member of the first committee of the alumni association of the AIU at the end of the 19th century. He held an important position in the Banque d'Etat du Maroc until his death at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 503).

Bendelac, Moses - son of Haim. He was a member of the Burial Society until he moved to Casablanca. (Laredo, 503).

Bendelac, Moses - son of Abraham. He was a member of the ONH committee. (Laredo, 503).

Bendelac, Mosi - brother of Haim, a notable of the 19th century and died at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 502).

Bendelac, Raphael - son of Haim. He served for many years as the interpreter of the consulate of Sweden. He was a member of Junta and the administer of many societies and of the Ez Haim synagogue, a post he kept until his death at an advanced age. (Laredo, 503).

Bendelac, Salomon - mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of November 1842. (Laredo, 502).

Bendelac, Salomon - member of the Burial Society, he died in 1964. (Laredo, 503).

Bendrao, Abraham - son of Reuben. He founded an important commercial house in Tangier in 1884. (Laredo, 509).

Bendrao, Messod - son of Abraham. He was a very important businessman. He was an armer and industrialist, rich land owner and president of the Hajnasat Orhim for more than 25 years. He was a member of the Junta, of the Spanish Chamber of Commerce and other institutions until his death in 1943. (Laredo, 509).

Bendrao, Ruben - a land owner in the 1859 registry of the *habous* of Tangier. The family name was originally Bengio but Ruben began to write Bendrao which then became the family surname. (Laredo, 509).

Bendrihem, Elias - brother of Raphael, he was an active member of the Burial Society and the Junta until 1965. (Laredo, 509).

Bendrihem, Raphael - a rich land owner who was a member of the Junta. He contributed to the foundation of the rabbinical seminary. When he died in 1951, he left his villa on Boulevard Pasteur for a synagogue and Yeshiba. (Laredo, 509; Saga, 173).

Benelbaz, Abraham D. - son of David. He was a member of the Junta and its secretary in 1950. (Laredo, 265).

Benelbaz, David - real estate developer who created the Calle Tetuan housing project in Tangier 1902-1910. (Laredo, 265).

Ben el-Oualid, Etouliel - a doctor in Tangier who owned property in 1758. (Laredo, 534).

Benghiat, Leopold - a celebrated antique collector of Turkish origin, who, after many years in Paris, moved to Tangier in 1930. (Laredo, 474).

Bengio, Abraham - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 468).

Bengio, Abraham - a rabbi in Tangier who died in 1887. (Laredo, 469).

Bengio, Abraham - a member of the Junta elected in 1891. (Laredo, 469).

Bengio, Haim - originally from Arzila, he was the officiating rabbi in the Kenesset Hagadola of Tangier. (Laredo, 470).

Bengio, Jacob - son of Mordechai, he was a rabbi who founded the Bet El Synagogue. (Saga, 102).

Bengio, Jacob - son of Joseph. He was a rabbi-notary in 19th-20th centuries and founded with his cousin the Bet El Synagogue. (Laredo, 469).

Bengio, Jacob - son of Abraham. He was born in Arzila in 1924 and was the administrative secretary of the Junta. (Laredo, 470).

Bengio, Joseph - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 468).

Bengio, Joseph - son of Moshe. He was a rabbi in Tangier who died of cholera on the same day as his father in 1855. He was also mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair. (Laredo, 469).

Bengio, Joseph - son of Jacob. He died at the beginning of the 20th century. He was a member of the board of the alumni association of the AIU. (Laredo, 469).

Bengio, Joseph - a university professor in Israel who was born in Tangier. In the summer of 1983, he was a founder of Mabat, the world association of Jews from Tangier and the former Spanish Zone (Saga, 102).

Bengio, Joseph Haim - the son of Mordechai, he helped his father in the chief rabbinate and in the Ez Haim synagogue. He died at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 469).

Bengio, Levi - he was originally from Arzila, and served as an officiant in the Bet El Synagogue as well as the Burial Society. (Laredo, 470).

Bengio, Messod - a member of the Junta for many years in the 20th century. He was comptroller and member of the Burial Society. (Laredo, 469-70).

Bengio, Moise - son of Mordechai. He was a member of the Junta and president of numerous beneficial societies. He succeeded his brother Joseph as officiant in the Ez Haim Synagogue of Tangier. (Laredo, 469).

Bengio, Mordechai - b.1825-d.1917. The son of Joseph, he was elected chief rabbi of Tangier at the age of 28 in 1855, succeeding his grandfather, Moshe, who died of the plague. He served as chief rabbi until his death in 1917. He was considered a great rabbinic authority. At the end of the 19th century he founded the Ez Haim synagogue. He served the community for 62 years. In the election for chief rabbi, he won over Reuben M. Bengio, Moshe Marrache and Moshe Pimienta. His election was confimed by Caid ben-Abbas. He worked hard to reform the Junta and bring a measure of democracy to the community on non-religious issues. He also supported the opening of the schools. (Laredo, 469; MUVT, 117; Saga, 102).

Bengio, Moshe - the second chief rabbi of Tangier, succeeding his father-in-law Abraham Toledano, in 1833. He died a victim of the cholera epidemic in 1855, after serving the community for 22 years. (Laredo, 468).

Bengio, Moshe - son of Joseph, he seved as a rabbi in Tangier in the 19th century. (Laredo, 469).

Bengio, Murdoch - son of Joseph Haim. A businessman, he was born in Tangier but moved to Casablanca and died in 1939 in a car accident. (Laredo, 470). An orphanage in that city was named for him.

Bengio, Ruben - a notary in Tangier, he signed a copy of the Haskama of Arzila in 4 Sivan 1850. (Laredo, 469).

Bengio, Ruben - son of Moshe. He was a rabbi in Tangier in the 19th century. (Laredo, 469).

Bengualid, Isaac - son of Shemtob. He was a rabbi originally from Tetuan who moved to Tangier. He died in 1914. (Laredo, 535).

Bengualid, Leon - son of Isaac. He was a member for many years of the Junta and of the board of Hospital Benchimol. He also served as president of the Junta. (Laredo, 535).

Bengualid, Semtob - son of Isaac. He was originally from Tetuan and for many years a member of the Legislative Assembly as one of the three Jewish deputies. (Laredo, 535).

Benhaim, Joseph - a member of the Junta in the period of 1950-1960. (Saga, 104).

Benlezra, Simon - born in Tangier. He was technological chief of the tobacco control for many years. He served on the Junta and in the Legislative Assembly. (Laredo, 274).

Benitah, Messod - a *Sheikh el-Yehud* and leader of the Burial Society at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. (Laredo, 663).

Benitah, Messod - the grandson of Messod. He was a writer, journalist, poet, polyglot, artist and bibliophile. He was born in Tangier in 1887 and published works in *Je suis tout, Pluma y Lapiz, El Eco Mauritano, Diario de reus, Heraldo de Marruecos, El Porvenir, Adelante, Tribuna Espanola*. He was a protege of the artist Jose Tapiro y Baro. (Laredo, 663; MUVT, 281).

Benlebhar, Mimon - mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 717).

Benlezra, Jacques - A 20th century commercialist, he became the president of the International Chamber of Commerce and the president of the Casino de Tanger. (Saga, 99).

Benlisha, Raphael - member of the Burial Society at the start of the 20th century. (Laredo, 285).

Benlolo, Judah - Also known as Leon, he was a leader of the Burial Society and died in 1962. The Benlolo family name originated in Demnat. (Laredo, 763).

Benmergui, Joseph - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 841).

Benmergui, Menahem - also known as Meny, he was president of the Casino de Tanger and a member of the Junta in 1964. (Laredo, 841).

Benmuyal, Abraham - Born in Tetuan, he lived in Tangier for many years at the beginning of this century. Then he emigrated to Argentina, where he founded the Ahenu Ata Synagogue in the city of Rosario where he died at age 96. (Laredo, 792).

Benaim, Elias - son of Salomon. He was born in Tangier but spent many years in England before moving to Casablanca. (Laredo, 856).

Benaim, Menashe - A pharmacist and industrialist, he was originally from Tetuan before moving to Tangier. (Laredo, 856).

Benaim, Salomon - a notable of the community in the 19-20th centuries. (Laredo, 855).

Benoliel, Carlos - son of Joseph. He was also known as Shalom. After studying in Tangier, he moved to Caracas in 1932. (Laredo, 929).

Benoliel, Fortunato - son of Joseph. He was also known as Messod. A businessman, he was active in Malbish Arumim Society and the Casino de Tanger. (Laredo, 929).

Benoliel, Isaac - a member of the Junta originally from Tetuan in 19th century. (Laredo, 928).

Benoliel, Joseph - brother of Salomon. b.1858-d.1936. He was a polyglot, philologist, poet and teacher. He studied in the Ecole Orientale de Paris and for many years taught in the Ecole Mikveh Israel in Jaffa. In 1881, he moved to Lisbon and taught in the industrial school of the Marquis de Pombol. In 1921, he returned to Tangier as the consul of Portugal for el-Ksar. He was a member of many learned societies in Portugal and Spain. He was president of the Junta for three years and instituted many reforms of that organization. His library became a meeting place for intellectual youth. He wrote works on French and Portuguese grammar; on the Judeo-Hispano-Marroqui dialect and a translation of Hebrew works into French. He translated into Portuguese the treaty of peace ending WWI. (Laredo, 927-8; MUVT, 262; Saga, 277).

Benoliel, Judah - also known as Don Judah of Gibraltar. In 1820 as a result of a dispute between two Jews in Tangier, the Basha of the city ordered the destruction of all synagogues of the locality. Not two years after, during the visit of the Sultan, Moulai Abderrahman, to Tangier, royal permission was given to reconstruct two synagogues through the intervention of Don Judah Benoliel. This was a personal favor instead of honors. A Tangierian custom developed to recite a prayer in memory of Don Judah on the eve of Kippur in all the synagogues. He was an international financier who left 3 million gold dollars upon his death. (Laredo, 926-7; Saga, 277).

Benoliel, Leon - son of Joseph. He was a leader of cultural and sports organizations in Tangier. (Laredo, 929).

Benoliel, Moses - son of Joseph. In 1927, after his studies, he emigrated to Caracas. (Laredo, 929).

Benoliel, Salomon - b. 1850 - d. 1921. He studied at the Ecole Orientale de Paris. He was a teacher in the AIU from 1871 until 1873. 1874-1889 he founded and headed the AIU school in Larache. In 1884, he founded the AIU school in Fez and headed it for 18 years. (Laredo, 927).

Benrosh, Isaac - He was mentioned in proceedings of the rabbinical court of Tetuan as the subject of a *hazaqa* on a store. (Laredo, 1089).

Benshabat, Isaac -son of Yahya. He was a member of the Burial Society in 1871, and assisted in the construction of the new cemetery as did his brother, Eliezer. (Laredo, 1107).

Bensabat, Salomon - b. in Larache in 1914, he became a doctor of Law after studying in Madrid, Granada and at the Yeshiva of Tangier. He taught in Melilla and el-Ksar. He practiced law in Tetuan and Tangier 1943-57. In 1956-57, he was a member of the National Consultative Assembly and councillor of the court of appeals in Tangier, 1957-63. Then he was appointed to

the supreme court in Rabat. His wife Estrella nee Sananes taught Spanish in Ecole Zaituna in Tangier 1959-60 and in Lycee Ibn al-Khotib 1960-63. (Laredo, 1108).

Bensadon, Abraham - a Kabbalist rabbi from Algeria. In October 1849, he was maltreated on a Tangierian street by some Moslems. The French Charge d'affaires M. de Chasteau considered the affair an insult to his country and nearly declared war on Morocco. (Laredo, 910).

Bensadon, Abraham - son of Joseph. He was a journalist in Tangier and moved to Casablanca in 1946. (Laredo, 910).

Bensadon, Isaac - He was an officiant in the Laredo Synagogue and a member of the Hebrat Hesed Ve Emet. (Laredo, 910).

Bensadon, Jacob - son of Joseph. He was president of the Malbish Arumim Society for many years. (Laredo, 910).

Bensadon, Joseph - a banker in the 20th century. (Laredo, 910).

Bensadon, Meir - son of Joseph. He was a businessman in Tangier. (Laredo, 910).

Bensadon, Ney - son of Meir. He was a lawyer born in Tangier who moved to Paris. (Laredo, 910).

Bensahl, - He is mentioned in the Marius Rey affair of 1842. (Laredo, 881).

Bensaid, Abraham - a businessman and property owner in 19-20th centuries. (Laredo, 912).

Benseloum, Jacob - mentioned in the records of the Bet Din of Tetuan of the 19th century. (Laredo, 903).

Bensellum, Salomon - He was mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. He was a founder in 1866 of the synagogue called Minhat Yehouda or the Benatar synagogue. (Laredo, 703).

Benshetrit, Eliyahu - son of Joseph. He was an officiant in the Maasat Moshe synagogue. d.1940. (Laredo, 1120).

Benshetrit, Joseph - He was a payyetan (religious poet) and member of the Burial Society at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. (Laredo, 1120).

Benshushan, Abraham - brother of Samuel, he was a *mohel* in Tangier and Casablanca. (Laredo, 1117).

Benshushan, Jacob - His tombstone of the 18th century is in the ancient cemetery of Tangier at rue Goya and rue Delacroix. (Laredo, 1116).

Benshushan, Samuel - a *mohel* and member of the Burial Society 19-20th centuries. He helped in the expansion of the cemetery. (Laredo, 1117).

Bensimhon, Aurora Nahon de - wife of Salomon. She taught for more than 40 years in the AIU school. (Laredo, 1128).

Bensimhon, Joseph - son of Abraham. He was born in Mazagan. He was the director of the AIU schools in Tangier from 1965-67. (Laredo, 1128).

Bensimhon, Mordechai - He was a rabbi and teacher in the Talmud Torah of Tangier at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 1128).

Bensimhon, Salomon - He was a teacher in the AIU schools for more than 30 years and an officiant in the Judah Cohen synagogue. (Laredo, 1128).

Bensumbal, Moshe - died in Tangier in 1743. (Laredo, 883).

Bensusan, S.L. - British writer who wrote "Morocco" in 1905. (Vaidan, 170-1)

Bentata, Isaac - a member of the Asociacion Hispano-Hebreo and formed part of the commission which was received by King Alphonso XIII in Madrid 1914. (Laredo, 601).

Bentata, Jacob - son of Isaac. He was a writer, publicist, polyglot and journalist who was born in Tangier in 1895. He was the author of *El Jugular de los Socos*, a folkloric work, and a number of other works. He was a correspondent member of the Academy of History of Madrid. He served as treasurer of the Junta and a delegate of Spain to the Legislative Assembly for many years. He moved to Caracas. (Laredo, 602).

Bentes, Leon - son of Messod, the family name was also Ruah. A businessman who went to Brazil and returned to Tangier where he died in 1944. (Laredo, 372).

Benzaquen, Isaac - son of Moshe. He was originally from Tangier and then moved to Casablanca in 1898 and founded the Tangierian synagogue there. These Tangierians marked the elite of the Jewish community in Casablanca. (Laredo, 557; Saga, 115).

Benzaquen, Moshe - son of Isaac. He was a businessman. In 1905, he was killed by mountaineers on the route from Tangier to Tetuan while travelling with Rabbi Moshe Pimienta. (Laredo, 557).

Benzaquen, Salomon - son of Moshe. He was originally from Tangier, but became a businessman in Casablanca and contributed in 1895, to Joseph Bendahan's Shifriyah de Yoseph. (Laredo, 557).

Benzaquen, Salomon - grandson of Moshe. He was secretary of the Junta for many years. He died in 1962. (Laredo, 557).

Berdugo, Alberto - son of Simon. He was born in Tangier but moved to Paris. He studied in the Yeshiva of Tangier and was a chancellor to Sultan Abdul Aziz and to the Pasha of Marrakesh, el-Glaoui. (Saga, 121).

Bergel, Salomon - son of David. He was a member of the Junta in 1962. He also served as president of the Charitable Society of Rabbi Judah Benchimol and vice-president of the Junta until his death in 1967. (Laredo, 214).

Beriro, Jospeh - a property owner in Tangier registered in 1815. (Laredo, 451).

Bibas, Abraham - He served as a rabbinical judge in Tetuan with jurisdiction in Tangier rabbinical court of appeal in 1950. He continued in that position until the diminution of the community. At that time he moved to Straussborg, France. (Laredo, 420).

Bibas, Isaac - He served as a rabbinical judge in Tetuan with jurisdiction in the Tangier rabbinical court of appeal in 1950. (Laredo, 420).

Botbol, Abraham - He was a member of the Burial Society for many years until his death in 1963. (Laredo, 406).

Botbol, Armand - He was a journalist and member of the Press Association of Tangier. (Laredo, 406).

Buzaglo, Moses - son of Salomon. He was, upon the death of his father, elected a delegate to the Legislative Assembly. (Laredo, 198).

Buzaglo, Salomon - son of Jacob. He was a director of an important commercial house, Casa Braunschvig, in Tangier. In 1929, he was elected a delegate to the Legislative Assembly and was reelected in 1933. (Laredo, 197; MUVT, 128).

Braunchvig, Paul - son of Georges Gabriel. He was born in Tangier 19 May 1905. He continued, with his brother, the family business and founded the Georges and Laure Braunschvig Pavillion of Hospital Jules Mauren in Casablanca in 1929. He was decorated with the order of Knight of the Legion of Honor in 1954. (Laredo, 450).

Cadji, Moses - He was a member of the Burial Society. (Laredo, 1027).

Carciente, Amram - A proprietor, originally from Tetuan who moved to Tangier in the 20th century. (Laredo, 1081).

Caro, Isaac - Vice-president of the Moroccan Chamber of Commerce in Tangier in 1962. (Laredo, 1047).

Castiel, Mordechai - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 1087).

Castro, Wanda - directrix of the girls' school of the AIU in Casablanca for many years and then retired to Tangier. She died there in 1960. (Laredo, 1055).

Cazes, Abraham - son of Mimon. He was a member of the Burial Society and helped in 1871 found the new cemetery. (Laredo, 1039).

Cazes, Abraham - son of Moses. He was a member of the Burial Society and died at a very old age in 1962. (Laredo, 1040).

Cazes, Albert - son of Mimon. He was also known as Abraham. He was born in Tangier where he practiced law. For a time he taught French in New York and then returned to Casablanca where he died. (Laredo, 1040).

Cazes, Amram - son of Mordechai. With his brothers Joseph and Mimon, he succeeded his father in the family business. He moved to Casablanca and died there before WWI. (Laredo, 1039).

Cazes-Benatar, Helene - She was the daughter of Amram and wife of Moses Benatar. She was born in Tangier in 1900 and became the first woman lawyer in Morocco. During WWII, she worked with the American Joint Distribution Committee to assist thousands of refugees. She contributed to the creation in Tangier of Gan yeladim and a dispensary for the OSE. In 1960, she moved to Paris where she continued to practice law. She worked very hard in France for Moroccan Jewish rights. (Laredo, 1039; Saga, 139).

Cazes, Joseph - son of Mordechai. He died in Tangier after having served for years on the Junta. (Laredo, 1039).

Cazes, Mimon - son of Mordechai. He was a member of the Burial Society. (Laredo, 1039).

Cazes, Mordechai - He founded an important commercial house in Tangier in the 19th century. (Laredo, 1039).

Chriqui, David - a businessman of Mogador who came to Tangier at the beginning of 19th century. The family is also called Essouiri or Souiri. His son Joseph was a rich businessman who also served as the interpreter for the Swedish consulate and then the French. Joseph's son Moses founded, in 1863, Congregation Sheerit Yoseph and left a legacy for the Jewish hospital. (Saga, 147). The family name was also spelled Ashriqui and Shriqui.

Chriqui, David - a journalist born in Tangier in the mid 19th century who wrote a history of Ceuta—*Ceuta antigua y moderna*. (Saga, 147).

Cohen, Abraham J. - son of Judah. He founded, in 1894, the Alumni Association of the AIU. (Laredo, 629).

Cohen, Abraham S. - born in Tangier. d.- 1963. He gave generously to the Asilo Laredo-Sabbah. He founded the Shir HaShirim. His children moved to Caracas and opened a synagogue in his name. (Laredo, 682).

Cohen, Alia Levi de - wife of Isaac. She contributed and helped develop the *mikveh* (ritual bath) which she donated to the community. (Laredo, 681; MUVT, 417).

Cohen, Elie - He was a secretary and interpreter for the Grand Visier el-Haj Mohammed el-Mokni on diplomatic missions to Paris and Madrid, 1909 and 1912. (Laredo, 680).

Cohen, Isaac - Along with Judah Hadid and Solomon Cohen, he was imprisoned by the Basha in 1744. (Laredo, 674).

Cohen, Isaac A. - He served as treasurer of the International Chamber of Commerce of Tangier in 1956 and was administrator of the Shaar Hashamaim Synagogue in 1967. (Laredo, 683).

Cohen, Isaac J. - a rich businessman who was originally from Tetuan and later became a member of the Junta as well as its treasurer. In the first months of the 20th century, he founded the Siah Yizhaq Synagogue and subsidized courses in the Talmud. (Laredo, 681; Saga, 149).

Cohen, Jacques - son of Isaac. He served as treasurer of the Junta for many years. In 1963, he moved to Casablanca. (Laredo, 681).

Cohen, Jacob - a member of the Junta he also worked on behalf of ONH. (Laredo, 682).

Cohen, Jacob J. - son of Judah. He was the administrator of the synagogue founded by his father until his death in 1946. (Laredo, 678).

Cohen, Jacob S. - brother of Abraham, and a member of the Junta, he supervised the construction of the Kahila building of the community. (Laredo, 682).

Cohen, Joseph - son of Isaac. He served as president of the Junta in 1940. (Laredo, 681).

Cohen, Joseph D. - a member of the Junta and a delegate to the Legislative Assembly, he died in 1962. (Laredo, 682).

Cohen, Joseph J. - For twenty years he was *Parnas* of the community and served on the Junta in 1907. (Laredo, 679).

Cohen, Judah J. - At the end of the 19th century he founded a synagogue which bore his name. The synagogue was located in the Marshan district of Tangier. (Laredo, 679).

Cohen, Judah J. - Originally from Tetuan, he was the treasurer of the Junta for many years. (Laredo, 681).

Cohen, Judah M. - a businessman who was a member of the Junta and *parnas* at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 679).

Cohen, Levi A. - a lawyer and businessman, he was also a journalist. B.1844-d.9 November 1888. He was raised in Mogador and studied in England. On 14 July 1883 he founded the first French language journal in Morocco, *Le Reveil du Maroc*. He also collaborated on the creation of the Hygiene Commission In 1884. He was a correspondent for the *Jewish Chronicle* and the *Jewish World*. He also founded the second newspaper in Tangier in Spanish entitled *Maghreb el-Aksa*. As a UK citizen he fought for Jewish rights. When Cohen died at age 44, the banker Haim Benchimol took over publication of the paper.(Saga, 149; Laredo, 676).

Cohen BenMaqnin, Meir - He was a court Jew and businessman from Marrakesh. During the reign of Sultan Abderrahman (1822-1859), he suggested the development of the Moroccan Maritime and revival of the Port of Mazagan. In 1826, he was named to head the customs in Tangier and later named Moroccan Ambassador to UK. (Saga, 152).

Cohen, Messod - a *shohet* of Tangier in the 18th century. Correspondence from him to other rabbis is dated 1729. (Laredo, 673).

Cohen, Messod - a rabbi in Tangier, he died in 1887 at the age of 102. He founded the Tifereth Israel Synagogue. (Laredo, 675).

Cohen, Messod - Along with Jacob, Mose, and Yusuf, he is mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 675).

Cohen, Mimon J. - He was a founder of the Alumni Association of the AIU in 1894. (Laredo, 679).

Cohen, Moshe - son of Salomon. He was a *shohet* in Tangier in 18-19th century. (Laredo, 674).

Cohen, Rachel Lasry de - wife of Jacques. She worked for the ONH for the Jewish Children in school. In 1963, she moved to Casablanca. (Laredo, 682).

Cohen, Samuel - son of Moises. He was an author, publicist and journalist. He was born in Tetuan and served as sub-director of the journal *Espana* and as a correspondent for ABC of Madrid in Tangier. He was vice-president of the International Press Association in Tangier. (Laredo, 682-3).

Cohen, Shelomo - a *shohet* with Moshe Toledano in Tangier 1762-1792. He was imprisoned by the Basha in 1744. (Laredo, 674).

Cohen, Yamin - b.1898. He served as Chief Rabbi of Tangier before moving to Toronto, Canada. (Saga, 151).

Cohen-Laredo, Moise - President of the Junta in Tetuan and Vice President of the municipal council. He moved to Tangier where he died in 1966. (Laredo, 682).

Corcos, Monti - son of Moses. He was born in Mogador in 1893. He served as correspondent for the *Times of London* in Tangier in 1939. (Laredo, 1068).

Coriat, Abraham S. - He was elected to the Junta of 1891. The Coriat family was originally from Tetuan. (Laredo, 1061).

Coriat, Isaac - son of Abraham. He was elected to the Junta and as a delegate to the Legislative Assembly. He died in 1960. (Laredo, 1061).

Cuby, Mokhluf - He was a *shohet* in Tangier in the 20th century. The family is originally from Tlemcen. (Laredo, 780).

Cuby, Moshe - son of Mokhluf. He was a notary-rabbi as well as a *shohet*. He taught Hebrew in the AIU and at the Yeshiva. (Laredo, 780).

Darmon, J. - He was originally from Tangier. In 1859, he asked the Sultan Moulai Abderrahman for the right to exploit the wood of the forest of Mamora for ten years for a fee of 250,000f and to use the wood to construct two frigates, two briggs and two goilettes. It does not seem that the permission was granted. (Laredo, 510).

Delmar, Abraham - Along with his brother Shalom, they were the sons of Jacob, who was orginally from Mazagan. He was a banker in 20th century. (Laredo, 7070).

Delmar, Marcos - son of Shalom. b. 1895. He was the administrator of the Rebbi Yahya Auday synagogue and a leader of Hebrat Hesed Ve Emet. (Laredo, 707).

Edery, David - He was one of the leaders of the Alumni Association of AIU. He was very active in youth work at the end of the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century. (Laredo, 234).

Edery, Mordechai - He was born in Tangier in 1928 and moved to Argentina in 1956. He had studied at the Tora VeHaim Yeshiva of Tangier and became the vice president of the Rabbinical Seminary of Latin America. (Saga, 170).

Elazar, Abraham M. - He was a member of the Junta of 1891. (Laredo, 306).

Elazar, Chalom - He is mentioned in the sale of Marius Rey Affair in 1842. (Laredo, 306).

Elazar, Carlos - also known as Shalom. He was sub-director of the English Post Office in Tangier at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 306).

Eljarrat Castiel, Abraham - a lawyer in the Court of Appeals in Tangier in 1965. (Laredo, 288).

Elkaim, Leon - He was principal of the Lycee Israelite de Tanger in the first half of this century. He was born in Casablanca. (Saga, 183).

Elkharrat, Mordechai - He is mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 288).

Elmaleh, Amram - son of Eliyahu. He was one of the first Moroccan teachers for the AIU. He was born in Tangier and educated in ENIO in Paris. In 1907

he was director of the school in Fez and defended Jewish rights in that city. In 1913, he was placed in charge of all the communal budget. He died in 1939. (Saga, 189; Laredo, 291).

Elmaleh, Eliyahu - A rabbi in Tangier, he died in 1908. Originally from Mogador, he emigrated to Leghorn, Italy to assist his uncle, the celebrated printer of Livorno, Elie Benamozegh, as a compiler and corrector of various rabbinic works. When he returned to Morocco, he established himself in Tangier where he married and consecrated a great deal of his life to rabbinic work. He was a member of the rabbinical tribunal and taught in the yeshiba. He wrote *Beqa La Gulgolet* (Jerusalem: 1911), novellae on the Torah and religious law. (Laredo, 291).

Elmaleh, Jacob - A very pious rabbi from Mogador who established himself in Tangier in 19th century. (Laredo, 290).

Elmaleh, Nissim - An industrialist who supported the cause of religious education in Tangier. (Laredo, 293).

Elmaleh, Samuel - son of Eliyahu. He was an officiant in the Ez Haim Synagogue and a member of Hajnasat Orhim in 20th century. (Laredo, 291).

Essayag, Messod - son of Menahem. A businessman from Tetuan who established himself in Tangier at the end of the 19th century. (Laredo, 362).

Essebagh, Isaac - He was mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 348).

Essiboni, Moshe - A signatory of the Haskama of Tangier of 1795. The family name was shortened to Siboni. (Laredo, 518).

Essiboni, Shalom - A signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 518).

Esusi, Joseph - A signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 352).

Ezaguy, Jose de - An attache to the consulate of Portugal in Tangier in 1940. He was a poet and writer who authored numerous studies on the Portuguese occupation of Morocco. (Laredo, 242).

Ezaui, Isaac S. - An officiating rabbi for many years in the synagogue of Hajnasat Orhim and a *shohet*. He emigrated to Canada. (Laredo, 242).

Farache, J. - a lawyer born in Tangier and practiced in Paris in 20th century. (Laredo, 975).

Farache, Reuben - a rich proprieter in 19-20th centuries originally from Tetuan. Later he migrated to Latin America and returned with his fortune. (Laredo, 975).

Farache, Rica Soto de - wife of Reuben. She was a member of the women's Burial Society who contributed much to social welfare projects and died in 1940. (Laredo, 975).

Fhima, Maklouf - He was rabbi director of the Yeshiva Ez Haim and the Foundation Isaac Toledano in Tangier in 1966. (Laredo, 991).

Follinquinos, Messod - He along with his brother Judah signed the Haskama of Tangier (Laredo, 983; Saga, 195).

Frija, Ephraim - He was mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 1013).

Frija, Salomon - He was a leader in the Burial Society and the Masaat Moshe Synagogue in the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 1013).

Gabbay, Abraham - He contributed to the publication of *Sefer Marpe Lanefes* in 1894. (Laredo, 464).

Gabbay, Isaac - He moved from London to Tangier in 18th century, where he introduced the European form of hunting. He died in Gibraltar but was buried in Tangier. He was the ancestor of the Gabbay family of Gibraltar and Tangier. (Laredo, 464).

Gabbay, Joseph - He was a member of the Junta in 1965. (Laredo, 465).

Gabbay, Yoshua - grandson of Isaac. He was born in Tangier in 1870 and became a *shohet-mohel* and officiant in a synagogue in Gibraltar. In 1940, he was evacuated with the civilian rescue of Gibraltar. (Laredo, 464).

Gabbay, Judah - brother of Yoshua. He officiated in the Rebbi Yahya Synagogue in Tangier for more than twenty years before his death in 1962. (Laredo, 465).

Gabison, Bension - He was principal of the Ittahad Maroc in 1960's. (Saga, 199).

Garzon, Abraham - He was a rabbi in Tangier in the 18-19th century. He succeeded Isaac Pinto in 1792 as customs administrator for the port of Tangier. (Saga, 198).

Garzon, Jacques - son of Moise. He was born in Tangier in 1911. At the age of 18, he moved to Casablanca and served as vice-president of OSE Maroc and was general treasurer of the aide scolaire and was a member of the committee of Maghen David. (Laredo, 460).

Garzon, Joseph - He was elected a member of the Junta in 1950. (Laredo, 460).

Gozal, Jacques - He was a teacher and member of the Junta who died young in an accident in 1964. (Laredo, 471).

Guahnish, Amram - son of Mordechai, b.1895-d.1930. At age 25, he was elected to the Junta and helped to found the rabbinical seminary, the old age home and worked for communal reform. He was president of the casino de Tanger. He was eulogized by Rabbis Judah Azancot and Moses Azancot. (Saga, 336; MUVT, 141). See Wahnish.

Guahnish, Mordechai - Also known as Marcos, he founded the Guahnish et Benchetrit tobacco company. In 1887, Sultan Moulai Hassan stopped the tobacco trade so then the Jews took over as a monoploy in the protectorate. (Saga, 336).

Guigui, Yehoshaphat - He was a rabbi in Tangier in 1830. The family was originally from Taza. (Laredo, 474).

Guinon, Elias - He was a leader of Hebrat Hesed Ve Emet and the Burial Society in 1965. (Laredo, 478).

Guitta, Jacob - Brother of Samuel. He was a doctor in Fez and Tangier in 20th century. (Laredo, 472).

Guitta, Leon - son of Samuel. He was a dentist in Tangier who spent many years in Madrid and also taught Arabic. (Laredo, 472).

Guitta, Samuel - He was a surgeon who graduated from the faculty of Sevilla and practiced in Tangier beginning 1885. He helped in the cholera epidemic of 1895. He was the medical inspector for the Hygiene Commission for many years. Guitta represented Spain in the Legislative Assembly, for four years. He founded the Asociacion Hispano-Hebrea and was its president. He received the Cross of Military Merit; Knight of the Order of Isabel the Catholic; Cell du Christ of Portugal; Ouissan Alaouite; Civil Medal of Africa. For 29 years he was elected the delegate of the Spanish colony to the Hygiene Commission. He was an active Mason, honorary president of the League of Human Rights, vice-president of the Spanish Casino, President of the Maghreb Sporting Club. He was also elected the vice-president of the Junta. He was president and director of the Colegio Medico Espanol. (MUVT, 144-6; Laredo, 472).

Hassan, Abraham - son of Salvador. He succeeded his father as the director of the bank. Abraham served for many years as the president of the Junta. With his brothers Joseph, Augusto (Yahya) and Samuel served as the directorship of the bank. (Laredo, 594; Saga, 206).

Hassan, Jacques - son of Samuel. He was born in Tangier but moved to Geneva with the bank. He was a noted philanthropist. (Laredo, 595).

Hassan, Jose - He served as a delegate to the Legislative Assembly. (MUVT, 462).

Hassan, Joseph - son of Salvador. He was also known as Joe. He succeeded his brother as director of Banque Hassan and served as a member of the legislative assembly and as one of its vice presidents. He also served as President of the Junta for many years. He was decorated with the order of Civil Merit. (Laredo, 594-5).

Hassan, Salvador - son of Abraham. He was also known as Yeshua. He was a banker originally from Tetuan. He served as vice consul of Portugal and Italy and moved to Tangier in 1895. He was a member of the Hygiene Commission in 1903 and served as vice-president of the Junta at various times. Upon his death, his heirs gave a maternite in his memory. (Laredo, 594; Saga, 206).

Hachuel, Joseph - He was a rabbi in Tangier in the 19th century. (Laredo, 566).

Hachuel, Sol - (b. Tangier 1820; d. Fez 1834), beheaded for her loyalty to her religion. (Laredo, 566; MUVT, 343-350).

Hadida, Gimol - daughter of Moses. She was a secretary and social assistant of the AJDC for many years, first in Tangier and then in Casablanca. She assisted during WWI and then helped refugees fleeing the Nazis. (Laredo, 568).

Hadida, Haim - A proprieter who served on the Junta of 1891. He contributed to the publication of *Sefer Marpe la Nefes* by Raphael Maman. (Laredo, 567).

Hadid, Isaac - A signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 567).

Hadida, Juda - He was rabbi with Isaac Cohen in Tangier in 1744 who, with the *Shohet* Salomon Cohen, were imprisoned by the Basha. (Laredo, 567).

Hadida, Judah - son of Haim. He was an active member of the Burial Society at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 568).

Hadida, Leon - son of Moses. He was the administrator of the Assayag Synagogue. (Laredo, 568).

Hadida, Mathilde Laredo de - daughter of Abraham Jonah Laredo. She was born in Tangier but moved to Argentina and became the secretary of the Colectividad Marroqui de la Republica Argentina (The Moroccàn Group in Argentina). (Laredo, 568).

Hadida, Moses - son of Haim. He was a lawyer for the rabbinical tribunal and a member of the Burial Society. He died a few months into the 20th century. (Laredo, 568).

Hadida, Samuel - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 567).

Hamu, Isaac - a brother of Moise. He was born in Tangier and established an import-export business in Mazagan at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 590).

Hamu, Jacob - the brother of Moses. Although born in Tangier he opened an import business in Cadiz in the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 590).

Hamu, Madame - the wife of Moise. She founded and directed a primary school in Tangier at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 590).

Hamu, Moise - Born in Tangier, he was the interpreter for the legation of Portugal at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 590).

Israel, Adele Reinhard de - She came from Luxembourg and married Albert Israel. She founded an AIU school for girls. Their only son Andre moved back to Luxembourg. (MUVT, 454).

Israel, Albert - He was an economist born in Tangier who moved to Paris and became active with Siona. (Saga, 216).

Israel, Leon - He was a member of the Junta in 1965. (Laredo, 660).

Israel, Moshe David - He was a member of the Burial Society and help found the cemetery of 1871. (Laredo, 660).

Israel, Samuel - born in Tetuan. He was the treasurer and member of the Junta after 1964. (Laredo, 660).

Kanaoui, Joseph - Originally from Algiers, he moved to Tangier at the end of the 19th century. (Laredo, 1074).

Kattan, Isaac - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier along with his brother, Judah. (Laredo, 1069).

Keslassy, Meyer - son of Jacob. Past president of Petah Tikva Congregation of Toronto.

Keslassy, Samuel - son of Jacob. He was a member of the Junta after 1967. (Laredo, 287).

Khalfon, Isaac - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 701).

Laredo, Abraham - Also known as Abramo, he was the son of Mordechai. He was a polyglot. At a very young age, he entered the service of the consulate of

Italy. In 1887 he was an interpreter; 1891, vice consul; 1912, head interpreter; 1920, secretary interpreter of the legation and served as a charge d'affaires on various occasions. 1887-1928, he served as the secretary of the Sanitary Council, a member of the special tribunal of the Banque d'Etat du Maroc. He served as president of the Junta and was decorated with the Knight of the Maurician Order, and officer of the Order of Crown of Italy, officer of the Ouissan Alaouite, silver medal from the Italian and from the Portuguese governments for his help in the rescue of the captive sailors from the shipwreck of 1887, held by the Rif mountaineers. In 1887 he authored a work on harmonizing the Moslem calendar with the Julian and Gregorian calendars. His grandfather, Joseph Toledano, had worked for the Italian legation. (MUVT, 152; Laredo, 711).

Laredo, Abraham - son of Moses. He was a *Parnas* of the community for many years. 1893-1908 (when he died), he headed the Burial Society, organized the purchase of land for the new cemetery. He was in the delegation which received Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany on his visit in 1905, along with Chief Rabbi Bengio, President Isaac M. Nahon, and Joseph Lasry representing the community. He contributed 500 ducats to insure that the Burial Society had proper funding. He bought about a hectare of land from Theo Furst and Georges Braunschvig atcost in the area known as Sidi Amar Tahjart, or the Bulls market. The conditions were that the land be used only for the cemetery and in case the land cannot be used as a cemetery then the Chief Rabbi, the *Sheikh* and 2-3 notables and one of his descendents can sell the land and use the monies to buy another parcel for a cemetery. The land was worth 1½ million francs. (Laredo, 709; MUVT, 386).

Laredo, Abraham - son of Jacob, b.1899. He was a member of the Junta and of ONH. He served as a delegate to the Legislative Assembly and of the AJDC. He was also a member of the Burial Society. During WWII and after he helped many refugees from the Nazis come to Tangier. He organized the shipment of food to the concentration camps. He was decorated with the order of the *Mehdawia*. (Laredo, 712).

Laredo, Abraham I. - b. 1895. He was the vice president of the Alumni Association of the AIU in Casablanca. (MUVT, 283).

Laredo, Abraham M. - He took part in the election reform of 1890 and was elected to the Junta of 1891. (Laredo, 711).

Laredo, Abraham - son of Yonah. He was for many years a member of the Junta as well as of the Burial Society. He served each institution as president. He was decorated with the Academic Palm and the Ouissam Alaouite. He moved to Brazil in 1958. (Laredo, 711-2).

Laredo, Abraham - son of Isaac, b.1895. In 1949, he was secretary and vice president of the Junta; 1956, President of the Junta and president of the Burial Society. He also served as president of the societe d'histoire et d'archeologie de Tanger; vice-president of the ligue anti-tuberculeuse entraide nationale; the association pour la defense des interets de Tanger. President

of the OSE in Tangier until its closing in 1964. Founder and president of the Association d'aide a l'ensignement professional; vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce of Tangier. He authored many studies as well.(Laredo, 713; Saga, 224).

Laredo, Amram - also known as Andre, the son of Moses. He was born in Casablanca but was active in the Burial Society of Tangier and the Casino de Tanger. (Laredo, 715).

Laredo, Camila Benoliel de - wife of Abraham. For many years, she was a member of Malbish Arumim Society and Asilo Laredo-Sabbah. (Laredo, 714).

Laredo, Gimol - also known as Molly, the daughter of Isaac. b. 1903. She was active in the Spanish Red Cross and decorated for it. She was a member of the board of NIDO. (Laredo, 714).

Laredo, Hana Nahon de - wife of Isaac. She was a painter and a musician. In 1893, she was a founder of the Daughters of Zion and the maternelle, Femina and other organizations in which she continued to be active until her death in 1933. (Laredo, 711).

Laredo, Isaac - son of Abraham. b.1866-d.1946. He was a writer and journalist, sociologist and polyglot. As a young journalist, he fought against abuse and for progress. He wrote under the pseudonyms Omega, el-Bachir, HaMeliz. He collaborated with the press of Spain, Gibraltar and Tangier in *Al-Magreb al-Aksa, Le Reveil du Maroc, El Eco Mauritano, La Cronica* as a founder. He contributed to the creation of the Hygiene Commission and was its first secretary-treasurer in 1888-1889. He was honorary vice-president of the committee in 1898. He helped to promote or create cultural and recreation centers, educational establishments, and the chamber of commerce. In 1891, he was the first president of the alumni association of the AIU. In 1890 he moved for the election reform and universal suffrage. Under the presidency of Haim Benchimol, he was the first secretary of the Junta to reorganize the social services. Along with his brother Joseph, he served on the Burial Society and founded an important commercial house. He was honorary dragoman of the German Legation until 1914. In 1898, he received the busto del libertador del Venezuela. In 1934, he wrote the history entitled *Memorias de un viejo Tangerino* (Madrid, 1935) (Laredo, 710; Saga, 223).

Laredo, Isaac - son of Yonah. He was a member of Hajnasat Orhim and founder of the Matan Beseter (Anonymous Givers) Society of which he was president for many years until he moved to Madrid in 1947. He was also a *shohet* and head of the Burial Society. (Laredo, 712).

Laredo, Jacob - (1863-1929). Son of Abraham. He and his brother, Isaac, founded an important commercial house in 1884. With the assistance of Dr. Spivakoff and Joseph Haim Bengio, he helped reform the hospital. During the cholera epidemic of 1894-5, he tried to relieve the situation of the poor. In 1898, he was awarded the busto del libertador de Venezuela. (Laredo, 709-10).

Laredo, Joseph - Brother of Rabbi Abraham Laredo of Gibraltar, he served as a rabbi in Tangier in 18-19th centuries. (Laredo, 708).

Laredo, Joseph - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 708).

Laredo, Judah - Also known as Leopoldo, he was the son of Isaac and owner of an electrical business. For many years he was president of ONH and vice-president of the Casino de Tanger. (Laredo, 714).

Laredo, Ledicia - (1896-1955). Daughter of Isaac. She was active in Femina and the Spanish Red Cross. (Laredo, 714).

Laredo, Mordechai - a notary-rabbi in Tangier who legalized the signatories of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 708).

Laredo, Mordechai - son of Joseph. He was a teaching rabbi in Tangier at the end of the 19th century. (Laredo, 708).

Laredo, Moses - son of Yonah. He was a businessman who died in a shipwreck at the beginning of the 19th century. (Laredo, 708).

Laredo, Moses - (1895-1926). Son of Yonah. He died during an epidemic when he exposed himself to the disease while trying to bury a cadaver of a Jew who had fallen to the disease. He died a few days after having been exposed to the disease. The Asilo was named in his memory. (Laredo, 712; MUVT, 152-3).

Laredo, Moses - (1896-1955). Son of Jacob. He was active in the sports movement in Tangier and then in Casablanca. He was also a member of the Burial Society in each city. (Laredo, 712).

Laredo, Moshe - a notary-rabbi who signed the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 708).

Laredo, Raphael Abraham - brother of Mordechai, he was a teacher in 19-20th century. (Laredo, 708).

Laredo, Raphael Abraham - grandson of Abraham Raphael Laredo, he was the chief accountant for the Port Authority of Tangier. He was president of the Malbish Arumim Society and a member of the Junta until his death in 1967. (Laredo, 713).

Laredo, Salomon - son of Joseph. He was a poet and teacher of English in the 19th century. He prepared a group of Moslem students whom Sultan Moulai Hassan I sent to study in Europe. He was friendly with Sid Mohammed el-Guebbas who later became Naib in Tangier and also with the Grand Vizier Honoraire by Caid Idriss Eshaoui, chief of artillery for Tangier.(MUVT, 147; Laredo, 708-9).

Laredo, Salomon - a notary-rabbi of Tangier who legalized the Haskama of Arzila on 4 Sivan 1850. (Laredo, 709).

Laredo, Salomon J. - a businessman who was born in Tangier but who moved to Mazagan. (Laredo, 711).

Laredo, Salomon - son of Isaac. He was born in Tangier in 1898 but moved to Casablanca in 1922. He was active in the anti-Vichy resistance. (Laredo, 714).

Laredo, Samuel - a teacher of Hebrew in the 19-20th centuries. (Laredo, 711).

Laredo, Yonah - son of Abraham. He was president of the community in el-Ksar at the end of the 19th century. He succeeded his father as head of the Burial

Society in Tangier and remained active until his death in 1931. He was also active in Hajnasat Orhim Society. (Laredo, 709).

Lasry, Albert - Also known as Abraham, he was the son of Joseph and chancellor of the USA consulate in Casablanca in 1940. (Laredo, 309).

Lasry, Albert - son of Salomon. He emigrated to Barcelona where he became an industrialist. (Laredo, 310).

Lasry, Abraham - He emigrated to Argentina at the end of the 19th century. He returned to Tangier in 1913 and died at sea while travelling to Argentina. (Laredo, 310).

Lasry, Anita - also known as Hana. She was a nurse and social worker for the social services and benefit of the community. (Laredo, 313).

Lasry, Baroukh - son of Samuel. He was a businessman who moved from Tangier to Casablanca and died there at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 309).

Lasry, Baroukh - son of Salomon. He was a businessman who founded in 1895 the store called Au Grand Paris which he ran until his death in 1911. His son Salomon and grandson Baroukh followed in the family business. (Laredo, 310).

Lasry, Isaac - son of Joseph. He was active on the board of the Hospital Benchimol until his death in 1940. (Laredo, 309).

Lasry, Jacob - treasurer of ONH in Tangier in 1964. (Laredo, 310).

Lasry, Joseph - son of Samuel. He was born in Gibraltar but died in Tangier at the beginning of the 20th century. He was a member of the English colony in Tangier but also a member of the Junta, in 1907. He founded the Ez Haim Synagogue and represented the Jews during the visit of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany to Tangier in 1905. (Laredo, 309).

Lasry, Maurice - Known as Moses, he emigrated to Australia at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 309).

Lasry, Samuel - son of Baroukh. He was a businessman who established himself in Casablanca in 1921 and died in 1947. (Laredo, 309).

Levi, Jacob - He was mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 742).

Levi, Jacob - A *shohet* in 20th century. (Laredo, 743).

Levi, Moses - He was a member of the Junta of 1891. (Laredo, 744).

Levi, Samuel D. - son of Daniel. He was a pedagogue born in Tetuan in 1874. He taught in the AIU school in Tangier for three years and then moved to Casablanca. (Laredo, 744-5).

Levi-Bensusan, Mokluf - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 754).

Levi-Ibn Yuli, Samuel- a rabbi from Meknes who moved to Tangier and then Gibraltar in the 19th century. He wrote the *Sefer Hadar Zequenim* on the Tosafot (Livorno, 1840) and the *Qol Kalla* commentary on the Talmud. (Laredo, 749).

Levy, Hugh - He played the clarinet at Bar Safari. He was the son of a British doctor and taught language lessons. (Vaidon, 268).

Levy, Joseph J. - b.1876. He was educated in the AIU and was the son of Rabbi Jacob Levy, a teacher of various generations of Tangierians. He served six years on the Junta and was also a Jewish delegate to the Legislative Assembly during the reestablishment of the statutes. For 23 years, he was the secretary of the Hajnasat Orhim Society. (MUVT, 153-4).

Maman Pinto, Isaac - He died on 24 August 1929 trying unsuccessfully to save a drowning bather, Capt. Francisco Sanchez Zamora of the Spanish Army. The journal, *El Porvenir*, raised a public contribution to erect a white marble tomb over his grave as a distinction for his courage. He was thirty years old. (Laredo, 784; MUVT, 421).

Maman, David - a founder of the Patrinat anti-tuberculeux in Tangier in 1947. (Laredo, 784).

Marques, Lucette Toledano de - wife of Dr. Samuel Marques, vice-president of ONH and worker for the Asilo. She gave money for the nursery. (Laredo, 786).

Marques, Dr. Samuel - A president of the Alumni Association of the AIU, he was also a member of the Junta and of the ONH. He promoted the movement of the intellectual renaissance of Jewish Youth. He died in 1956. His family was originally from Tetuan. (Laredo, 786).

Mani, Israel - the brother of Dr. Mani. He was a lawyer born in Hebron Israel who spent many years in Tangier before returning to his native land. He presided at the court in Tel-Aviv. (Laredo, 834).

Mani, Dr. Moise - (b.1880-d.1961). A surgeon, he was born in Jerusalem from a family from Hebron. He was the personal physician to Sultan Moulai Abdel Hafid. He came to Tangier in 1913. He was the director of Maternite Salvador Hassan and director of Hospital Benchimol. His family was of Bagdadian ancestry. His wife was not Jewish and taught in the College St. Aublaire. His daughters were raised as non-Jews. However, the Jews greatly adored Dr. Mani. (Laredo, 834).

Marrache, Moses - (b.1864-d.1936). A grandson of Moses, who had been a candidate in 1855 for the position of chief rabbi, he was a polyglot and an author. In 1887-1892, he headed the Compagnie de Navigation Paquet on the Marseille-Morocco route. 1892-3, he was in Casablanca. In 1893, he returned to Tangier as a journalist for the *l'Independence Belge* and other periodicals. In 1925 he was an interpreter for the rabbinical tribunal and a delegate to the Legislative Assembly, a position he held until his death. (Laredo, 839; MUVT, 261-2).

Marrache, Salomon - An arabist, he was an interpreter for the Portuguese legation at the beginning of the 20th century. He served as vice-consul until his death in 1961. (Laredo, 839).

Mashiah, Samuel - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 830).

Medina, Abraham - He was mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 789).

Medina, Abraham - son of Ephraim. He was a member for many years of the Junta and its comptroller in 1964. He was also active on the board of Hospital Benchimol. (Laredo, 790).

Medina, Ephraim - a teacher of Hebrew and a member of the Burial Society and Junta in the 20th century. (Laredo, 790).

Medina, Michel - Also known as Michael, he was a son of Ephraim and director of the Banque Populaire du Maroc in 1965. (Laredo, 790).

Mergui, Joseph - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Saga, 250).

Mergui, Menahem - president of the Junta in the 1960s. (Saga, 250).

Morely, Salvador - He was a physician from Melilla who served in Hospital Benchimol and on the Hygiene Commission for many years. The family was originally from Algiers. (Laredo, 843).

Nahmias, Joseph - son of Abraham. He was a member of the Burial Society. In 1891 he contributed to the new cemetery. (Laredo, 870).

Nahmias, Ruben - *Parnas* of the community in the 19-20th centuries. (Laredo, 870).

Nahon, Abraham S. - son of Salomon. He was a rich businessman who founded an inportant commercial company in the 19th century. (Laredo, 863).

Nahon, Abraham Haim - Brother of Moise, he was born in Tangier and died in Neuilly in 1935. A rich businessman he was decorated with the Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur. (Laredo, 864).

Nahon, Abraham Haim M. - (1891-1963). Also known as James, he was the son of Moses. He was elected Vice-president and then president of the Junta and reopened Hospital Benchimol. He founded the Patrinat Anti-tuberculeux Israelite de Tanger. He was also president of the Casino de Tanger. He was decorated by the Spanish government with the Order of Civil Merit. (Laredo, 864-5).

Nahon, Haim M. - son of Moses the Banker. He was a member of the Junta. In 1887, he was a member of the provisional committee of the Hygiene Commission and died at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 863).

Nahon, Isaac - The ancestor of the Nahon family of Tangier, he moved from Tetuan at the beginning of the 19th century. The family originally went from Spain to Fez to Tetuan before coming to Tangier. (Laredo, 862; Saga, 265).

Nahon, Isaac - son of Salomon. He was active in the communal reform of 1890. He was elected vice-president of the Junta of 1891. He collaborated on the foundation of the Hygiene Commission. (Laredo, 862).

Nahon, Isaac M. - son of Moses, the banker. He was a member of the Junta. In 1905, he was a member of the commission sent by the Jews to welcome Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany to Tangier. He died at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 863).

Nahon, Isaac - son of Abraham. In 1873, he migrated to Haifa. In 1900, he was director of the AIU school there. 1912-1914, he directed the school in Damascus; 1915, in Tanta, Egypt. After WWI, he retired to Haifa. (Laredo, 865).

Nahon, Isaac M. - son of Moses. He worked for ONH which helped 1200 poor students. He was the treasurer of the organization,. (Laredo, 865).

Nahon, Jacob M. - son of Moses the banker. He was a member for many years of the Junta. He died at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 863).

Nahon, Jaime - He was born in 1891, and educated in the AIU. At 14, he joined the firm of Abraham S. Nahon & Co. as Arabic correspondent. Fleeing WWI on a bus with about 20 other persons, it took him four days to reach the border. Through this adventure he became fascinated by cars and introduced Cadillac and Buick to Spain. (MUVT, 163).

Nahon, Jonas Benasuli - b. 1888, he was educated in the AIU. In 1902, he attended the Lycee Jansonde Sailly. In 1908 he attended the Escuela de Artes y Manufacturas and finished as an architectural engineer. He was vice-president of the Spanish Red Cross and president of the Casino de Tanger. (MUVT, 122).

Nahon, Joseph - son of Isaac. He, with his brother Judah, were leaders of the community in the 19th century. (Laredo, 862).

Nahon, Joseph - son of Salomon. He was a member of the Junta and died at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 863).

Nahon, Messodi Abensur de - wife of Haim. She worked on behalf the ONH founded by Baron de Hirsch. (Laredo, 863).

Nahon, Moses - son of Isaac. He was president for many years of the Junta. A banker, he founded the Massat Moshe Synagogue in 1878. In 1863, he accompanied Sir Moses Montefiore on his trip to the Sultan of Morocco in Marrakesh. The bank had interests in international commerce and corresponded with Banque d'Espagne, Credit Lyonniase and Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. (Laredo, 862).

Nahon, Moses I. - (1870-1940). A pedagogue and sociologist, he studied in France and was director of the AIU school in Fez. He was sub-director of the AIU in Tangier and in 1898, founded the AIU in Casablanca. They sent him to head a school in Algiers 1899-1902. In 1906, he was part of a delegation to inspect the AIU school throughout Morocco. He returned to Morocco as a colonist in the region of the Gharb and became president of the association des Colons. He won the respect of Marshall Lyautey, the French Resident General. He was decorated with Academic Palms, Ouissam Alaouite, Merit Agricole. He was named posthumously to the Legion d'Honneur. He left an endowment for poor students to continue their higher education. He was the second son of Isaac Judah Nahon and Rahma Laredo de Nahon. (MUVT, 267-270; Laredo, 864).

Nahon, Moses S. - son of Salomon. He was a member of the Junta and died at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 863).

Nahon, Preciada - daughter of Moses. She died in 1930 as a young artist. (Laredo, 865).

Nahon, Salomon I. - son of Isaac. He was a rich businessman who was *parnas* for many years and a member of the Junta. He died in 1869. (Laredo, 862).

Nahon, Salomon - He was treasurer of the Junta and elected to the Junta of 1891. (Laredo, 863).

Nahon, Salomon N. - Also known as Sydney, he was the son of Moses and president of the Hajnasat Orhim Society for many years. He died in 1964. (Laredo, 864).

Nahon, Samuel A. - son of Abraham. He worked in his youth for the reform of the community structure and the creation of modern institutions in Tangier. In 1893, with Abraham Ribbi, Moise I. Nahon and others he founded the Alumni Association of the AIU. He was a member of the Junta and died in 1952. (Laredo, 863).

Naqam, Abraham - A businessman originally from Tangier who established himself in Rabat and became president of the community there for many years. (Laredo, 876).

Nezri, Carlos - son of Yahya. He was a lawyer in the court of appeals. He was a member of the Junta in 1940. He was an author of a number of works. (Laredo, 867).

Nezri, Yahya - A talmudist and rabbi and a member of the rabbinical tribunal of Tangier in 1940. (Laredo, 866).

Obadiah, Jacob - A *shohet* and notary as well as officiant in the El Estudio Synagogue in Tangier in 1966. He later moved to Montreal and passed away there. (Laredo, 922).

Obadiah, Judah - He was an officiant in the Synagogue Sheerith Yoseph at the beginning of the 20th century. He died in Casablanca. (Laredo, 922).

Oziel, Leon - He paid privately for push-carts and workers to clean the Soco Chico and various streets as well as the Soco Grande in 1889. He was invited to a general meeting of the Hygiene Commission and elected to the committee on 20 February 1890. (MUVT, 295).

Pariente, Abraham - son of Moses. He was a banker in the 20th century. He served as secretary-treasurer of the Hygiene Commission in 1890 and was a member of the Junta in 1907. (Laredo, 982).

Pariente, Jacob - He was a businessman and leader of the community in 19-20th centuries. (Laredo, 981).

Pariente, Joseph - son of Jacob. He was a prominent businessman in the 19th century. (Laredo, 982).

Pariente, Moses - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 981).

Pariente, Moses - son of Jacob. He was a rabbi and banker who founded Banque Pariente in 1840. He was the treasurer and member of the Junta for many years. (Laredo, 981).

Pariente, Salomon - A businessman in Tangier who served as the official interpreter for the British governors, 1662-84. (Saga, 284).

Pariente, Salomon - son of Joseph. He was a businessman who served on the Junta in the 19-20th centuries. (Laredo, 982).

Pariente, Shemtob - He was a pedagogue who was born in Tangier in 1860. He served as director of the AIU schools in Jerusalem, Constantinople, Izmir and elsewhere. He helped in the cholera epidemic and with Russian and Roumanian refugees. (Laredo, 982).

Perez, David - son of Joseph. He was born in Tangier in 1890. He was a lawyer and professor at the Universidade de Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. (Laredo, 1016).

Perez, Joseph - He left part of his estate to the founding of the Bet El Synagogue in Tangier in 1900. (Laredo, 1016).

Perl, D.A. - director of the Renacimiento de Israel in 1930. (Laredo, 141).

Pilo, Moses - Originally from Tetuan, he founded one of most celebrated bakeries in Tangier in the 19th century. His son was Alberto, and grandson Moses moved to Madrid in 1960. (Laredo, 993).

Pimienta, Abraham - (1860-1924) - son of Rabbi Moses, who was a candidate for the chief rabbinate in 1855, and Simy Bengio, daughter of the man elected to be Chief Rabbi in 1855. In 1890 he took an active part in the reform of the community and was elected vice-president for many years. He participated in the soup-kitchen and as honorary vice-president of the Hygiene Commission. He was awarded the chevalier de la legion d'Honneur, Ouissam Alaouite and the officier d'Academie. He founded the AIU school in Larache and was in 1891 part of the delegation which paid homage to Don Emilio Castelar on his visit to Tangier for his courageous defense of the Jews when they were attacked in Parliament by Nationalist deputy Manterola. Pimienta was a lawyer by profession but collaborated on *Le Reveil du Maroc, Depeche Marocaines* and *Le Temps de Paris* (Laredo, 994; MUVT, 259).

Pimienta, Haim - Born in Tangier, he died in Casablanca in 1925, where he was an officiant in the synagogue of the Tangierians. (Laredo, 994).

Pimienta, Jacob - He was a propagator of the old tradition from Tetuan and Tangier which probably dated from the fifteenth century. On the last day of Hanuca, the children would shout on the last class before their vacation: God should accord his mercy on Uncle Jacob Pimienta who liberated us from school and lessons. The school granted that day as holiday upon his insistence. (Laredo, 993-4).

Pimienta, Joseph - Along with Salomon Pimienta, he was a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 994).

Pimienta, Moshe - He was a rabbi and businessman who had been a candidate for the chief rabbinate in 1855. He was killed by robbers on the road to Tangier from Tetuan. (Laredo, 994).

Pinto, Abraham - son of Haim. (b.Tangier 1880 - d. Casablanca 1951). (Laredo, 1000).

Pinto, Abraham - (1863-1947). son of Jacob. With his brother Moses, he went to Latin America at the end of the 19th century and later returned to Tangier. He served as the Vice-president of the Associacion Hispano-Hebrea and was part of the delegation which went to Madrid to meet with King Alfonso XIII in 1914. The King promised to ameliorate the condition of Spanish Jews in Tangier and Morocco. Pinto was decorated with the Order of Isabel the Catholic. (Laredo, 1001).

Pinto, Abraham - son of Moses. He was born in Tangier in 1899 and with his brother Jacques moved to the USA. He helped 200 refugees arrive in Casablanca from Southern France to evade the Nazis. (Laredo, 1002-3).

Pinto, Elias - son of Moses. b. in Tangier and lived in Casablanca for many years. He moved to the USA in 1940. (Laredo, 1103).

Pinto, Haim Isaac - (1845-1903). He was elected to the Junta of 1891 but moved in 1895 to Casablanca. In 1898, he founded the Tangierian Synagogue there. (Laredo, 999).

Pinto, Isaac - Originally from Tangier he died on his way to Marrakesh in 1778. In his will he left all his goods to his wife except for a legacy to the synagogue. His will was legalized in Tangier in 1814. (Laredo, 996).

Pinto, Isaac - Nicknamed Azi-Haqo, he was the administrator of customs for the port of Tangier during the reign of Moulai Ismael. In 1766, he owned considerable property in Tangier. Upon his death in 1792, the Sultan confiscated all his goods. (Laredo, 998).

Pinto, Isaac - Along with Jacob, he is mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 998).

Pinto, Isaac - (1879-1916). From 1896-1912, he served as honorary interpreter of the Belgian consulate in Casablanca. The son of Haim, he was born in Tangier. In 1908 he was nominated as an expert for the international indemnities commission. On 7 August 1916, Marshal Lyautey sent a representative to his burial. Pinto had been decorated with the order of Officier d'Academie by the government of France; Officier de l'Ordre de Leopold II by the King of Belgium and Officer of the Crown of Italy. (Laredo, 1000).

Pinto, Jacob - son of Isaac. He, his mother and sisters sold houses in Tangier in 1792-3. (Laredo, 998).

Pinto, Jacques - son of Moses. He was born in Tangier in 1896 and was also known as Jacob. He worked with his father, brothers and sons and established three important commercial centers in Morocco, USA, UK, France and Spain. For many years he was a member of the Junta and served as its vice-president. He was decorated with the Orden del Merito Civil de Espana. He married Lunita Toledano and gave a building for use as the Asilo and for a school. He was honorary consul of Japan in Tangier. (Laredo, 1002). (Saga, 291 has much erroneous information under an entry entitled Pinto, Jack, although there is enough there to indicate that the author is trying to describe the same person).

Pinto, James - He assisted in 1682 as an intermediary for the purchase of precious stones from Semtob Cohen of Tetuan for the British governor of Tangier. (Laredo, 996).

Pinto, Luna Toledano de - wife of Jacques. In memory of her uncle, Isaac Toledano, she and her sister Esther, the wife of Moses Abensur, and Nina, the wife of Elias Pinto, and her cousins gave a magnificent building for the Laredo-Sabbah Old Age Home. She and her sisters also had built and donated a beautiful building for a primary school. (Laredo, 1002).

Pinto, Morris - son of Jacques. He was a financier who moved to Paris. In 1942, he volunteered for the USA army and fought until the end of the war in 1945. (Laredo, 1003).

Pinto, Moses - (b.1890 Tangier-d.1956 Buenos Aires). He was a major exporter of eggs from Morocco and in charge of provisions for all the markets of Morocco from 1920-1925. He was called King of the Eggs. In 1941, he moved to Argentina with his family. (Laredo, 1000).

Pinto, Moses - son of Jacob. He emigrated in 1878 with his brothers Abraham and later Samuel and Haim to Latin America. He returned to Tangier in 1894 and invested in real estate. He was a member of the Junta for many years and served as treasurer. (Laredo, 1001).

Pinto, Salomon - son of Haim (b.1896 Tangier - d.1963 Casablanca). He was honorary councillor of the Belgian Consulate in Casablanca for more than half a century from 1913 until 1963. He was awarded many Belgian decorations. (Laredo, 1000-1).

Pinto, Salomon - son of Moses. He was born in Tangier but moved to Geneva as a businessman. He helped in the resistance during WWII. (Laredo, 1003).

Pisa, Isaac - He was an instructor in the Boys' school of the AIU in Tangier in 1907. (Laredo, 1005).

Ponte, Haim - He was an officiant in the Maasat Moshe Synagogue in Tangier in 1966. (Laredo, 983).

Ribbi, Abraham - Originally from Izmir, Turkey, he was director of AIU schools in Tetuan for many years at the end of the 19th century. He then was in charge of the schools in Tangier. In 1893, he founded the alumni association of the AIU. (Laredo, 1091).

Ribbi, Giuseppe - son of Haim. He was also known as Joseph. He was an industrialist in Tangier. (Laredo, 1092).

Ribbi, Haim - Originally from Izmir, Turkey, he moved to Tangier. (Laredo, 1092).

Ribbi, Moise - a jeweler who was born in Tangier and then moved to Caracas. (Laredo, 1092).

Ribbi, Sarah - sister of Abraham. She had studied in Paris and went to Tangier as a teacher in the girls' school of the AIU during the first years of this century. Later, she married Samuel A. Nahon. (Laredo, 1091).

Rofe, Habib - He was a member of the Burial Society and administrator of the Maasat Moshe Synagogue. (Laredo, 1098).

Ruah, Messod - He was a businessman who died at the beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 372).

Sabbah, Yomtob - He was a philanthropist who moved from Tetuan to Tangier and served as president of the Alumni Association of the AIU for many years. When the Asilo was created in 1936, the name Sabbah was added in recognition of his philanthropic works. He had three sons: Jacques, who moved to Argentina in 1940; Leopoldo, who moved to Venezuela; and Alfonso, who moved to Israel. (Laredo, 1018).

Sagues, Abraham - For many years, he headed the AIU schools until the first months of the 20th century. He also directed the OSE until his death. The family name is from Turkey. (Laredo, 877).

Sagues, Marc - son of Abraham. He became a noted radiologist in Tangier. (Laredo, 877).

Salama, Abraham - son of Aaron. He was born in 1854 and died at a very old age. He officiated in the Synagogue of Rebbi Yahya Auday and was a member many years of the Burial Society. (Laredo, 902).

Salama, Aaron - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 902).

Salama, Isaac - son of Jacob. He was a rich businessman who was born in Melilla, and after having lived in Tangier, moved to Madrid. He was a member of the Junta and helped through personal charitable donations to overcome the financial crisis. (Laredo, 902-3).

Salama, Judah - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 902).

Sananes, Abraham - He was an industrialist and proprietor who founded a manufacturing firm for tobacco, in Tangier in the 19th century. (Laredo, 907).

Sananes, Esther Bendahan de - wife of Samuel. She was very charitable and worked for the Asilo Laredo-Sabbah. She was given public recognition for her charitable work in the Casino de Tanger in 1966. (Laredo, 907-8).

Sananes, Isaac - He was a rabbi in Tangier and a member of the Burial Society and the Hajnasat Orhim in the 20th century. (Laredo, 907).

Sananes, Samuel - son of Abraham. He was *Parnas* of the Rebbi Messod Cohen Synagogue in Tangier in 1966 and president of the Circulo de la Union. (Laredo, 907).

Sananes, Yuda - He was an industrialist and tobacco manufacturer in the second half of the 19th century. His company was called Saka. (Saga, 303)

Saraga, Salomon - He was mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 879).

Schmidl, Dr. - He was sent to the community of Tetuan by the Baron James de Rothschild in 1861 to be the community doctor. He founded the AIU school in 1862. From the start of the century, he was the general vice-consul of Austro-Hungary in Tangier until his death in 1910. He was a surgeon who operated for free on many women. He married a Hachuel from Gibraltar and they moved to Tangier.(Laredo, 1132; MUVT, 200).

Segre, Joseph - He was an Italian banker who died in Tangier in 1959. (Laredo, 889).

Serels, Abraham - son of Reuben. Father of the author.

Serfaty, Jacob - a signatory of the Haskama of Tangier. (Laredo, 525).

Semach, Yomtob D. - He was director of the AIU schools in Tangier at the beginning of the 20th century. He wrote the book *Une Chronique juive de Fez*. He was the first delegate of the AIU to the Moroccan government in 1920. (Laredo, 1032-3).

Serruya, Leon - son of Mimon. b.Tangier. He had a law degree from the Universite de Paris and an MBA from Columbia University. He served as a professor of international finance at Sherbrooke University. (Laredo, 1035).

Serulla, Abraham - He was an interpreter for the Consulate of Denmark in Tangier in the 18th cenury. He was known as Azi Abraham. He obtained permission from the Sultan for a cemetery in Dar-es-San'a, which became Calle de Portugal. The old cemetery was closed in 1935. (Laredo, 1034).

Serulla, Abraham - son of Moses. He was a notable of the Community in the 19th century. (Laredo, 1035).

Serulla, Abraham Jose - Originally from Tangier, he became a magistrate in the court of justice in Parintin, Brazil. (Laredo, 1035).

Serulla, Chao - He was mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 1034).

Serulla, Judah - son of Moses. He was born in Tangier, moved to Argentina and returned to Tangier in the 19th century. (Laredo, 1035).

Serulla, Marcos - He was an expert in tobacco who managed the tobacco monopoly of Sid M'Hamed Amquished, the *Caid* of Ajera in Tangier at the end of the 19th century. (Laredo, 1035).

Serulla, Moses - son of Judah. He was the chief cashier at Banque d'Etat du Maroc. He died in 1957. He founded, in 1922, Mouvement des eclaireur Israelite de Tangier (the boy scouts) and was awarded the Ouissam Alaouite, titulaire de la medaille du merite of the Spanish Red Cross and the silver medal of international scouting. (Laredo, 1035).

Seruya, Mimon - son of Abraham. He was a rabbi, philosopher and poet in 19th century Tangier. (Laredo, 1034).

Shriqui, David - originally from Mogador. He was the ancestor of the Shriqui family of Tangier in 18-19th century. The family surname was also Ashriqui. He is mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair in 1842. (Laredo, 391). (See entry under Chriqui.)

Shriqui, David - son of Moses. He was born in Tangier. He was a journalist and administrator of the Sheerit Yoseph synagogue. He later moved to Ceuta and wrote a history of the place with Manuel Leria entitled *Ceuta Antigua y Moderna*. (Laredo, 392).

Shriqui (Souiri), Joseph - son of David. He was a rich merchant who served as interpreter for more than 25 years of the Swedish consulate in Tangier. In 1849, he helped to negotiate a treaty between Britain and Morocco and was

praised by the English Consul Sir John Hay Drummond Hay. He was also praised by the US consul Brown. In 1851, he became interpreter for the French consulate. When he declined the advances of the British consul, he fell victim to an intrigue which put him into danger of loss of his goods and possible jail, but he was saved by the intervention of France. He is cited as a property owner in the registry of the Habous of 1858. (Laredo, 391).

Shriqui, Moses - son of Joseph and his wife Dona Hola Rachel. He founded the Sheerith Yoseph Synagogue in 1862 . He also left a legacy to open a hospital in Tangier. Later his widow gave property for the construction of the Ez Haim Synagogue. The property was given to Rabbi Mordechai Bengio, Joseph Lasry, Isaac Nahon and Moses Nahon in the Tuahin. (Laredo, 391; MUVT, 355).

Shushana, David - a *shohet* in Tangier who died in 1863. (Laredo, 1118).

Sicso, Abraham - a treasurer of the Sultan Moulai Sliman in Tangier at the beginning of the 19th century. (Laredo, 900).

Sicsu, Abraham - son of Yahya. He served as interpreter for the Spanish consulate in Casablanca at the end of the 19th century. (Laredo, 900).

Sicsu, Abraham - He was consul general in Tangier and charge d'affaires of Belgium at the end of the 19th century. His house had a beautiful park which had been the palace of Moulai Hafid. He was visited by many celebrated artists and members of the Belgian Royal Family. (Laredo, 900).

Sicsu, David - He was mentioned with Yahya in the Marius Rey Affair, 1842. (Laredo, 900).

Sicsu, Haim - He was an interpreter for the British consulate and administrator of the British post office in Tangier in 1873. (Laredo, 900).

Sicsu, Isaac - He was an interpreter for the Austro-Hungarian consulate at the end of the 19th century. (Laredo, 900).

Sicsu, Jacob - He was an interpreter for the *Naib* in Tangier in the 19th century. He visited various European capitals with a group of Moslem students sent by the Sultan Moulai el-Hassan I to study in Europe. (Laredo, 900).

Sicsu, Yahya - (1808-1886). He was the dragoman of the Spanish legation in Tangier in 1874. He rendered remarkable service to Spain for 52 years. He left Tetuan during the Spanish - Moroccan War of 1859-60 and moved to Tangier. In 1885, he was appointed vice-consul of Spain. Later he received the Order of Isabel the Catholic, a plaque from Kishon Iftikar of Tunisia and other decorations. (Laredo, 900).

Soudry, Yamin - a member of the Junta in 1967 and president of the Alumni Association of AIU. (Laredo, 350).

Spivacoff, Dr. Z - He was a medical surgeon who was born in Odessa, Russia. He studied in Paris and interned in Hopital Rothschild. He went to Tangier by the recommendation of the AIU and the Baron de Rothschild to Haim Benchimol who went to find a very good surgeon. In his youth, Spivacoff had helped the Ohebe Sion in Paris. In Tangier, he gave a pro-ratification

speech in the Nahon Synagogue for the Balfour Declaration. He also lead the celebration of the opening of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In 1892-1901, he headed the French Hospital. When he left the post he was made honorary doctor of the hospital of the Legion of Honor by the Minister of Finance. 1903-1933, he served as head of the Hospital Benchimol. The surgical instruments were donated by George Braunschvig. He was the Russian delegate to the Hygiene Commission, ironically, a Jew representing Czarist Russia at the time just after the pogroms. At his funeral, the consul general of France spoke. (Laredo, 1139-40; MUVT, 198-203).

Sunbal, Samuel - He was the Ambassador of Morocco to many treaty negotiations and to nations. He died on 26 September 1783, when being treated by a Spanish charlatan. (Laredo, 883-5).

Tapiero, Aaron - son of David. He is listed in 1804 as having exchanged one fabric store for another. (Laredo, 603).

Tapiero, David - He was mentioned in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 603).

Taurel, Moshe - He was a rabbi and eminent teacher in Tangier at the end of the 19th century. Several years before his death he left Tangier for the post of Chief Rabbi of Ceuta. (Laredo, 601).

Taurel, Yomtob - He was a rabbi in Tangier at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. (Laredo, 601).

Toledano, Abraham - son of Moshe. He was a kabbalistic rabbi from Meknes. He was the first chief rabbi of Tangier in 1792 until his death in 1833. He founded the HaKeneset Hagedola synagogue. He had four sons: Moshe, Aaron, Samuel, and Pinhas.(Laredo, 615).

Toledano, Abraham - son of Joseph. He was a *shohet* at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. (Laredo, 615).

Toledano, Abraham - son of Joseph. He was a rabbi in the 19-20th century. (Laredo, 617).

Toledano, Aaron - son of Moses. He was one of four rabbis brothers who lead the community in Meknes and then moved to Tangier in 1760. (Laredo, 614).

Toledano, Armando - son of Isaac. He was a lawyer who was born in Tangier in 1928 and served as judicial advisor to the director general for the development of the outre-mer for the European Economic Community in Brussels. (Laredo, 621).

Toledano, Gimol - the wife of Auguste Hassan and daughter of Pinhas Toledano. She died young having founded the beneficial society Femina. (Laredo, 617).

Toledano, Habib - el Zaddiq (The righteous). He was the brother of Joseph. His grave is a pilgrimage site. (Laredo, 617).

Toledano, Habib - son of Pinhas. He was a businessman at the turn of the century. (Laredo, 617).

Toledano, Habib - Also known as Habibi, he was a notary-rabbi in 1940. (Laredo, 621).

Toledano, Haim - son of Joseph. He was a writer and polyglot, born in Tangier in 1877. He attended the Ecole Normale in Paris. 1894-1903, he collaborated on *Diario de Tanger, La Cronica, El Eco Mauritano, Le Reveil du Maroc*. He was also political correspondent for *l'Independence Belge*. He was sent by the Portuguese government to obtain the release of their sailors held on the Rif coast in 1895. In 1903, he moved to New York City. There he worked as a correspondent for the *World*. He returned to Tangier in 1913 as a reporter for *La Liberte* and *el-Horria*. From 1914-1920, he was president of the alumni association. He reorganized the schools and community where the concern was about education. He later returned to New York City in 1924 and stayed there until his death in 1967. (Laredo, 618).

Toledano, Isaac - brother of Joseph. He was a rabbinical candidate in the 19th century. (Laredo, 617).

Toledano, Isaac - son of Joseph. He was born in Tangier in 1864. At age 20, he was a correspondant. In 1886, he collaborated with Isaac Laredo and Augustine Lugaro in founding the journal, *El Eco Mauritano*. He was the nephew of Salvator Hassan, the banker. He had married Preicada Garzon, and at age 40 moved to Tetuan to be in charge of Banco Hassan there. (Laredo, 618; MUVT, 256).

Toledano, Isaac - son of Raphael. He was a principal promoter of Tourism to Tangier. He created the Syndicat d'Initiative and was secretary of the delegation of the ministry of tourism in Tangier. (Laredo, 620).

Toledano, Isaac - son of Samuel. He was a rich proprietor and businessman who later moved to Casablanca and returned to Tangier where he died in 1945. His heirs founded an important school in his honor. (Laredo, 620).

Toledano, Jacob - He was a rabbi in Tangier who became the chief rabbi of Lisbon from 1865-1929. (Laredo, 616).

Toledano, Joseph - son of Moshe. He was a *shohet* in Tangier with Moshe Cohen and is mentioned in the *Habous* of Tangier of 1803. (Laredo, 615).

Toledano, Joseph - son of Abraham. He was called Rebbi Yusuf el Chiquito, of the short stature. He was a notary-rabbi in Tangier and headed the Burial Society in 1871. He was a reformer in 1890 and favored the youth and was elected to the Junta of 1891. (Laredo, 616-7).

Toledano, Joseph - He was called Rebbi Yusuf el Grande, because of his tall stature. He was an interpreter for the Italian Legation in the 19th century. (Laredo, 617).

Toledano, Joseph - son of Raphael. He was born in Tangier but became an industrialist in Casablanca. (Laredo, 620).

Toledano, Joseph - son of Samuel. He was a rich financier and businessman from Tangier who created vast enterprises throughout Morocco with his sons and sons-in-law, Jacques and Elias Pinto in New York, Paris and London. He died in Tangier in 1950. He gave 2,500,000f, with J. M. Pinto, for the founding of ORT in Morocco. (Laredo, 620).

Toledano, Joshua - He was mentioned along with Abraham and Isaac Toledano in the Marius Rey Affair of 1842. (Laredo, 615).

Toledano, Joseph - son of Leon and grandson of Joseph. He collaborated with his brother Samuel in the founding of a Yeshiva in memory of their uncle, Isaac. He was born in Tangier but lived in Casablanca and later in Paris. (Laredo, 621).

Toledano, Judah - son of Joseph. He was a rabbi in Tangier at the end of the 19th century. (Laredo, 617).

Toledano, Maurice - son of Pinhas. He was a lawyer who was born in Tangier but lived in Casablanca. (Laredo, 621).

Toledano, Mauricio - son of Raphael. He was also known as Moses. He was born in Tangier and became the chief accountant of the Regie des Tabacs du Maroc (Tobacco Control Authority of Morocco) since its founding in 1910. He moved to Casablanca. (Laredo, 620).

Toledano, Meir - He was a businessman originally from Tangier who lived in Casablanca and died there after 1920. However, he founded a synagogue in Meknes. (Laredo, 619).

Toledano, Moshe - son of Aaron. He was from Meknes but moved to Tangier where he was a *shohet* and notary with Rabbi Salomon Cohen in 1763. (Laredo, 615 gives his death year as 1722 which would not be feasible).

Toledano, Moshe - son of Joseph. He was a rabbi in Tangier in 19th century. (Laredo, 615).

Toledano, Moshe - son of Joseph. He was a rabbi-*shohet* in Tangier in 18-19th centuries. (Laredo, 615).

Toledano, Moshe - son of Abraham, called el-Hassid. He was the brother of Joseph and taught at the yeshiva at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. He inspired the foundation of Hajnasat Orhim for the poor itinerant rabbis and the synagogue of the same name. (Laredo, 617).

Toledano, Pinhas - son of Abraham. He was a rabbi in the 19th century. (Laredo, 617).

Toledano, Pinhas - son of Habib. He was a businessman and armer for the government of Morocco. A member of the Junta in 1907. He was consulted by the Sultan on the construction of the small port of the city called muelle de los alemanes (pier of the Germans). He married Esther Nahon and had two children, Habib and Gimol. His son Habib, died prematurely in 1930. His granddaughter, Camila Hassan Toledano died at age 17 and Gimol died several months later at age 42. (Laredo, 617; MUVT, 210-213).

Toledano, Rahma - daughter of Joseph. She was a distinguished woman of letters born in Tangier. A writer, publicist, and journalist she wrote for *La Liberte, Union Marocaine, Avenir Illustre, Heraldo de Madrid, Renacimiento de Israel, Neustra Raza, El Eco Mauritano, El Provenir, Adelantre*. She wrote a polemic about Judaism for the magazine, *Israel of* Buenos Aires. She knew Angel Pulido who wrote *Espanoles sin Patria*. For many years, she was

president of the Alumni Association of the AIU and secretary of Femina. Rahma had been educated at the AIU and by the Franciscan monks. She was a delegate to WIZO in London. She was also president of Malbish Arumim Society. (MUVT, 265; Laredo, 618).

Toledano, Rapahel - For many years, he collaborated with the administration of the AIU schools in Tangier. He died at the beginning of 20th century. (Laredo, 619).

Toledano, Samuel - son of Aaron. He was a rabbi and member of the Yeshiba of Tangier in 1880. (Laredo, 616).

Toledano, Samuel - son of Leon and grandson of Joseph. He was born in Tangier and became an engineer at the Ecole Normale Centrale de Paris. He then studied rabbinics. He and his brother Joseph gave part of the revenue of the inheritance of their uncle, Isaac, to construct on communal land, Yeshiba Ez Haim as a rabbinic training center. Samuel spent a great deal of time and energy in developing disciples. (Laredo, 621).

Toledano, Stella - daughter of Raphael. She was born in Tangier and became the directrix of Ecole de fines de AIU in Marrakesh. She died young in 1925. (Laredo, 620).

Toledano, Yeshua - He was a rabbi in Tangier in 19th century; he was a promoter of the Talmud Torah of the city. (Laredo, 617).

Zaoui, Benjamin - one of the most eminent lawyers in the court of appeal in Tangier. He was a member of the Junta for many years and did serve as its vice president in 1965. (Laredo, 242).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works Cited

Actas de la comunidad Israelita de Tanger (Minutes of the Junta of Tangiers [MJT]). Ms. 4 Vols.

Anderson, Eugene Newton. *The First Moroccan Crisis. 1904-1906*. Hamden: Archon Books, 1966.

Angel, Marc D., *The Jews of Rhodes*. New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1978.

Assayag, Isaac J., *Tanger...Le Boulevard Pasteur*. Tanger: 1978.

———————., *Tanger... Un Siecle d'Histoire*. 2eme ed. Tanger: I.Assayag, 1981.

Barbour, Nevill. *Morocco*. New York: Walker, 1966.

Benaim, Joseph. *Malkhe Rabanan*. Jerusalem: 1931.

Bernard, Stephane. *The Franco-Moroccan Conflict, 1943-56*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.

Bitton, Isaac. *Hebrew Geneology*. Portugal XIX and XX Centuries. An Epigraphic Study and Listing of Graves Existing in the Jewish Cemetery of Faro. Faro: CIF, 1986.

Bohm, Gunther. *Judios en el Peru durante el siglo XIX*. Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1985.

Burke, Edward. *Prelude to Protectorates in Morocco*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976.

Butcher, Harry C. *My Three Years with Eisenhower*. New York: H. Wolff & Co, 1946.

Calle, Antonio. *El Martirio de la Joven Hachuel o la Heroina Hebrea, drama*. Seville: 1852.

Carciente, Jacob. *Apuntes para la historia de la Gran Sinagoga Tiferet Israel de Caracas*. Caracas: Asociacion Israelita de Venezuela, 1980.

Chouraqui, Andre. *Le condition jurisdique de l'Israelites en Maroc*. Paris: AIU, 1958.

Cochelet, Charles. *Naufrage du Brich Francaise La Sopie*. Paris: P. Mongieaine, 1821.

Cohen, Hayyim J., *The Jews of the Middle East 1860-1972*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1973.

Cohen, Mark & Lorna Hahn., *Morocco, Old Land, New Nation*. New York: Praeger, 1966.

Corcos, D., Jewish Quarterly Review. 55 /1964-65/

Dewar, Elaine., "The Mysterious Reichmanns: The Untold Story." *Toronto Life Magazine*. Nov. 1987.

Dumas, Alexandre., *Le Veloce ou Tanger, Alger et Tunis*. Paris: Alexandre Cadot, 1850-51.

Elkin, Judith Laiken & Gilbert W. Merkx., *The Jewish Presence in Latin America*. Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987.

Fleischer, Heinrich Leenicht., *Kleinere Schriften*. Vol. III, Leipzig, 1885-1888.

Foch, Marshal. *The Memoirs of Marshal Foch*. Translated by T. Bentley Mott. Garden City: Doubleday, 1931.

Forbes, Rosita., *The Sultan of the Mountains*. New York: 1921.

Gamazo, Gabriel Maura., *La cuestion de Marruecos desde el punto de vista espanol*. Madrid: M. Romero, 1905.

Gaon, Solomon & M. Mitchell Serels., *Sephardim and the Holocaust*. New York: Yeshiva University, 1986.

Garcia, Figueras. *Spain, Franco and the Jews*. Madrid: 1988.

Guillen, Pierre., *l'Allemagne et le Maroc de 1870 a 1905*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962.

Hacohen, Menachem & Devora Hacohen. *One People*. New York: Sabra, 1969.

Hall, Luella J., *The United States and Morocco 1776-1956*. Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1971.

Halstead, John P., *Rebirth of a Nation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Harris, Walter., *Land of the African Sultan*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1889.

Hodgkin, Thomas., *Narrative of a Journey to Morocco*. London: T. Cautley Newby, 1866.

Hoffmann, Eleanor., *Realm of the Evening Star*. Philadelphia: Chilton, 1965.

Jewish Heroine of the Nineteenth Century: A Tale Founded on Fact. London, 1839.

Landau, Rom., *Moroccan Journal*. Illustrated. New York: Roy Publishers, 1954.

———. *Morocco. Independent under Mohammed the Fifth*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1961.

———., *Portrait of Tangiers*. London: Hale, 1952.

Laredo, Abraham., *Les noms Juif du Maroc*. Madrid: CSIC, 1978.

Laredo, Abraham J., "Lapidas de Alcazarquivir y Tanger." Sefarad. Ano IX, Fasc. 2. CSIC, 1949.

Laredo, Isaac., *Memorias de un viejo Tangerino*. Madrid: C. Barmajo, 1935.

Laskier, Michael M., *The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco, 1862-1962*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983.

Latreille, Albert., *La Campagne de 1844 au Maroc*. Paris: Librairie Militaire R. Chapelot et Cie, 1912.

Lawdom, Vaidon., *Tangier: A Different Way*. Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1977.

Lempriere, William., *A Tour from Gibraltar to Tangiers and to Morocco*. Richmond: W. Pritchard, 1860.

Lipman, Sonia & V.D. Lipman., *The Century of Moses Montefiore*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Lochner, Louis P., *The Goebbels Diaries. 1942-1943*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1948.

Lutskaia, Natalia Sergeevna., *Ocherki Noveiskei Istorii Marokko*. (New Research in the History of Morocco) Moscow: Naika, 1973.

Mackenzie, Donald., *The Khalifate of the West*. London: Sompkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1911.

Marquina, Antonio & Gloria Ines Ospina., *Espana y los judios en el siglo XX*. Madrid: Espana-calpe, 1987.

Marreucos. Ano IV (2 epoca). No.4. Madrid: Febrero, 1920.

Meakin, James Edward B., "The Jews of Morocco." *Jewish Quarterly Review*. London: V4, 1892.

Menezes, Fernando de., *Historia de Tanger*. Tanger: Tipografia Hispano-Arabega de la Mision Catolica, 1940.

Parsons, Frederick V., *The Origins of the Moroccan Question, 1880-1900*. London: Duckworth, 1979.

Porch, Douglas. *The Conquest of Morocco*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983.

Romero, Eugenio Maria., *El Martyrio de la Joven Haschuel o la Heroina Hebrea*. Gibraltar: 1837.

Rosenzweig, Alfredo. *Judios en la Amazonia Peruana*. Majshavot. pp. 19-25.

Routh, Enid M., *Tangiers, England's Lost Atlantic Outpost. 1661-1684*. London: J. Murray, 1912.

St. Rene-Taillandier, Madeleine Marie Louise., *Ce Monde Disparu*. Paris: Plon, 1947.

St. Aulaire, Comte de., *Confessions d'un Vieux Diplomate*. Paris: Flammarion, 1953.

Sangroniz, Jose Antonio de., *Marruecos*. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921.

Serfarty, A.B.M., *The Jews of Gibraltar under British Rule*. Gibraltar: Beanland, Malin & Co. 1933.

Siddur Petah Tikva., Toronto: Oziel, 1974.

Sloane, William Milligan., *Greater France in Africa*. New York: Schuster, 1924.

Stuart, Graham H., *The International City of Tangiers*. Stanford: University of California Press, 1955.

Toledano, Jacob., *Ner Hamaarab* (Light of the West). Jerusalem: 1911.

Toledano, Jacob M., "Hayehudim Be Tangir." *Hebrew Union College Annual*. Vol. 8-9. Cincinnati, 1932.

Toledano, Joseph., *La Saga des Familles. Les Juifs du Maroc et Leurs Noms*. Tel-Aviv: Editions Stavit, 1983.

Trahtamberg, Leon., *Los Judios de Lima y los provincias del Peru*. Lima: Union Israelita del Peru, 1989.

Twain, Mark. *Innocents Abroad*. New York: Hempent Bros., 1911.

Vernmier, Victor., *La Singuliere Zone de Tanger*. Paris: Editions Eurafricaines, 1955.

Viaud, Julien. *Into Morocco*. Chicago: Rand, 1892.

Vilar, Juan Bautista., "Emigrantes Judeo-Marroquis en America durante el siglo XIX." Escudo. Revista trimestral de la Associacion Israelita de Venezuela. No. 48. Julio-Sept. 1983. (2 epoca).

Waterbury, John., *The Commander of the Faithful: The Moroccan Political Elite*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.

Weisbrod, Robert., *The Jews of Argentina*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1979.

Williamson, Herbert A. Sierra., *Tourist Guide Book of Spain*. Madrid: The Times of Spain, 1950.

Woolman, David S., *Rebels in the Rif*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works Consulted

Abitbol, Michel, ed., *Judaisme d'Afrique du Nord aux XIXe-XXe siecles*. Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1980.

Aflalo, M, *The Truth About Morocco*. London: John Lan, 1904.

Alon, Menahem, *Mafteah Hasheelot vehateshubot shel Hakmei Sefarad vesafon Afriqa* (resource tool for the responsa of the rabbis of Spain and North Africa). Jerusalem: Institute for Research into Hebrew Law, 1981.

Alonso, Alonso Mariano, *Comunidades Israelitas y Tribunales Rabinicos*. Tetuan: 1935.

Alvar, Manuel, *Poesia Tradicional de los Judios Espanoles*. Mexico: Editorial Porrua, 1966.

Anahory-Librowicz, Oro, *Cancionero Sephardi du Quebec*. Montreal: Cegep du Vieux Montreal, 1988.

Ancaoua, Abraham, *The Regulations of the Moroccan Jews*. Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Institute, 1980.

Arit, Roberto, *Aquafuertes Espanoles*. Buenos Aires: Compania General Fabril Editora, 1971.

Armistead, Samuel G. & Joseph H. Silverman, *Judeo-Spanish Ballads from New York*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.

Ashmead-Bartlett, E., *The Passing of the Shereefian Empire*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co, 1910.

Attal, Robert, *Haitonut Hayehudit Besefon Afriqa* (The Jewish Periodicals in North Africa). Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute, 1980.

———————, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord: Bibliographie*. Leiden: Brill, 1973.

Barlow, Ima Christina, *The Agadir Crisis*. Hamden: Archon Books, 1971.

Beaucherk, George, *A Journey to Morocco in 1826*. London: Pool & Edwards, 1828.

Beaujot, Roderic P., *Estimates of the Sex and Vital Statistics of the Moroccan Population 1950-52 to 1960*. Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1973.

Becker, Jironimo, *Historia de Marruecos*. Madrid: Estab. Tip. de J. Rates, 1915.

Ben-Asher, S., *The Jews of Morocco under the Sheriffs' Rule*. Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Institute, 1977.

————————. ed., *Takanot Yehudei Maroko*. (Edicts of the Jews of Morocco). Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Institute, 1977.

Bendahan, Isaac, *La Heroina Hebrea, Sol la Saddika*. drama historico en prose y verso en cinco actos. Larache: S.D.

Bendelac, Alegria, *Los Nuestros*. Ejinas, Letuarios, Jaquetia y Fraja. New York: Peter Lange, 1988.

Bendriham, Elias, *Et Rahamim* (A Time of Mercy). Tanger: Imprenta Central.

Bengio, Joseph, *Jewish Communities in Spanish Morocco*. Tel-Avìv: Beth Hatefutsoth, 1983.

Bengualid, Joseph, *Semo Yosef*. Jerusalem: 1907.

Benichou, Paul, *Romancero Judeo-espanol de Marruecos*. Madrid: CSIC, 1968.

Benjamin, J.J., *Eight Years in Asia and Africa*. Hanover: 1859.

Benoliel, Joseph, *Dialecto Judeo-hispano-marroqui*. Madrid: Real Academia Espanola, 1977.

Bentes, Abraham R., *Os Sefardim e a Hakatia*. Belem: Mitograph Editora, 1981.

Benyoussef, Amor, *Populations de Maghrab et communaute economique a quatre*. Paris: Societe d'ensignement superieur, 1969.

Bidwell, R., *Morocco under Colonial Rule*. London: Cass, 1973.

Blair, Leon Borden, *Western Window in the Arab World*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1970.

Bonsal, Stephan, *Morocco As It Is*. London: Harper, 1893.

Borrow, George, *The Bible in Spain*. London: Cassell & Co, 1908.

Bowie, Leland, *The Impact of the Protege System in Morocco, 1880-1912*. Athens Ohio, Ohio University Press, 1970.

Brace, Richard Munthe, *Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1964.

Buchler, A., "La Ketouba chez les juifs de nord de l'afrique a l'epoque des gaonim." *Revue des Etudes Juive*. Tome L, 1905.

Calvert, A.F., *Southern Spain*. London: A. & C. Bloch, 1908.

Campos, Carlos Martinez de, *Espana belica el siglo XX Marruecos*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1972.

Caro Baroja, Julio, *Los Judios en la Espana Moderna y Contemporanea*. Madrid: CSIC, 1961.

Castellanos, Manuel P., *Historia de Marruecos*. Tanger: Impr. hispano-arabiga de la mision catolica espanola, 1898.

Cayley, G.J., *The Bridle Roads of Spain*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908.

Champion, P., *Tanger, Fez, Meknes*. Paris: H. Laurens, 1924.

Chaumet, Andre, *Juifs et Americains*. Paris: Jean-Renard, 1943.

Chouraqui, Andre, *l'Alliance Israelite Universelle et la renaissance juive contem-*

poraine. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1965.

Cohen, Hayyim J. & Z. Yehuda, *Asian and African Jews in the Middle East 1860-1971*. Leiden: Brill, 1976.

Cooke, George Wingrove, *Conquest and Colonisation in North Africa*. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1860.

Cordero Torres, Jose M., *Organizacion del Protectorado Espanol en Marruecos*. Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1942-43.

Cristobal Benitez, F., *Mi viaje por el interior de Africa*. Tanger: Imprenta Hispano-arabiga de la mision catolica espanola, 1899.

Crockett, William D. & Sarah G. Crockett, *A Satchel Guide to Spain and Portugal*. Boston: Haughton Mifflin Co., 1930.

Delacroix, Eugene, *Le journal d'Eugene Delacroix*. Paris: E.Plon, 1893.

Delouya, Arril, *Nouvel inventoire bibliographique du travaux sur les juifs du Maroc*. Paris: A. Delouya, 1978.

Drummond Hay, John, *Western Barbary, Its Wild Tribes and Savage Animals*. London: J. Murray, 1844.

Dwyer, K., *Moroccan Dialogues*. Leiden: Brill, 1983.

Elliott, J.T. & D.M. Elliott, *An Ornament to the Almeida*. Portsmouth: Grosvenor Press, 1950.

Elyachar, Jacob S., *Sima La Is*. Siman Yod. Jerusalem.

Entelis, John P., *Comparative Politics of North Africa: Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1980.

Espana, Alberto, *La Pequena Historia de Tanger*. Tangiers: Distribuciones Iberica, 1954.

Federbush, Simon, *World Jewry Today*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1959.

Fernandez, Africano, *Espana en Africa y el peligro judio; apuntes de un testigo desde 1915 a 1918*. Santiago: Tip. del el eco Francaissano, 1918.

Fisher, G., *Barbary Legendsa*. 2nd Ed. Leiden: Brill, 1983.

Flournoy, Francis Rosebro, *British Policy towards Morocco in the Age of Palmerston*. Westport, Negro University Press, 1970.

Franco, Francisco, *Marruecos Diario de una Bandera*. Madrid: Editorial Puego, 1922.

Galibert, Leon, *La Argelia Antigua y Moderna*. Madrid: J. Sierra, 1859-60.

Germond de Lavigne, Alfred, *Les Espanols au Maroc*. Paris: C. Bayle, 1889.

Ghjirelli, Angelo, *El Norte de Marruecos*. Melilla: Antes graficas postal expres, 1926.

Gidney, W.T., *The History of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews*. London: London Society, 1908.

Godard, Leon, *Description et histoire du Maroc*. Paris: C. Tanera, 1860.

Goodman, Paul, *Moses Montefiore*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1925.

Guedalla, Philip, *The Hundred Years*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1937.

Gunther, John, *Inside Africa*. New York: Harper Brothers, 1955.

Hamet, Ismael, *Les Juifs du Nord de l'Afrique*. Paris: Societe d'editions, 1928.

Hart, D.M., *Emilio Blanco Izaga: Colonel in the Rif*. 2Vol. Leiden: Brill, 1975.

Haviv, Yifrah, *Al Tomar Noas*. Seba sipurei am mepi Aliza Anidjar MeTanger. (Never Despair. Seven Folktales from the mouth of Aliza Anidjar from Tangiers). Haifa: 1967.

Herzberg, Wilhelm, *Das Madchen von Tanger* (The Maid of Tangier). Berlin: 1889.

Hirschberg, H.Z., *A History of the Jews in North Africa*. 2nd Ed. Leiden: Brill, 1974.

Holt, George, *Morocco the Bizarre*. New York: McBride, Nost & Co., 1914.

Horowitz, Victor J., *Marokko*. Leipzig: W. Friedrich, 1887.

Host, George, *Histoire de l'Empereur du Maroc Mohamed Ben Abdallah*. Copenhagen: 1791.

Hurewitz, J.C., *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics*. 2nd Ed. Leiden: Brill, 1979.

Iliowizi, Henry, *Sol, An Epic Poem*. Minneapolis: Tribune Print, 1882.

———, *The Weird Orient*. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co., 1900.

Imamuddin, S.M., *A Modern History of the Middle East and North Africa*. Leiden: Brill, 1968.

Inglis, Henry B., *Spain in 1830*. 2 vols. London: Whittaker, Treacher & Co., 1981.

Institut d'Histoire des Pays d'Outre Mer, *Colloque International....1978. Les Relations entre Juifs et Musulmans en Afrique du Nord. XIXe-XXx siecles*. Paris: CNRS, 1980.

International Fund for Reconstruction and Development, *Morocco*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966.

Israels, Josef, *Spain*. London: J.C. Nimmo, 1900.

Jackson, James Greg, *Account of the Empire of Morocco*. 3rd Edition. London: Cass, 1968.

Jewish Communities of the World, The. London: Institute of Jewish Affairs. 1959.

Juifs du Maroc, Identite et Dialogue. Paris: La Prensee Sauvage, 1980.

July, Pierre, *Une republique pour un roi*. Paris: Pierre July, 1974.

Kane, Robert S., *Africa A to Z*. Garden City: Doubleday, 1961.

Keatinge, Maurice, *Travels To Morocco*. London: H. Colburn, 1817.

Lamm, Louis, *Reise-Eindrucke in Nord-Afrika*. Berlin: Verlag. 1929.

Lawless, D. & A. Findlay, *North Africa. Contemporary Politics and Economic Development*. Leiden: Brill, 1982.

Lebel, Roland, *Les Voyageurs Francais du Maroc*. Paris: Larose, 1936.

Lehnert, Landrock, *Nordafrika*. Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1924.

Leibovici, Sarah, *Mosaique de Notre Memoire*. Paris: Impremierie Theoria, 1982.

Lewis, Wyndham, *Filibusters in Barbary*. New York: National Travel Club, 1932.

Ling, Dwight L., *Morocco and Tunisia*. Washington: University Press, 1979.

Ljunggren, F.E. and M. Hamdy, *Annotated Guide of Journals Dealing with the Middle East and North Africa*. Leiden: Brill, 1964.

Lyon, George F., *A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa*. London: J. Murray, 1821.

Madariaga, Salvador de, *Espana*. 2do Ed. Madrid: Aguilar, 1934.

Marcus, Shimon, *Hasafa Hayehudit-Hasefaradit* (The Judeo-Spanish Language). Jerusalem: 1965.

Marrus, Michael R. & Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*. New York: Basic Books, 1981.

McBride, Robert M., *Spanish Towns and People*. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1931.

Meakin, Budgett, *The Land of the Moors*. London: Sonnenschein, 1901.

———————, *The Moorish Empire*. London: MacMillan Co., 1899.

———————, *The Moors*. London: S. Sonnenschein, 1902.

Melanges, d'etude luso-marocaines dedies a la memoire de David Lopes et Pierre de Cenival. Lisbon: Portugalia Editora, 1945.

Mikesell, Marvin W., *Northern Morocco: A Cultural Geography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.

Monteil, Vincent, *Morocco*. Translated by Veronica Hull. New York: Vista Books, 1964.

Moore, Frederick, *The Passing of Morocco*. Boston: Haughton Mifflin & Co., 1908.

Moran, Catherine, *Spain - Its Story Briefly Told*. Boston: Stratford, 1930.

Moritz, Albrecht, *Das Problem des Praventenkrieges in der deutschen Politik wahrend der ersten Marokkokrise*. (The Problem of Preventative Strikes in the German Politics during the First Moroccan Crisis). Bern: Lang, 1974.

Nataf, Felix, *l'Independence du Maroc*. Paris: Plon, 1975.

Nesry, Carlos J., *Les Juif de Tanger et le Maroc*. Tanger: 1956.

Noah, Mordechai M., *Travels in England, France, Spain and the Barbary States*. New York: Kirk & Mercein, 1819.

Orsatti, Reginaldo Ruiz, *Relaciones Hispano-marroquies un gran amigo de Espana*. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Politicas, 1944.

Palozzoli, A., *Le Maroc Politique*. Paris: Sindbad, 1974.

Pearce, W.C., *History of Spain and Portugal*. New York: W.L. Allison, 1880.

Ponsick, Michel, *Recherches archelogique a Tanger et dans sa region*. Paris: Editions du centre national de la recherches scientifique, 1970.

Rey, M., *Souvenirs d'un voyage au Maroc*. Tableau de la guerre des Francais dans l'Empire du Maroc. Paris: au bureau du Journal l'Algerie, 1844.

Rigo de Righi, Eleanor, *Holiday in Morocco*. London: G.T. Foulis, 1935.

Roth, Cecil, *History Around the Clock*. Tel-Aviv: Sinai, 1954.

Ruiz Cuevas, Teodoro, *Jurisprudencia rabinica en Marruecos, la hazzaca*. Tetuan: Editora Marroqui, 1950.

Savory, Isabel, *In the Tail of The Peacock*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1903.

Scham, Alan, *Lyautey in Morocco, 1912-1925*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1970.

Simonet, D.F.J., *Glosario de Voces Ibericas y Latinas usadas entre los Mozarabes precedido de un estudio sobre el dialecto hispano-Mozarabe*. 2 Ed. Leiden: Brill, 1975.

Slouschz, Nahum, *The Jews of North Africa*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1944.

Stahl, Abraham, *Toledot Yehudei Maroko*. (History of the Jews of Morocco). Jerusalem: Ministry of Education and Culture, 1967.

Steinberg, Lucien, *Les Autorites Allemandes en France Occupee*. Paris: centre de documentation juive contemporaire, 1966.

Sumel, Enrique, *La Heroina Hebrea Sol Hachuel*. Gibraltar: 1858.

Tartakower, Arieh and Kurt R. Grossman, *The Jewish Refugee*. New York: 1944.

Toledano, H., *Judicial Practice and Family Law in Morocco*. Leiden: Brill, 1975.

Toledano, Haim, *Le Maroc nouveau et les Israelites*. Tanger: 1913.

Toledano, Jacob, *Catalogue of Valuable Hebrew Manuscripts and Printed Books*. London: Southeby & Co., 1927.

Vidalenc, Georges, *Connaitre pour ages*. Paris: Societe d'Editions geographiques, maritaines et coloniales, 1932.

Warne, O.H., *Present Day Morocco*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1937.

Wellard, James, *The Great Sahara*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1965.

Westermark, Edward Alexander, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*. London: Macmillan, 1926.

Wolpole, Norman C. et. al., *Area Handbook for Morocco*. Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents. November, 1965.

Zafrani, Haim, *Cinco Ensayos sobre el Judaismo Marroqui*. Caracas: AIV, 1987.

————————, *Les Juifs du Maroc*. Paris: Geuthner, 1972.

Zagouri, Abraham, *Generalites sur l'application du droit mosaique en matiere de statut prive des Marocains Israelite*. Tanger: Editions Marrocaines et internationales, 1961.

———————, *Le regime successoral des israelites marocains et les reformes actuelles en la matiere*. Tangier: Editions Marrocaines et internationales, 1959.

Zartman, I. William, *Morocco, Problems of a New Power*. New York: Atherton Press, 1964.

A
Abadie, Dr., 92
Abd ur-Rahman II, Moulay, Sultan of Morocco, 7-11
Abdel-Aziz, Sultan of Morocco, 77-79
Abdelessedoc, Sid Ben, Basha of Tangier, 66
Abdeljalek, Mohammed ben, Cadi of Safi, 27
Abecassis, Haim, 56
Abecassis, Isaac, 47
Abecassis, Isaac Messod, 59
Abecassis, Jacob, 73
Abecassis, Menachem, 7, 21, 48-49, 63
Abecassis, Messod, 15, 21-23, 25, 36-37, 40, 43, 45, 47-50, 55-56, 71
  as Warden of the Society for the Poor, 15, 18
Abecassis, Moise J., 144
Abecassis, Rabbi Isaac, 5
Abensur, Aaron, 7, 15, 21, 23-27, 46, 48-49, 54-55, 58, 60, 83, 89, 92, 94-95 146, 150-152, 157, 172, 175
  two-month presidency of, 23-27
Abensur, Isaac, 7, 63, 65, 71, 75, 83, 91-93
  administration of, 83-88
Abensur, Isaac A., 116, 120, 122-123, 125, 135, 137, 140, 149
Abensur, J., 82
Abensur, Rabbi Moses, 6, 165
Abensur, Stanley, 170
Abitbol, Mair E., 146-147, 150, 152
Aboulafia, David, 155
Abrines, Trinidad, 75
Abuzaglo, Joseph, 45
Abuzaglo, Solomon, 49-50
  and Society of Righteousness and Truth, 24
Accan, Jacob ben Yuda, 27
Aficoman, 178
Aflalo, Maklouf, 27
Aflalo, Solomon, 63
AIU. See Alliance Israelite Universelle.
AIU school,
  Alumni Association of the AIU school, 69-70
  emphasis on secular studies, 64-65, 68
  financial assistance for communal school, 33, 36, 43, 47, 52, 57-58, 64-65, 70, 73-74
  Hebrew language instruction, 141
  Semach's departure, 118
  see also Alliance Israelite Universelle.; Alliance Israelite Universelle (AIU)
Alcalbi, Reuben, 122
Alfonso XIII, King of Spain, 82
Algeciras Conference, 80-81
Alliance Israelite Universelle (AIU), 19, 26, 28, 35, 56, 64-65
  AIU school, 19, 26, 64-65, 69-70
  assistance to the Community Library, 70
  emphasis on secular studies, 64-65, 68
  financial assistance for communal school, 33, 36, 43, 47, 52, 57-58, 64-65, 70, 73-74
  library, 69-71
  see also AIU school
Alster, Jacob, 169
Alumni Association of the AIU school, 69-70
Amar, Amram S., 115
Amar, David, 180
Amar, Messod, 58, 78
Amar, Mordechai, 55
Amar, Solomon, Sheikh el-Yehud, 95
Amara, Joseph, 13
American influence, 29, 35

American Joint Distribution Committee, 167
Amkishit, Abbas, Basha of Tangier, 16
Amselem, Abraham, 84
Amselem, Amram, 173
Amselem, David, 180
Amselem, Joseph Yaish, 35
Anglo-Jewish Association in London, 70
Anidjar, Abraham Mimon, 67
Anidjar, Judah, 67
Anidjar, Moses, 13, 51-52, 54, 59, 65
Ankaoua, Rabbi, 163
Ansalem, Semion, 176
Anselmi, Santos, 176
Arab pirates, 2, 77-78
Arafa, Ben, 169-170
Arruah, Messod, 32
Aruas, Joseph, 59
Ashriqui, David, 12
Ashriqui, Jacob, 16
Ashriqui, Joseph, 15-16, 18, 21, 23-24, 31, 34-35, 38, 40-41, 44-45, 49
as Warden of the Society for Sick Visitation, 15, 18
Ashriqui, Moses, 18, 31, 49, 52, 58
Askama, 4-5
Asociacion de Oriundos de Tanger-Israel, 177
Assayag, Jacob, 137-138
Assayag, Judah, 15, 20-21, 23, 26, 31-32, 41
Assayag, Pinhas, 13-14, 65-66, 68, 83, 86
Assayag, Raphael, 42
Assayag, Solomon, 179
Assor, Joseph, 85
Attali, Jacob, 4
Attia, Moses, 35
Attias, Menachem, 92-93, 95, 114
Auday, Rabbi Yahya, 2
Auday, Samuel, son of Rabbi Yahya Auday, 2
Aulaire, St.Rene, 81
Avital, Amada Nahon de, 177
Azagory, Jacob, 125
Azancot, Abraham, 174, 181
emigration of, 181
Azancot, David, 11
Azancot, Haim, 125, 129
Azancot, Jacob, 42
Azancot, Moses, 122-123, 128-129
Azancot, Moses H., 137-138, 140-141, 147, 149, 151-152
Azancot, Moses J., 114-116, 118, 120, 124, 137, 140-141, 143, 146
Azancot, R., 74
Azancot, Rabbi Judah, 21-23, 34, 78, 88-89, 95, 116, 149, 163, 174
Azancot, Sasson, 23
Azerrad, Solomon, 176
Aziz, Abdel, 171
Azulay, Abraham, 93, 132, 153
Azulay, David, 32-33, 39

B
Ba Ahmed, Vizier, 77
Banon, Abraham, 73
Banque d'Etat du Maroc, 158
Barclay, J. Judson Jr., US Vice Consul General, 75
Basha of Tangier, 2-3, 7, 14, 25-26, 30-32, 36-37, 39-40, 49-50, 77
Abbas Amkishit, 16
Ahmed el-Raisuli, 77-78
Arbi Esiudo, 8
recognition of the Governing Board of the Hebrew Congregation of Tangier (fourth Junta), 25-26, 31-32
Sid Ben Abdelessedoc, 66
Basrour, Mrs. Jacob, 34
Batting, James, 170
Battle of Islay, 11-12
Beckerman, Max, 151

Ben el-Oulid, Etouiel (Bengualid), 2
Ben-Gurion, David, 167
Benadiba Co., 159
Benady, Ginette, 177
Benaim, Max, 179
Benamar, Yeshaya, 3
Benamor, Abraham, 2
Benarrosh, Aquiba, 173, 180
Benarrosh, Benjamin, 173
Benarrosh, Isaac, 67
Benarrosh, Messod, 42
Benassayag, Abraham, 63, 79, 83, 91-93
Benassayag, Abraham Y., 74
Benassayag, B., 82
Benassayag, Isaac, 63
Benassayag, Messod, 16, 30, 39-40, 43, 46, 49, 54, 58, 152-153
Benassayag, Moses, 65-66
Benassayag, Yahya, 41, 58-59, 64
Benassyag Administration (Ninth Junta), 74-75
Benasuli, Ayush, 13, 63, 65
Benasuli, H., 82
Benasuli, Judah, 134
Benasuli, Moshe, Chief of Customs for the Port of Tangier, 7
Benasuli, Yehuda, 180
Benatar, 87
Benatar, Raphael, 31
Benatar, Samuel, 153
Benatar Synagogue, 181
Benatuil, Salomon, 63
Benayon, Moses, 179
Benayon, Yehiel, 179
Bencesat, Isaac, 176
Bencesat, Jaime, 176
Benchetrit, Shemaya, 63, 83, 87, 92-93, 125, 137-138
Benchimol, Abraham, 42
Benchimol, Asunto, 144-145
Benchimol, Chief Rabbi Judah, 89-90, 93-95
Benchimol Co., 159
Benchimol, Haim, 13-14, 44-45, 48, 56, 58, 65-66, 68, 71, 84, 121, 131, 145
Benchimol Hospital, 121, 131, 150, 165, 173
see also Hospital
Benchimol, Josue M., 92
Benchimol, Judah, 114-116, 128, 133-134, 137-138, 142, 149, 163, 180
Benchimol, Moses, 7, 12, 20-21, 23, 40-41, 44, 48, 58
Benchimol, Moses A., 12
Benchimol, Rabbi Judah, 87, 89
Benchimol, Salomon, 50, 52
Benchimol, Salomon David, 40
Benchimol, Shalom, 87
Benchimol, Yona, 177
Benchitrit, Shemaya, 132
Bendayan, David, 179
Bendayan, Eliza, 176
Bendayan, Esther, 153
Bendayan, Isaac, 87
Bendayan, Messod, 85, 143
Bendayan, Messody, 90
Bendayan, Moise, 147
Bendayan, Moses, 39-40, 43, 74-75
Bendayan, Salomon, 179
Bendayan, Saul S., 168
Bendelac, Haim, 30-31, 34, 37, 40, 48, 58, 166
Bendelac, Moses, 44
Bendelac, Mrs. R., 74
Bendelac, Raphael, 71, 74, 83, 92-93
Bendrao & Co., 159
Bendrao, Messod, 75, 116, 120, 123, 135, 144-145
Bendrao, Ruben Benjil, 176
Bendrihen, Elias, 181
Bendrihen, Issachar, 47
Bendrihen, Leon, 137
Bendrihen, Raphael, 146-147, 168
Benmergui, Hadra Sicsu de, 116
Benmergui, Semtob, 116
Benesabat, Salomon, 180

Bengio, Chief Rabbi Mordechai, 13–16, 18–19, 21–22, 38–39, 41–42, 43–50, 52, 54–58, 60, 66–67, 79, 85, 87–89, 141, 178
waning of power, 88–89
Bengio, Daniel, 178
Bengio, Joseph, 32
Bengio, Judah, 39
Bengio, Messod, 93, 165
Bengio, Moses, 7, 13, 20, 83, 87, 91–92
Bengio, Moses M., 90, 114
Bengio, Rabbi Jacob, 50, 53
Bengio, Rabbi Joseph, 42, 53, 59
Bengio, Reuben, 38, 41, 56
Bengio, Samuel, 42, 93
Bengualid, Leon, 165, 173
Bengualid, Rabbi Isaac, 82–83
Bengualid, Semtob, 152
Benhayon, Isaac, 73
Benhayon, Yahia, 84
Benidan, David Isaac, 153
Benider, Abraham, 2
Beniluz, Abraham, 59
Benitah, Messod, 50–51, 54
Benko, Dr., 151
Benlezra, Simon, 137
Benlichoa, Rahamim, 32
Benlisha, Rahamim, 17
Benlisha, Raphael, 147
Benlolo, David, 42–43
Benlolo, Leon, 147
Benmalca, Moshe Haim, 162
Benmaman, Moses, Treasurer for the Sultan of Morocco, 2
Benmergui, Moses, 179
Benmergui, Semtob, 116
Benoliel, Asher, 180
Benoliel, Isaac, 153
Benoliel, Joseph, 115–119, 122–127, 137
Benoliel, Judah, 7
Benoliel, Meni, 68
Benoliel, Rabbi Shemtob, 53, 59
Benquessus, Jack, 179
Bensadon, Abraham, 12
Benseloum, Esther, widow of Haim Benseloum, 22
Benseloum, Haim, 22
Benseloum, Haim Jacob, 18
Benseloum, Jacob, 55
Bensimhon, Joseph S., 114
Bensimhon, Mordejai, 116, 142
Bensimon, Abraham, 67
Bensousan, Rachael de, 56
Bensoussan, Joseph, 47
Bensusan, Rabbi Abraham, 93
Bentata, Jacobo, 116, 121–125, 128–129, 133
Bentolila & Co., 159
Benzacar, Isaac, 35
Benzaquen, Esther, 116, 175
Benzaquen, Isaac, 73–74
Benzaquen, Moises, 176
Benzaquen, Norman, 178, 180
Bergel, David, 165
Bergel, Guillermo, 146–147
Beriro, Joseph, 7
Bernard, M., 120
Bet Din, 148–149
Bet Midrash, 44
Bitton, Mair, 115
Blanchard, M., 84
Bnai Akiba Youth Movement, 178
Botbol, Leon, 146–147
Braunschweig, Georges, 90
Britain,
at Algeciras Conference, 80–81
government offices in Tangier, 2–3
interest in school, 19–20, 26, 33, 47, 54
protection of Jewish interests, 1–2, 26–29, 35, 62–63, 67, 76, 78, 80
Statutes of Tangier and, 107–136
British Board of Jewish Deputies, 14, 19, 26, 28, 33, 35, 115, 118
Burial Society, 15, 18, 55, 117, 128, 138, 148

accountability practices, 151–152
Burke, 72
Buzaglo, David, 73
Buzaglo, Joseph, 68
Buzaglo, Salomon, 71

C
Cadi of Safi, Mohammed ben Abdeljalek, 27
Caid Mohammed ben Abdelkarim Bodari, 37
Caja de Ahorros, 127
Canada, emigration to by Tangerian Jews, 178
Carciente, Jacob, 180
Cartensen, British Consul, 27
Casino de Tanger, 140, 181
Castiel, Meir, 180
Catherine of Braganza, 1
Catholic Church, 75
Caullat, 134–135
Cazes, Abraham, 55, 59
Cazes, Joseph, 83, 92–93
Cazes, Mimon, 93, 143
Cazes, Mordechai, 53
Cazes, Salomon, 32
Cenarro, Dr., 62, 75
Centro Sionista, 117
Cervantes, Teatro, 118
el-Chali, 38
Charbonnier, Albert, 81
Charles I, King of England, 1
Chasteau, M. de, French Minister in Tangier, 12
Chocron, Isaie, 147
Cholera, 62, 68
Clarambeau, M., 38
Cohen, Abraham, 74
Cohen, Abraham J., 114, 116
Cohen, Albert, of the Consistoire Israelite Central in Paris, 19, 28
Cohen, Alia Isaac, 144
Cohen, Aron, 159
Cohen Ben Maqnin, Meir, Moroccan Ambassador to Britian, 7
Cohen Co., 158–159
Cohen, David, 116
Cohen, Elie, 82
Cohen, H., 72
Cohen, Isaac, 68, 83, 91, 180
Cohen, Isaac Aaron, 92–93
Cohen, Isaac J., 93, 116, 137–138, 143, 147, 149, 152, 154, 165
Cohen, Isaac Jacob, 146
Cohen, Isaac Joseph, 120
Cohen, Jack Isaac, 165
Cohen, Jack J., 170
Cohen, Jacob, 137
Cohen, Jacob S., 125, 165
Cohen, Jose, 83, 89–90, 93
Cohen, Joseph, 180
Cohen, Joseph D., 142, 152
Cohen, Joseph J., 92–93
Cohen, Joseph L., 114
Cohen, Joseph Messod, 42
Cohen, Judah, 152
Cohen, Judah Jacob, 152, 158
Cohen, Levi, 63
Cohen, Meier, 177
Cohen, Messod, Shohet, 21, 32
Cohen, Momi, 177
Cohen, Moses, 55
Cohen, Rabbi Isaac, 2
Cohen, Rabbi Joseph, 94
Cohen, Rabbi Moses, 4–5
Cohen, Rabbi Solomon, Shohet, 2, 5
Cohen, Salomon J., 152
Cohen, Samuel, 84
Cohen, Shemtob, 32, 39–40, 48, 50, 58
Cohen, Solomon, 2
Cohen y Hijos Farmacia, 177
Cohen, Yahya, 68
Cohen, Yamin, 94, 115–116, 122, 173–174, 181
Colegio Estrella Toledano, 180
Colon, Merry y, 27–29
Comillas, Marquis de, 70

Comite de la comunidad Israelita, 124
Committee on Public Order, 31
Communal school, 33, 45, 47, 49, 52, 54, 57–59, 64
Community library, assistance from the Anglo–Jewish Association, 70–71
Conference of Algeciras, 80–81
Conseilo di Ebracios en Italia, 35
Consistoire Israelite Centrale de Paris, 14, 19, 28, 118
Constitution of the Second Governing Junta of the Jewish Community of Tangier, 15–16
Contelle, Captain, 92
Coriat, Abraham, 71
Coriat, Isaac, 114, 120–122, 126, 128
Coriat, Isaac A., 71, 74, 92
Coriat, Mrs. Isaac, 74
Council of Delegates of American Hebrews, 35
Cremieux, Adolphe, 20
Cruz Roja Espanola, 159

D
Dahir (Decree), protecting the Jews by Sultan of Morocco, 29–32
Darkei, Noam, 178
Dassas, Meir, 151
Daughters of Sion Society, ladies auxilliary of the Hospital Benchimol, 68
Delmar, Mimon, 40, 49–50, 54
Delouya, Jacob, Treasurer for the Sultan of Morocco, 2
d'Hallebast, van der Kerchove, 170
Dienermann, Dr., 150
Direction General de l'Instruction Publique, 142
Disputes concerning the ritual slaughterers, shohetim, 2, 4, 17, 21–22, 32–33
Divorce rate, of Jewish community of Tangier, 154
Diwan, Elijahu, grandson of Rabbi Haim, 34
Djizia, 13–14, 16, 26, 30, 36–37, 39–40, 44–46, 49–50, 52, 56, 59
Dollfuss, 157
Dowry Endowment Fund, 31
Dress of the Jews, 6, 14, 28, 30
Drummond Hay, Edward, British Ambassador in Tangier, 11
Drummond Hay, Sir John Hay, 26–28, 38, 62

E
Easterman, A.L., 169
Economic depression, 76–96
  Abensur administration, 83–88
  Ahmed el–Raisuli's banditry and, 77–78
  Algeciras Conference, 80–81
  educational concerns during, 94–95
  election of March 1918, 92–94
  election reform, 90–91
  German presence and, 78–80
  Hispano–Hebrew Association, 95–96
  impact of on Tangerian Jews, 148
  increasing poverty, 89–90
  Protectorate Agreement of 1912 and, 81–83
  soup kitchens, 91–92
  universal suffrage and, 90–91
  World War I and, 94
Edery, 131, 175
Edery, Jacob, 67
Edery, Moses, 176
Education,
  during economic depression, 94–95
  Hispano–Hebrew Association, 95–96
  real estate taxes for support of school, 46

school modernization, 115–116
Second Governing Junta of the Jewish Community of Tangier, 19–20
Tangier Jewish School, 19–20, 26, 38, 45, 47, 49, 52, 54, 57–59, 64, 70, 73
under reform Junta, 129–130
Education Department of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem, 122
Eisenbert, Dr., 150
Elbaz, Abraham, 165
Elbaz, Aron, 177
Elected Board of the Israelite Congregation of Tangier (Fifth Junta), 38–48
Election,
of 1873, 58–60
of 1935, 152
of April 1949, 165
of March 1918, 92–94
Election reform, during economic depression, 90–91
Elections, of March 1918, 92–94
Eliyahu, Rishon LeZion Mordechai, 178
Elkaim, 28–29
Elmaleh, Abraham, 155
Elmaleh, Eliahu, Yeshiba scholar, 20
Elmaleh, Jacob, 59
Elmaleh, Judah, 71
Elmaleh, Rabbi Eliyahu, 66
Elmaleh, Samuel, 71, 74
Elmaleh, Yusef, 177
Elyakim, Rabbi Israel, 22
Emanuel Hart's Sports Hall, 173
Emigration, 60, 63, 70–74
English school, 68, 70
Escuela Alfonso XIII, 135
Esiudo, Arbi, Basha of Tangier, 8
Espionage, Jews expelled for, 1
Essayag, Jacob, 152–153
Essayag, Leon, 152
Essayag, Y., 146–147
Estudio Synagogue, 116
Etz Hahayim Synagogue, 178
European refugees,
Rhodes Jewish community, 155–156
in Tangier, 150–151
Extourist Hotel, 172
Ezrah, 146–147

F

Falcon, Nissim, 118–119, 122, 126–127, 129
Farache, Jaime, 93
Fargeon Co., 159
Farrache, Leon, 85
Fernandez, Santos, 116
Finance committee of the Elected Board of the Israelite Congregation of Tangier, 39–40
Florsheim, Alegria Cohen de, 177
Fonseca, Mrs., 136
Foreign governments, recognition of the Governing Board of the Hebrew Congregation of Tangier (fourth Junta), 26–29, 32
France,
AIU school interest, 43
at Algeciras Conference, 80–81
interest in the school, 19–20, 33, 36, 43, 47, 52, 57–58, 79
Statutes of Tangier and, 107–136
war with Morocco, 11–12
Franco, Abraham, 155
Franquiros, Moses, 73
French influence, 26–27
French interest in the school, 19–20, 33, 36, 43, 47, 52, 57–58
Fresco, Moise, 64–65
Friha, Joseph, 48, 56, 58
Friha, Moses, 42, 48, 54, 58
Frija, Salomon, 93
Fund for Emigration, 72–73
Fund raising,
evaluation of, 142–144

Second Governing Junta of the Jewish Community of Tangier, 17-18
Fundacion Laredo, 124
Funey, Dr., 86
Fux Co., 160

G
Gaadia, Isidro, 176
Gabay, Yamin, 69
Gabbai, Isaac, 32, 116
Gambaro, French Vice-Consul, 27
Gan Yeladim, 166
Ganguine, Madame, 118, 120
Garcia, Alfonso, 159
Garzon, Abraham,
Chief of Customs in Tangier, 4
Yeshiba scholar, 20, 23, 32
Garzon, Isaac, 49
Garzon, Joseph, 165
Gautser, Charles, 82
General Acts of the International Conference at Algeciras, 80-81
General Zionist Conference, 168
Gentile, Leo, 77-78
Germany,
at Algeciras Conference, 80-81
German Morocco Newspaper, 79
German school, 79
Kaiser's visit, 79
Tangerian activities during economic depression, 78-80
and tobacco industry, 79
Governing Board of the Hebrew Congregation of Tangier, fourth Junta, 22-38
Gozal, Abraham, 35
Gozal, David, 35
Gozal, Max, 177
Gozal, Yahya, 35
Grand Vizier, Mohammed el-Mokni el-Haj, 82
Growth of the Jewish community, 1-2, 6-7, 11, 39
Guahnish & Benchetrit Tobacco Company, 140
Guahnish, Amram, 116, 118, 120-124, 128-130, 135, 137-138, 140, 179
Guahnish, Marcos, 140
Guahnish, Mojluf, 83
Guahnish, Mordechai, 63
Guahnish, Mordejay, 147
Guild of Kosher Butchers, 32-33, 56
Guitta, Dr. Samuel, 63, 82, 86, 94, 122-125, 131, 137-138, 147, 153
Gummere, Samuel R., 76-77

H
Hachuel, Haim & Simha, 7-8
Hachuel, Issajar, 73
Hachuel, Sol (Sol Hasadiqa), 7-10
Hachwell, David, 176
Hadida, Gimol, 155
Hadida, Haim, 49
Hadida, Joseph, 42
Hadida, Judah H., 120
Hadida, Rabbi Judah, 2
Hafid, Mulai, Sultan of Morocco, 78
Haj Ali, Mayor of Larache, 35
el-Haj Mohammed el-Mokni, Grand Vizier, 82
Hajnasat Orhim Society, 120
Hakoah, 150
Harris, Walter, 76-77
Hasadiqa, Sol (Sol Hachuel), 7-10
Hassan, Abraham, 146, 150
Hassan, Abraham H., 137-138, 152
Hassan, Abraham M., 152
Hassan II, King, 173
Hassan, Jacobo, 180
Hassan, Joe, 159, 161-163, 165-167, 170-171
Hassan, Mulai, 63
Hassan, Salvador, 91-93, 116, 120, 123-124, 135
Hatikva, 164

Hay, John, US Secretary of State, 77
Haym, David, 64
Hayon, M., 73
Hazan, David, 179
Hazan, Hanania, 144
Hazan, Jacob, 147
Hebra Kadisha, 180
Hebrat Geumillut Hasadim, 143
Hebrat Hajnasat Orhim, 150–151, 155, 158
Hebrew language instruction, at AIU school, 141
Heraldo de Marreucos, 114
Hirsch, Baron de, 68
Hirsch, Samuel, 64
Hispano-Hebrew Association, 95–96
Hitler, 150, 167
Hodgkins, Dr., 30
Holy Man's Alm Box, 57
Hospital Benchimol, 68, 78
  Board of, 68
  funding activities, 18, 34, 40, 44–45, 47, 54
Hospital reorganization,
  by the Elected Board of the Israelite Congregation of Tangier, 44–45
  endowed by Haim Benchimol, 68
  by fourth Junta, 35–36
Hurwitz, Donald B., 157–158
Husan, Si Li, Khalifa of Khasa, 35
Hygiene Commission, 62–63, 68, 82

I

Ibrahim, Abdallah, 172
Instituto Arias Montano, 180
"Internal Regulations of the Committee of the Israelite Community of Tangier", 109–113
International control of Tangier, 80–82
International Sanitary Council, 4, 62, 67, 75, 78, 81–82
Internationalization,
  and impact of Statutes of Tangier, 111–123
  Zionism and, 117–118
Iquitos, Peru, settlement of Moroccan Jews, 72
Isaac Abensur Administration, Junta of the Jewish Community, 83–88
Isaaci, Rabbi Shlomo, 143
Israel, emigration to by Tangerian Jews, 177–178
Israel, Albert, 68
Israel, David Mrs., 116, 118
Israel, Haim M., 73
Israel, Mme., 70
Israel, Victor, 175–176
Italian influence, 29–30, 35
Italian school, 79

J

Jacques Pinto Company, 169
Jahn, 79
Jewish community of Tangier,
  Abensur two-month presidency, 23–27
  American influences, 29, 35, 61–62, 72, 78, 80
  attack of bridal parties, 57
  Brazilian influences, 61
  British influences, 1–2, 26–29, 35, 62–63, 67, 76, 78, 80
  collection of the Djizia, 13–14, 16–17, 36–37, 44–46
  community leadership, 2, 4–7, 13–16, 21, 23, 25, 48–49, 58–59, 65–67, 74, 83
  confiscation of property, 4
  desecration of synagogues, 7, 22
  divorce rate, 154
  Elected Board of the Israelite Congretation of Tangier (Fifth Junta), 38–48
  election of 1873, 58–60

election of April 1949, 165
elections of 1935, 152
emigration patterns, 60, 63, 70–74
expulsion of poor Jews from Tangier, 23–24
First Governing Junta of the Jewish community of Tangier, 13–14
French influences, 26–27, 61–63, 75–76, 80–82
fund raising, 17, 39–44
German influences, 60, 62, 67, 76, 78–80
Governing Board of the Hebrew Congregation of Tangier (fourth Junta), 22–38
Italian influence, 29–30, 35, 61–62, 75–76
in jails, 139
Jews in government service, 1–3, 6–7, 11–14, 63, 71, 74–75, 82
popular revolt, 65–74
population in 1960s, 172
Portuguese influences, 1, 29–30, 61, 67
refugees in, 150–151
Revolution of September 1870 (Sixth Junta), 48–49
revolutionary Junta, 65–74
ritual bath and, 144
Safi Affair, 27–30
Second Governing Junta of the Jewish community of Tangier, 14–20
social service organizations, 15, 18, 25, 34, 38–40, 42–43, 54, 141
Spanish influences, 1, 8, 27–28, 35, 62–63, 75–78, 80–82
supervision of education, 19–20, 26, 33, 38
Third Governing Junta of the Jewish community of Tangier, 21–22
Jewish Hospital, 35–36, 52, 67–68
  see also Hospital Benchimol
Jhin, A., 82
Joinville, Prince de, 11
Jovan, Sr., 17
Juin, Alphonse, 162
Junta(s),
  first, 13–14
    collection of the Djizia, 14
  second, 14–20
    administration of the social welfare societies, 18–19
    collection of the Djizia, 16–17
    Constitution, 15–16
    and Constitution, 15–16
    fund raising, 17–18
    social welfare societies, 18
    supervision of education, 19–20
    supervision of the Shohetim, 17
  third, supervision of the Shohetim, 21–22
  fourth, 22–38
    authority over independent charitable organizations, 24–25, 31–32
    Basha of Tangier recognition, 25–26, 31–32
    collection of the Djizia, 36–37
    Committee on Public Order, 31
    Dahir protecting the Jews, 29–30
    democratic reforms, 30–31
    girls school, 30
    hospital reorganization, 35–36
    intercession in the the Safi Affair, 27–30
    recognition of the Basha of Tangier, 25–26, 31–32
    recognition by foreign governments, 26–29, 32

reform of the Junta, 22–23
rotating presidency, 23
supervision of education, 26, 37–38
supervision of the Shohetim, 32–34
see also Juntas
fifth, 38–48
collection of the Djizia, 39–41, 46
concern over moral decline, 47
enactment of real estate tax to support the school, 46
reorganization of the Hospital, 44–45
reorganization of the Wayfarer's Society, 42–43
school finances, 43, 45–47
supervision of the butcher shops, 43–44
supervision of the Rabbinic Scholars, 44
sixth, 48–58
community finances, 50–52
payment of the Djizia, 50
restructuring of the Junta, 48–50
revenues and incomes, 53–54
and Revolution of September 1870, 48–49
supervision of the butchers, 56–57
supervision of the school, 54–55, 57–58
supervision of the Shohetim, 52–53
seventh,
1873 election and, 58
supervision of the school, 59
eighth, popular revolt, 65–74
Juntas,
Abensur administration, 83–88
austerity budget, 153–154
Benassayag Administration, 74–75
collection of the Djizia, 13–14, 16–17, 36–37, 44–46
disruption of, 145–147
election of 1930 and, 137–139
election of March 1918, 92–94
election reform, 90–91
First Governing Juntas of Tangier, 13–14
fund raising, 17, 39–44
Governing Board of the Hebrew Congregation of Tangier, 22–38
see also Juntas, fourth
"Internal Regulations of the Committee of the Israelite Community of Tangier", 109–113
ritual bath and, 144
supervision of education, 19–20, 26, 33, 38
Third Governing Junta of the Jewish Community of Tangier, 21–22
see also specific Juntas by name

K
Kadosh, Moses, 50
Kaiser Wilhelm, 79
Karow, Mrs., 78
Keene, Emily, Sharifa of Ouezzane, 76
Keren Hayesod, 117
Keren Kayemet, 116
Keslassy, Meyer, 179
Keslassy, Samuel, 181
Keslassy, Simon, 179
Khalifa of Khasa, Si Li Husan, 35
Khalifa of Mazagan, 29
Khalifa Si Abdelmalek, 37
Khalifa of Tetuan, 2, 30
Knafo, Salomon, 137–138, 141, 146–147, 152
Krim, Abdel, 77

L
Lalouche, Eliahou, 27

Laredo & Co., 159
Laredo, Abraham, 13–14, 32, 56–57, 63, 65–66, 75, 84, 89–92, 114, 137, 171
Laredo, Abraham I., 170
Laredo, Abraham Jacob, 146, 152–153, 155, 158
Laredo, Abraham M., 79, 148
Laredo, Abraham Yona, 115, 141–142, 146–147, 150, 152–153
Laredo, Asilo, 117, 131
Laredo, Isaac, 13–14, 63, 65–66, 68, 70, 73, 79, 148
Laredo, Joseph, 40, 42, 50, 52, 54
Laredo, Hana Nahon de, 68
Laredo, Moses J., 117
Laredo, Rabbi Mordechai, 5, 20, 33, 42–43, 55, 70–71
Laredo, Raphael M., 158
Laredo, Salomon, 21, 23, 52, 58, 166
Laredo, Samuel, 87
Laredo Synagogue, 181
Laredo-Sabah, Asilo, 131–132, 140, 151, 153
Lasry, Joseph, 79
Lasry, Samuel, 74
Latin America, emigration to by Tangerian Jews, 179–180
League of Nations, 121
LeFur, Pierre, 138
Legislative Assembly, Statutes of Tangier and, 108
Lempiere, William, 2
Levi, Rabbi Moses, 6
Levy, Abraham Judah, 67
Levy, Akiba, 115
Levy, Albert A., 115
Levy, Esther, 172
Levy, Frank, 179
Levy, Isaac, 56
Levy, Isidro, 176
Levy, Jacob, 55, 59
Levy, Joseph J., 114, 121, 123
Levy, M., 37
Levy, Moyses S., 73
Levy, Prof. Bernard, 33–34, 38, 43, 45–46, 52, 55, 95
Levy, Rabbi Jacob, 53
Levy, S.D., 74
Levy, Salom S., 93
Levy, Samuel, 71
Levy, Shalom, 115
Lezrah, Simon (Ben), 146–147
Libraries, 69–70
  AIU Community Library, 70
Louk, Amram, 177
Lugano, Augustine, 75
Lugaro, A.J., 69

M

Maasat Moshe Synagogue, 168, 180
Magnes, Joseph, 42
Malka, Joseph, 33, 43, 56
Maman, Abraham, 74
Maman, Joseph (Yusuf), 133–134, 143
Mani, Moise, 82
Manifesto de la Comunidad, 124
Manter, Dr., 150
Marinberg, M., 120
Marquez, Abraham Dr., 114, 148, 152–153
Marquez, Samuel Dr., 153
Marrache, Abraham, 21
Marrache, Mimon, 21
Marrache, Moses, 152
Marranos, of Portugal, 118
Martin, H., 69
Matadero Commission, 133
Matalon, Joseph, 64
Maternite Salvador Hassan, 173
Matthews, Felix, 61–62
Maza, 56
Medina, Efraim, 143, 152–153
Megila de las Bombas, 12
Melyoral, Dr., 67
Menard, Albert, 131, 139, 144–145
Mendoub, 114, 120, 123, 125, 128, 134, 139, 152, 164, 169

Mendoubia, 133, 157
Mergui, Menahem, 173
Meslasi, Jalil, 35
Mesoodi, Tahra de, 8
Mesoudoth David, 143
Mikve, 144
Millard, 40
Mimran, Elie, 179
Minzah Hotel, 171
Mohammed, Sidi, Sultan of Morocco, 123
Mohammed V, Sultan of Morocco, 161, 169-170, 173
el-Mokri Vizier, 123
Molinari, Antonio, 75
Montefiore Foundation, 116
Montefiore, Lady Judith, 22
Montefiore, Sir Moses, 19-20, 22, 28-31, 34
Montilla, Sr., 27
Morality, of Jewish community, 47, 59, 61
Moraly, Dr. Salvador, 63
Morena, Jose, 116
Moroccan Aid Society of London, 19
Moroccan National Front, 168
Mortia, Carlos, 29
Muhammed, Sultan of Moracco, 4
Munk, Salomon, 20
Munoz, Francisco Lozano, 75

N
Nahmias, Moses, 17
Nahmias, Reuben, 13, 65-66
Nahmias, Salomon, 50
Nahon, Abraham, 147
Nahon, Abraham Haim, 173
Nahon, Albert J., 71
Nahon, Haim Joseph, 69
Nahon, Isaac, 13-14, 49, 54-55, 59, 68, 75
Nahon, Isaac J., 92
Nahon, Isaac M., 79, 137, 139
Nahon, Isaac S., 48, 58, 65
Nahon, Jacob, 83, 89, 91-93, 95, 137-138, 146, 150
Nahon, Jacob M., 120, 123-124
Nahon, James, 171
Nahon, James M., 164
Nahon, Joseph, 49
Nahon, Judah, 39, 48, 116
Nahon, Messody Abensur de, 118
Nahon, Moses, 15, 18, 22-23, 25-26, 33, 36-39, 46, 48-49, 52-54, 58-60, 71
Nahon, Moses Haim, 45-46, 52
Nahon, Moses Isaac, 73, 176
Nahon, Moses S., 58-59
Nahon, Rabbi Menachem, 6, 21, 23, 25, 31, 34, 40, 43, 70
Nahon, Ralph Dr., 166
Nahon, Salomon, 13-14, 53, 68
Nahon, Samuel, 71
Nahon, Samuel A., 74
Nahon Synagogue, 116, 168, 180
Naib, The, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 11
Nezry, Carlos, 163
Nezry, Rabbi Yahya, 163-164
Niguire, Mr., 92

O
Ochs, Rabbi, 178
Ortenbach, A., 82
Osiel, Leon, 63
Otzar Hatorah, 172
Ouevre de Nourriture et d'Habillement, 142, 158
Ovadia, Jacob, 115, 132
Ovilo, Dr., 75
Oziel, Moses, 179
Oziel, Samuel, 179
Ozima, 38

P
Pan de Sedaka, 154
Pariente, Joseph, 56
Pariente, Moses, 11, 15, 18, 21, 23-25, 28, 36-40, 45, 48-50, 55-58, 60, 171
Pariente, Salomon, 2

Parnas of the Burial Society, 15, 23, 50
Parnas of the donations for the Holy Land, 50
Parnas of the Hospital Fund, 18, 35, 40-41, 50
Parnas of the Poor Fund, 15, 18, 22, 31, 40-41, 50, 55-57
Parnas of the School Fund, 23, 50
Parnas of the Society for Sick Visitation, 15
Parnas of the Society to Clothe the Needy, 57
Parnas of the Wayfarers Society, 15, 42, 45, 54
Parnas of the Yeshiba, 20, 44
Parti Democratique de l'Independene, 168
Pean, Dr., 82
Perdicaris, Ion, 77-78
Perez, Joseph, 77
Perl, Dr. Augustine, 114, 116
Perlzweig, Maurice, 169
Persecutions,
  anti-semitism in Tangier, 149-150
  assasination of Moses Benmaman, 2
  attack of bridal parties, 57
  confiscation of Jewish property, 4
  desecration of synagogues, 22
  destruction of synagogues of Tangier, 7
  disappearance of Yahya and Abraham Gozal, 35
  during second world war, 155-159
  espionage charges against Jews, 1
  execution of Jacob Attali, 4
  expulsion of poor Jews from Tangier, 23-24
  fee for execution, 8-9
  forced to serve as interpreters, 3
  forms of against Jews, 3-4
  by Germany, 148-149
  killing and desecration of corpse of Joseph Yaish Amselem, 35
  martyrdom of Sol Hachuel Hasidiqa, 7-10
  by the ruler of Tetuan, 31
  Safi Affair, 27-30
  by Spanish, 1
  vandalism against Jewish institutions, 57
Petah Tikva, 116
Pilo, A., 148
Pilo, Joseph, 47
Pimienta, Abraham, 68, 83, 88, 90-93
Pimienta, Samuel, Yeshiba scholar, 20
Pimienta, Sidney, 177
Pinto, Abraham, 65, 82, 155, 178
Pinto, Haim Jacob, 68
Pinto, Isaac, 3-4
  called Azi Haqo, Chief of Customs in Tangier, 4
Pinto, Jacques M., 165, 170
Pinto, Jaime, 175
Pinto, James, 2
Pinto, Joseph, 56
Pinto, Judah, 32
Pinto, Mordechai, 53
Pinto, Moses, 83, 92-93, 95
Plague, brought by islamic pilgrams from Mecca, 7, 60, 62, 81
Plati, 153
Police, Jews serving in Tangerian police force, 81
Ponte, Messod, 59
Poor Fund, 15, 18-19, 22, 34, 40, 46-47, 49-50
Popular revolt (Eighth Junta), 65-74
Portugal, Marranos, 118
Portuguese influence, 1, 29-30
Potous, Juan, 82
President of the United States,

Theodore Roosevelt, 77, 79–80
Prison, Jews in Tangerian jails, 139
Protection of Jews,
bombardment of Tangier, 12
Committee of Public Order, 31
by foreign intervention, 3, 8, 12, 14, 24, 28–29
by foreign powers, 3, 8, 12, 14, 24, 28–29, 61–62
intercession of the Junta, 14, 22, 28, 33, 35, 71
miraculously during bombardment of Tangier, 12
by ruling authorities, 10, 29–32, 35
Protectorate Agreement of 1912, 81–83
international control of Tangier, 81–82
Purim de las Bombas, 12
Purim de los Cristianos, 1

R
Rabbinical Court of Appeals, 114–115
Rabbinical Seminary of Tangier, 116
Rahamim, 34
Rais, M., 116
Raisuli, Ahmed el–,
banditry of, 77–78, 81, 94
Basha of Tangier, 77–78
Reade, Thomas, 33, 35
Real Estate,
ownership by Jews, 2, 7, 62
tax for support of school, 46
Rebboh, Chief Rabbi Saadia, 27
Redman, Alfred, 29
Refugees, in Tangier, 150–151
Registration of births, 33
Reichmann, Samuel, 159
Reinhard, Albert G., 158
Rembinger, Dr., 92
Renacimiento de Israel, 114
Renshhauser, 79
Revolution of September 1870, 48–58
see also Juntas, sixth
Revolution of September 1870 (Sixth Junta), 48–58
community finances, 50–52
payment of the Djizia, 50
restructuring of the Junta, 48–50
revenues and incomes, 53–54
supervision of the butchers, 56–57
supervision of the school, 54–55, 57–58
supervision of the Shohetim, 52–53
Rey, Sieur Marius, 11
Reynault College, 181
el-Riasuli, Ahmed, criminal activies of, 77–78
Ribbi, Abraham, 74
Ribbi, M., 70–71
Rico, Don Jose, Spanish Vice-Consul, 8
Rieth, Kurt, 157
Righteousness Shall He Build Society, 50
Ritual bath, 144
Roosevelt, Theodore, President of the United States, 77, 79–80
Rosenbaum & Co., 159
Rotating presidency, Governing Board of the Hebrew Congregation of Tangier, 23
Rothschild, Baron de, 28, 43, 52, 68
Rue des Synogogues, 117
Ruiz, Ricardo Dr., 126, 138
Russia, at Algeciras Conference, 80–81

S
Sabah, Alfonso, 177
Sabah Foundation, 132
Sabah, Simon, 180
Safi Affair, 27–30

Sagues, Abraham (Albert), 127, 130, 135, 141, 145, 149, 156, 158
Saido, 27
Salama, Ayush, 50–51, 87
Salama, Esther, 177
Salama, Isaac, 165
Salama, Joseph, 168
Salomon, Abraham, 95, 122
Salvador Hassan Maternity Ward, 141
Sananes, Abraham, 63
Sananes, Rabbi Akiba, 79, 93, 147
Sananes, Yuda, 63
Sanitary Commission, Jewish participation in, 4
Sanitary Commission (Council), 4, 62, 67, 75, 78, 81–82
Sanz, E., 82
Sarmon, M., 32
Sastre, A., 82
Saurin, Daniel, 82
Schmidl, Dr., 55, 68, 78
School board, 38, 40
School for girls, 30–31, 64, 69, 74
Schwarzbart,, 162
Sebastian, King of Portugal, 1
Second Governing Junta of the Jewish Community of Tangier, 14–20
  administration of the social welfare societies, 18–19
  collection of the Djizia, 16–17
  Constitution, 15–16
  fund raising, 17–18
  supervision of education, 19–20
  supervision of the Shohetim, 17
  see also Juntas, second
Seekers of Righteousness and Charity Society, 31–32, 41
Seltzer, David, 151
Semach, Yomtob, 87–88, 92, 94, 115, 118
Semana Sepharad, 180
Senacher, M., 87
Serfaty, David B., 178
Serfaty, Elias, 13
Serulla, Abraham, 6
Serulla, Marcos, 63
Serusi, David, 28
Seruya, Jacob, 56, 58
Seruya, Joseph, 57
Shaare, Raphael, 168, 186
Shalom, Isaac, 163
Sharifa of Ouezzane, Emily Keene, 76
Sheikh el-Yehud, 13
  Abraham Cazes, 59
  Messod Amar, 78
  Moses Anidjar, 51–52, 54, 59
Shohetim,
  and second junta, 17
  and third junta, 21–22
  and fourth junta, 32–34
  and sixth junta, 52–53
  disputes concerning the ritual slaughterers, 2, 4, 17, 21–22, 32–34, 53, 59
  ritual slaughters, 2, 4, 17, 21–22, 32–34, 53
Shriqui, Moses, 68
Shriqui Synagogue, 181
Sibony, Ami, 180
Sicsu, David, 15–16, 21, 23, 49
Sicsu, Isaac, 16, 23, 25, 31, 40, 50–51
Sicsu, Miriam, 70
Sicsu, Regina, 70
Sid M'hamed Tazi, 92
Sieur Marius Rey, 11
Simon, Frederik, 151
Social service organizations,
  for children, 141
  Society for the Aid to Studying Scholars, 41
  Society for the Poor, 15
  Society for the Rejoicing of the Bride and Groom, 25
  Society for Sick Visitation, 15, 18
  Society to Clothe the Needy, 18,

38
Wayfarers Society, 15, 18, 34, 39-40, 42-43, 54
Social welfare societies,
administration of by the Second Governing Junta of the Jewish Community of Tangier, 18
Sociedad de Beneficencia Israelita de Iquitos, 175
Societe Civil pour la Succession Benchimol, 121
Society of Righteousness and Truth, 24-25
Sol Hachuel Hasidiqa, martyrdom of, 7-10
Sotto, Moses, 92, 120
Soup kitchens, during economic depression (1900-1910), 91-92
Spain,
emigration to by Tangerian Jews, 180
war with Morocco, 3, 16, 18-19
Spanish influence, 1, 8, 27-28, 35
Spanish interest in the school, 47, 79
Spanish Red Cross, 167
Spanish-Jewish Association, 82
Spielman, Sir Roger, 126
Spivacoff, Dr., 78
Statutes de Tangier, 126, 169
Statutes of Tangier, 107-136
and "Internal Regulations of the Committee of the Israelite Community of Tangier", 109-113
Stern, John, 178
Sultan of Morocco, 2-3, 30-32, 61, 63, 89
Abdel-Aziz, 77-79
Dahir and the Jews, 29-32
el-Yasid, 4, 6
Moulay Abd ur-Rahman, 7-11
Muhammed, 4
Mulai Hafid, 78
Sidi Mohammed, 123
Synagogues,
Benatar Synagogue, 181
desecration of, 7, 22
Estudio Synagogue, 116
Etz Hahayim Synagogue, 178
Laredo Synagogue, 181
Maasat Moshe Synagogue, 180
Nahon Synagogue, 116, 168, 180
Rue des Synogogues, 117
Shaare Raphael, 168
Shriqui Synagogue, 181

T
Talmud Tora de los Aniim, 19, 73
Talmud Tora within the AIU school, 64
Tangier,
Algeciras Conference, 80-81
British rule, 1-2
economic depression (1900-1910), 76-96
see also Economic depression (1900-1910)
German presence in, 78-80
growth of the Jewish community, 1-2, 6-7, 11, 39, 72, 80
Tangier Jewish School, 19-20, 26, 38, 45, 47, 49, 52, 54, 57-58
Tangier-Fez Railroad, 137
Tangierian, A., 175
Tapiero, Aaron, 7
Tapiero, Joesph, 176
Tapiero, Messod, 73
Tapiero, Moses, 55
Tarika, M., 116
Taurel, Rabbi Moses, 87-88
Tax, on real estate transactions for support of school, 46
Tesser, 134
Tita Rahel, 72
Tlini, Ariwas, 35
Tobacco industry, 63, 79
Toledano, Abraham S., 59
Toledano, Alberto, 176

Toledano, Chief Rabbi Abraham, 4–5, 7, 42, 53
Toledano, Chief Rabbi Moses, 4–5, 34
Toledano, Habib, 39, 42, 93
Toledano, Haim, 71
Toledano, Haim J., 74
Toledano, I.R., 92
Toledano, Joshua J., 71
Toledano, Judah, 38
Toledano, Majlouf, Shohet, 21, 32
Toledano, Moses, 20, 55, 68
Toledano, R.H., 71
Toledano, Rabbi Aaron, 2, 59
Toledano, Rabbi Isaac, 40–43, 83
Toledano, Rabbi Jacob, 15, 20–21, 23, 33, 36–40, 49–50, 74
Toledano, Rabbi Joseph, 4–5, 15–16, 21, 23, 25–26, 34, 36, 40, 49–51, 55, 58–59, 65
Toledano, Rabbi Joshua, 20, 50, 54, 58–59
Toledano, Rabbi Pinhas, 16
Toledano, Rabbi Samuel, 21, 32, 53, 165, 180
Toledano, Reuben, 87, 119, 132
Toledano Yeshiba, 141
Toledano, Yochua, 68
Torres, Mohammed, 81

U
United Nations, 167, 171
United States,
  at Algeciras Conference, 80–81
  emigration to, 60, 178
  Jews serving in government office, 3–4
  president of, 3–4, 77–80
  protection of Moroccon Jews, 29, 35, 61–62, 72, 78, 80
  recognition by Sultan, 3–4
Universal suffrage, 90–91

V
Vaad Hatzalah, 159
Varley, Cromwell, 77
Venezuela,
  emigration to by Tangerian Jews, 60, 180
Vezin, P., 82
Villa Harris, 67, 76
Vizier,
  Ba Ahmed, 77
  el-Mokri, 123
von Kuhlmann, 79

W
War with France, Battle of Islay, 11–12
War with Spain, 3, 16, 18–19
  Jews forced to pay for, 3
Washington, George, President, 3
Wayfarers Society, 15, 18, 34, 39–40, 54
  reorganization, 42–43
Wazir el-Bakr, 11
Weissman, Moise, 159, 161–162
Wise, Stephen S., 162
World Jewish Congress, 167
World War I, 82
  effects of in Tangier, 94

Y
Yahuda Mr., 128
el-Yasid, Sultan, 4, 6
Yazid, Sultan Mulai, 3
Yeshiba de Talmud Torah, 20, 36, 44, 56–57
Yeshibas,
  Parnas of the Yeshiba, 20, 44
  Toledano Yeshiba, 141
  Yeshiba de Talmud Torah, 20, 36, 44, 56–57
Yeshiva University, 178
Yeshurun, 172
Yousef, Moulai Sultan, 114, 123
Yuste, Antonio, 156

Z
Zakkai, Yohanan Ben Rabbi, 140
Zionism, 117–118