

The Golden Age of the Jews of Bukovina, 1880-1914

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Prologue

In December 1997 I spent some time doing archival work in Chernivtsi, then a run-down city in western Ukraine, but once better known as Czernowitz, “the little Vienna,” the capital until 1918 of the Austrian province of Bukovina. I visited the Jewish National House there, a rather splendid building on one of the main squares of the city. Nowadays the Jewish community occupies just three dingy rooms, on the ground floor. I went there several times. There was disappointment that I did not speak Yiddish, but several elderly gentlemen came to speak with me in German. I learned that after World War II about 30,000 Jews came back to Bukovina from their harsh and, for most, deadly areas of deportation to the East, beyond the river Dniester. But most of these survivors had emigrated to Israel or had died. Now there were only 3-5,000 Jews. Their complaint was that repeatedly, when they asked Israeli authorities to send them a Yiddish-speaking rabbi, only Hebrew-speakers were provided. Thus was replicated one of the issues that had split what, before World War I, was certainly the most accepted and least persecuted Jewish community in Eastern Europe.

The Jews of Bukovina in Late Austrian Times (c.1880-1914)

My interest in this topic was first aroused when I read that in the year 1873, when the construction of a new synagogue was begun in the city of Czernowitz (Chernivtsi), the capital of the province (*Land*) of Bukovina, the first stone was laid by the Chief Rabbi and the second by the Orthodox Christian Archbishop.¹ Both Rabbi Lazar Igel and Archbishop Eugene Hacman were exceptionally broad-minded individuals, but I can think of no other place in Eastern and Central Europe where such an event might have taken place. Nor could I imagine any university elsewhere in Europe that had had a number of Jewish rectors serving the customary one year terms before 1914.² What was it that made Czernowitz and Bukovina, and their Jews, so different from other regions of East and Central Europe?

Bukovina lay in the northeastern corner of the Austrian Empire, bordering on the Russian Empire and Romania. It was a small province (*Land*); in 1910 its population was just over 800,000. By language, about 38.4 per cent were Ukrainians (still termed “Ruthenians” in the census), 34 per cent were Romanians, 21 per cent were German, 5 per cent were Poles. The German contingent has to be further broken down into two-fifths *Volksdeutsche* (i.e., ethnic Germans) and three-fifths Jews. The province was, to quote the historian John-Paul Himka, “one of those tiny, historically convoluted and culturally variegated lands of East Central Europe . . . a land of crosscurrents, a lush garden of cultures. It was the commingling of German and Jew, Romanian and Ukrainian, Armenian and Pole that produced this little land’s cultural geniuses.”³ Its capital, Czernowitz, with just under 87,000 people in 1910, was the only sizable city. Like

the province, it had a great admixture of peoples. It has been described by a French scholar as “presenting the charms of a little Vienna.”⁴ And most observers agree that its Austro-German character in the late nineteenth century owed much to the acculturated Jewish upper middle class of the city of Czernowitz and of other towns.⁵

But for all its vaunted beauty, Czernowitz was not a salubrious place. The lower town, with its closely packed mean little houses, where many Jews lived, was prone to flooding.⁶ For a long time the city lacked safe drinking water and many of its drinking fountains ought to have been closed down.⁷ It was not until 1896 that all of Czernowitz got proper sewer lines, for the city council had turned a blind eye to this need earlier.⁸ Tuberculosis was rife; indeed, Bukovina had an above average incidence of TB, and it had the highest incidence of typhus of all the Austrian crownlands.⁹ Respiratory ailments were the single most prevalent cause of death in March 1886 in Czernowitz itself, but poor sanitation for a long time contributed to morbidity throughout the *Land*.¹⁰

First, some demographic statistics. A table showing data from the Austrian census of December 31, 1880, is appended.¹¹ The population of the province continued to increase, but the proportions do not change greatly. Although Jews formed around 12 per cent of the population, the proportion of Jews in the capital city and in most of the provincial towns was much greater.

One of my major sources of information has been the two-volume history of the Jews in Bukovina edited by Hugo Gold and published in Israel in 1958 and 1962.¹² In part, they are tinged with a rosy nostalgia for the Austrian period, which is not surprising in view of the discriminations of the post-1918 Romanian rule, the horrors of the Soviet occupation of 1940-41, and the death-marches to Transnistria. Nevertheless it is noteworthy that the reminiscences and historical studies in these volumes give the impression that though the majority of Bukovinan Jews were dirt poor, there was much less prejudice here in late Austrian times than elsewhere, and that the thirty years or so before 1914 were for Jews fairly happy ones.

Although the whole community was linked in an overarching way by its sense of Jewishness, it was, as so often elsewhere too, a very fractious group. In matters of faith one can find the mundane and the fantastical. The principal divisions were between orthodox, hassidic and “progressive” (*haskala*, i.e. influenced by the western enlightenment and not so observant of all ritual details). In the capital itself the Jewish community was split between the majority Orthodox and the Progressives, whose wealth enabled them for long to dominate the *Kultusgemeinde*—the legally recognized religious community that also taxed its members. There was acute conflict in the early 1870s, when the Orthodox broke away and briefly formed their own *Kultusgemeinde*, but the existence of two such entities in the same city was against Austrian law, and the parties were forced to reconcile, and thereafter they lived together in an uneasy truce. The Orthodox retained the old temple and appointed their own Rabbi and the



Fig. 1. The synagogue at Czernowitz, late 19th century.

kosher slaughterer; the Progressives kept the new synagogue, a fine building in a Moorish style, described as “one of the most splendid synagogues in Eastern Europe.” There were to be further troubles, as when in the early 1890s Rabbi Igel preached in German, to the great indignation of the Yiddish-speaking Orthodox.¹³

The Hassidic element was divided mainly between adherents of the *Zaddik* (holy one; in German often “*Wunderrabbi*”) of Sadagura, who held a sumptuous court, and those who derided the luxury enjoyed by the Friedmann dynasty. R. Israel Friedmann (d.1850) believed that an aristocratic, luxurious lifestyle was necessary in order to instil pride in his followers and to impress the non-Jewish populace; his son R. Abraham Jakob (d.1883) continued this tradition and built a new, splendid palace. The influence of this Sadagura Hassidic dynasty declined after the mid-1880s, when the family split with a second court in Bojan, but it remained significant and continued to draw thousands of the faithful from the Russian Empire and Romania as well as from Austrian Galicia and Bukovina itself.¹⁴ Another *Zaddik* established a more mainline Hassidic family dynasty, the Hagars, in Wisnitz, but held a more modest court. This dynasty was probably the more influential one, as its extended family came to be employed as Rabbis in other towns also.¹⁵

In the rural areas the majority of Jews were pious Orthodox, though the Hassidic element, with its mysticism and emotionalism, was also quite strong. Most of the small towns reflected both the sectarian character of the community and its class and occupational divisions. Radautz, for example, the second-largest town of Bukovina, had one large temple, a prayer house for the mainline Hassidics, one prayer house each for adherents of the Bojan, Sadagura, Sereth and Wisnitz rabbis, one for the artisans of the town, and two other private ones.¹⁶ Socio-economic status often determined where people prayed: artisans and poor people, as at Gurahumora, did not feel comfortable in the great synagogue.¹⁷ Thus there were artisans' prayer houses in Czernowitz, Dorna Watra and Storozynetz, and elsewhere. In Wisnitz, one prayer house was frequented by those in the lumber industry, another by coachmen, porters and handicraftsmen, and a third by officials and shopkeepers.¹⁸

Often there were struggles for the control of the *Kultusgemeinden*. As already noted, this was especially the case in Czernowitz, but was not unknown elsewhere.¹⁹ The civic leaders of the Progressives, mostly patrician businessmen, were in control in the capital almost to the turn of the century, when they were effectively challenged by a populist lawyer, Benno Straucher, who could mobilize "the streets," that is, the majority Orthodox proletariat of the city—though not much changed in the *Kultusgemeinde* itself.²⁰ The religious communities concerned themselves with the provision of circumcisers and ritual slaughterers, and derived income from the latter, with the maintenance of Talmud Torah schools where boys immersed themselves in studies of central religious texts, and with charitable activities including sick benefit associations and orphanages. Later there also came to be some involvement in Zionist activities.

There might be all sorts of conflicts within a community. In Radautz, for example, there were quarrels about the appointment of ritual slaughterers, about competing ritual baths, about the appointment of a new rabbi—for a brief time there were two rival ones—and about the tower domes of the new synagogue (they looked too much like the domes of a church and had to be changed).²¹

Basically the Jewish communities were very pious and strictly observant of Jewish laws and rituals;²² in one small town people could not even carry a handkerchief on a Saturday.²³ However, there were those who violated the religious laws. In Radautz, Friday was the weekly market day, and a very lively one too, when villagers would come quite long distances from the mountain valleys. Some traders ignored the advent of the Sabbath and continued to go about their business, to the great indignation of the Orthodox; later it was noted here that "the gleam of money" led many to transgress on Sabbath and Holy Days.²⁴ In the small market town of Unter-Stanestie it was observed that Gymnasium students by the beginning of the twentieth century were no longer pious and neglected their daily prayers, and that two young court officials even "dared" to write on the Sabbath.²⁵

Rabbis enjoyed much respect. Some of them were very learned and publishing scholars. In old age some emigrated to Palestine.²⁶ Rabbis pronounced on both religious and practical issues. Sometimes people might not be satisfied with the local rabbi's pronouncements and instead turned to a more eminent one, such as Rabbi Hagar in Wisnitz. Sometimes the issue brought to the rabbi was quite secular and local, as when the waggoners and traders of Radautz panicked at the news in the 1860s that the railway would reach the vicinity of their town. In despair they turned to the rabbi for advice, who assured them that while the railway might bring in foreign goods, it also opened the world to their commerce.²⁷

In Czernowitz itself, as well as elsewhere,²⁸ there were innumerable Jewish philanthropic organizations, some under the aegis of the *Kultusgemeinden*, as well as non-sectarian ones in which Jews took an active part. The needs of the poor were great, especially in winter, when there was also more unemployment. For example, the non-sectarian *Volksküche* (People's Kitchen) served 2790 meals in April 1908 and as it thereby incurred a substantial deficit, it appealed for contributions.²⁹ In the first half of May of the same year, the Shelter for the Homeless accommodated 405 persons, including 99 women, each of whom was served supper and breakfast.³⁰ The Association for Warm Rooms served tea and bread in the cold winter months; although secular, 70 per cent of the Association's members were Jews.³¹ Jewish ladies joined with non-Jews in attending benefit balls for the poor, probably dressed in the latest Paris and Viennese fashions, while day labourers' wages in Czernowitz, including those of its Jewish proletariat, were among the lowest in Austria.

Poverty was a fact of life for many of Bukovina's Jews. Many were day labourers—the so-called *Luftmenschen*—eking out a difficult living. Some might get short-term jobs in workshops and warehouses; others were water-carriers, hawkers of soda water, ran small canteens or helped put up stalls on market days.³²

Until the mid-1880s, Bukovina's industries enjoyed a modest prosperity. Then an Austrian tariff war with Romania, which lasted until 1891, led to a drastic decline in Bukovinan exports at much the same time as manufactured goods from Western Austria flooded into the region. In times of economic depression there was some emigration of Jewish artisans and middle-class people to North America.³³ What large-scale industry survived was or came to be largely in Jewish hands: six out of the seven breweries, most of the distilleries, a button factory, a brush factory, some of the brick-works, cement works, construction companies, a tile factory, a large sugar-beet factory, tanneries and so on.³⁴ Jews also occupied many leading positions in financial institutions.³⁵ The same was true of large-scale agriculture. By around 1910 Jews owned about 40 per cent of Bukovina's large estates, sometimes through foreclosure on unpaid loans,³⁶ and leased a further 45 per cent. They are said to have engaged in good agricultural practice; some Jewish farm managers had attended the state agricultural secondary school in Bukovina.³⁷

The lumber trade from Bukovina's extensive forests was largely in Jewish hands, and Jews owned 28 out of the province's 34 large sawmills,³⁸ some of them modern and steam-powered, as well as a number of flour mills. As with the export of timber and lumber, Jews also predominated in the transportation and export of agricultural produce with the exception of trade in hogs.³⁹ One landowner, Hermann Fischer, then living outside the province and later ennobled, made a gift of half a million Kronen in 1908 to establish a children's hospital in Czernowitz, in memory of his parents and in honour of the 60th anniversary of Emperor Franz Joseph's reign; it was opened with much ceremony early in 1910.⁴⁰

Less affluent or less entrepreneurial Jews practiced traditional trades: tailor, shoemaker, watchmaker, tinsmith, tavern keeper, tobacconist, butcher, baker, barber—but relatively few in Czernowitz were carpenters, locksmiths or bricklayers.⁴¹ Some were handicraftsmen. A few were rural small holders. Many were coachmen or waggoners or otherwise involved in transportation. And of course, many Jews were shopkeepers and traders, dealing in all manner of goods, such as grain, eggs and other animal products for export, boots and shoes, foodstuffs, wool for local use, soda-water, soap and candles, and moneylending.⁴² Jews were much involved in wholesale trade, though here they encountered some competition from long-established and wealthy ethnic Armenians.⁴³ Annual fairs and weekly market days brought out many Jewish traders, some of whom in the 1880s appear to have engaged in sharp practices, such as giving short weight.⁴⁴ As demand increased, Jews became hotel and restaurant owners, managers and workers. After the railway reached Dorna Watra in the mountains in 1902, this little town developed into a spa resort of some significance, with Jewish-owned or leased hotels and cafes, Jewish baths attendants and waiters, plus a dozen Jewish doctors, a Jewish dentist and a Jewish apothecary, and attracting a mainly Jewish clientele from Bukovina and Eastern Galicia, with a few from Vienna.⁴⁵

Women are said to have been much honoured in this patriarchal society, but the male was the head of the household. Women worked in shops or other businesses, and sometimes they were owners, and some supported their husbands while the latter engaged in lifelong Talmudic studies.⁴⁶ Keeping the household was woman's work, as was in the rural areas looking after the garden, the poultry and perhaps a cow. So was shopping, especially on Thursdays in order to prepare for the Sabbath. Purchases were often made on credit, if the shopkeeper allowed this. Sweet pastries for the Sabbath were a special delicacy.⁴⁷ Special care would be taken to clean and keep kosher the dishes and cooking utensils. In the fall, geese would be fattened, so that there would be lots of goose-grease for cooking in the winter. Women would then also get together for communal working-bees, to use the feathers to make bedding for a newly-wed bride's trousseau, and also to prepare quill pens; much gossip would also be exchanged on such occasions. Bees would also be held to prepare sour cabbage and pickles for winter use.⁴⁸

Marriages would usually be arranged by matchmakers, for the young people had had little opportunity to interact with one another. Class generally determined who a suitable marriage partner would be; in Unter-Stanestie merchants were opposed to their children marrying the children of craftsmen. Mothers and grandmothers instructed brides-to-be in their wifely duties. Weddings were elaborate and costly affairs, with particular care and expense taken with the bride's attire, sometimes bought on credit.⁴⁹ Indeed wholesalers might refuse the usual credit to shopkeepers with marriageable daughters, for fear that the cost of the wedding would lead to payment difficulties.⁵⁰

Traditionally, Jewish parents had felt themselves obliged to give extended Jewish instruction only to boys. Many Orthodox parents remained opposed in principle to sending the boys to secular schools, in which children were unable to perform all their religious observances. Boys were sent at a tender age to religious schools (cheder) to learn Hebrew and later to Talmud Torah schools for more advanced religious study. Sometimes the religious education would be supplemented by private instruction in secular subjects.⁵¹ Charitable organizations existed in many places to assist poor children to attend cheder, or to provide them with clothes so that they could attend school.⁵² As time went on, more and more boys entered the public schools, although some of them also received a continuing religious education beyond the two hours per week religious instruction in the public system.

For girls, it was deemed sufficient to teach them to read Hebrew or Yiddish and to learn a few prayers. There were religious books in Yiddish for women.⁵³ Not surprisingly in view of traditional attitudes, initially far more girls than boys attended the public elementary schools - in 1876 in Radautz, for example, 73 Jewish girls and 22 Jewish boys were enrolled.⁵⁴ But the Jewish community came to prize secular education. They attached great importance to the instruction given in the German language that the children received in Bukovina's elementary and secondary schools. When a Ukrainian-language Gymnasium was proposed for the town of Wisnitz in 1907, its primarily Jewish population protested vigorously but in vain.⁵⁵ Jews also enrolled in disproportionately large numbers in commercial courses at the secondary level, and at Czernowitz University.

Secondary education opened the way to advancement, to the University and to the professions. Parents would make great sacrifices to give their sons a secondary education: one widow successively sold off four parcels of land to put her four sons through Gymnasium in Czernowitz.⁵⁶ For the community as distinct from the individual, secondary education was a double-edged sword. The Gymnasium student would look down on his erstwhile cheder schoolmates, and traditional Jewish thought began to be neglected by educated persons in favour of secular topics.⁵⁷

The University of Czernowitz was founded in 1875 to provide for the post-secondary education needs of Germans and Jews, “and of the Ruthenian nationality,” after the polonization of the university in Lemberg in Galicia. German was the language of instruction, except in the Orthodox Faculty of Theology, where it was principally Romanian. According to the report prepared for Emperor Franz Joseph, the University was to be “a German light in the East,”⁵⁸ and this was clearly also the wish of Bukovina’s Jews, whose educated upper strata prized their access to German culture and felt themselves to be Austrian Germans of the mosaic faith. At first Jewish and ethnic German students jointly founded student clubs and fraternities, but later the latter were infected with a pan-German ideology and expelled their Jewish colleagues. On the other hand, over the years the University had a number of Jewish professors, four of whom served one-year terms as Rectors of the University between 1897 and 1914⁵⁹—probably the only Austrian university with a number of Jewish rectors.

Jews entered the liberal professions in considerable numbers. Most of Bukovina’s medical doctors in the pre-1914 period were Jews, as were a majority of the province’s lawyers. Not surprisingly, Jews also predominated in the Faculty of Law and Political Economy of the University, providing half of its students at the turn of the century. Most of Bukovina’s apothecaries were Jewish, as were 18 out of the 24 pharmacy students in Czernowitz in 1913.⁶⁰ There were relatively few male Jewish schoolteachers, but quite a lot of Jewish women teachers.⁶¹ In some years a lot of Jewish women were admitted to the Czernowitz midwifery school—9 out of 22 in 1893 and 13 out of 32 in 1895—but in other years there were very few.⁶² It was not until around the turn of the century that Jews entered the Bukovina bureaucracy in any number, and they seem not to have attained senior positions,⁶³ though a Jewish engineer was in charge of a major section of the construction of a railway line.⁶⁴

Besides the Jewish-owned semi-official *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, there was a lively Jewish press, in Yiddish and German, mostly representing different political perspectives. Czernowitz itself was noted for its large numbers of Jewish printers and booksellers. Jewish charitable organizations were very active. There were Jewish theatrical performances and many clubs of every description.

Until the late 1890s, when Benno Straucher’s activities changed the situation, the Jewish oligarchy of Czernowitz determined the community’s politics. It was famously proud of its German culture and its loyalty to the Emperor and to Austria. Straucher’s populism gained the support of most of the Jewish masses at a time when extraneous influences were also beginning to affect the Jewish community.

Politically, the Jewish community became divided. Traditionally the leadership was liberal in its political outlook. Social Democracy made some headway in the early twentieth century, and Czernowitz’s Jewish socialists participated with socialists of other ethnic groups in joint

manifestations, including May Day celebrations, when speeches would be made in Romanian, Ukrainian, Yiddish, Polish and German. Indeed, party propaganda was disseminated in all these languages.⁶⁵ Members of trade unions, such as metalworkers, typesetters and printers, tailors, and so on, automatically belonged to the Social Democrat movement, and the Bukovinan party was part of the wider Austrian Social Democratic Party.⁶⁶ Jewish Social Democrats in Bukovina vigorously promoted Yiddish, the language of the Jewish workers. As Austrian Social Democrats separated into national or ethnic divisions, so the Bukovinan Jewish S.D.s in 1908 called themselves the *Bund* and in 1911 they affiliated with the Galician *Bund*. They also called for the official recognition of Jews as a national group. However, this did not prevent joint endeavours in Bukovina: the assistance given by Jewish Social Democrats to the general socialist cause resulted in the election of a Social Democrat, an ethnic Romanian, in the constituency of West Czernowitz in the elections to the Austrian parliament in 1907 and 1911.⁶⁷ Then there were the Jews of a religiously orthodox and sociopolitically conservative view, many of whom in Czernowitz were supporters of Benno Straucher, even if they did not necessarily espouse his Jewish-National orientation, and there was the growing Zionist movement.⁶⁸

It has to be said that the aims of the Jewish-Nationalists (also perhaps better known as Diaspora Nationalists) and the Zionists were to a quite large extent congruent, despite the at times bitter disputes between them, and especially between Straucher and the Zionist leaders Mayer Ebner, a lawyer, and Professor Leon Kellner.⁶⁹ Both aimed to foster Jewish identity, self-confidence and pride. Zionists, of course, also stressed the return to Jerusalem, though only small groups from Bukovina settled in Palestine prior to 1914, while Jewish-Nationals sought a Jewish future within the Habsburg Monarchy, and in particular in Bukovina wished to have Jews recognized within Austria as a nationality and not merely as a religious community.⁷⁰ Earlier, this idea had been strenuously promoted by Rabbi Joseph Bloch.⁷¹ In the early twentieth century it became an objective uniting many factions within the Jewish community in Bukovina.⁷² But the Austrian government refused to recognize Jews as a nation. From a legal standpoint it was argued that it was contrary to the constitution to recognize political rights on the basis of religious affiliation. Very possibly there were also political objections: Acculturated Jews were not in favour; there were fears that it would betoken a new form of ghettoization; and there was also governmental concern that it might lead to a demand for publicly funded Jewish schools.⁷³ Zionists put emphasis on the learning of Hebrew,⁷⁴ Jewish-Nationalists, though not Straucher himself, extolled the virtues of Yiddish, the language of the Jewish masses.

In 1908 a large Yiddish conference was held in Czernowitz, initiated from New York. This was a big event. Nathan Birnbaum took the lead in calling for the appreciation of the Yiddish language by the somewhat unwilling intellectuals. Shalom Asch and I. L. Peretz were among the speakers. The conference did succeed in raising the profile of the Yiddish language

and literature. It also laid bare some of the divisions in the community. In the debate on the text of the final resolution of the conference, Jewish Social Democrats attempted to have Yiddish declared *the* national language of the Jews, but after lively discussion the decision was taken to declare Yiddish merely as *a* Jewish national language.⁷⁵

Benno Straucher was the principal spokesman of the Jewish-Nationals, though he belonged to no party until he formed his own People's Party in Bukovina. It was a sign of the times that with his active support two Jews were elected Mayors of Czernowitz in the early twentieth century. Did any other Austrian provincial capital have Jewish mayors? Straucher often spoke courageously on behalf of Jewish causes in the Austrian Reichsrat in Vienna, where he sat as an independent, and denounced pogroms in Romania and in the Russian Empire.⁷⁶ In Bukovinan politics he formed part of a Progressive bloc in the *Landtag*, where he fought for the recognition of Jews as a national group.

This endeavour got tied up with the campaign to have Yiddish accepted as one of the officially recognized languages of Austria, which the Austrian state steadfastly refused to do.⁷⁷ Consequently Bukovinan Jews were normally identified, and identified themselves, as "German speaking." In the twentieth century this increasingly met with resistance from Jewish students at Czernowitz University, whose demonstrations forced the University administration to insert in its annual report for 1912/13 the number of students of Jewish nationality.⁷⁸

There were other developments affecting the Jewish community or sections thereof in the years prior to 1914. One was that, at least in the rural areas, the economy improved. Yields of the principal cereal crops, with the exception of maize, improved quite markedly, imported animals helped to improve the local strains, export markets were found for eggs and other local produce,⁷⁹ good employment was to be had in the expanded forestry industry.⁸⁰ Increased trade benefited Jewish merchants, some of whom came to be quite well off, and although their numbers increased, it was thought that "with honest work" they could all assure their livelihood.⁸¹

Secular education came to have an effect on the Jewish communities, leading educated people to neglect traditional Jewish thought and instead take an interest in secular literature, art, history and politics.⁸² Jews in Bukovina took a keen interest in matters affecting Jews elsewhere. The Dreyfus affair in France and ritual murder charges, particularly the 1911 Beilis trial in Russia, aroused indignation, as did the 1903 Kishinev pogrom in nearby Bessarabia.⁸³ Benno Straucher, Bukovina's only Jewish deputy in the *Reichsrat*, made courageous speeches there, demanding equal civic rights for Jews in Romania and Russia.⁸⁴

Women began to play a greater role in Jewish society. Throughout the *Land*, even in some villages, women's organizations were formed. Also, some women began to discard wigs and to proudly adorn their own hair.⁸⁵ Another societal change saw the formation of Jewish sports clubs, not only in Czernowitz, where a beginning was made with a hiking club in 1908, but also in

other places; gymnastics and soccer football quickly followed.⁸⁶ Amusements in even small towns took a new form: in Unter-Stanestie a bowling alley proved to be very popular, and the playing of cards was also prevalent.⁸⁷ One of the developments of the years just before 1914 that was not favourable to Jews was an oversupply of professionals (doctors, lawyers, would-be government employees), with increasing competition for jobs.⁸⁸

What of the relationships of Jews with the peoples of other national groups in the *Land*? The contemporary evidence is scanty. In the memoirs of Jewish survivors of World War II, we find statements such as “Before 1914 Jews and Ruthenians lived on friendly terms in the town [Kotzman] and in the surrounding area,” the people of Putila had “an untroubled relationship with their neighbours,” and “Under Austria, we had good relations with the rest of the populations in the town [Storozynetz] and in the countryside.”⁸⁹ Probably the picture was not quite as rosy as this. There were complaints about Jewish money-lending practices. Evidence, however, was difficult to collect, for peasants were afraid to talk lest their loans would be called in.⁹⁰ But, as the Ukrainian leader Nicholas von Wassilko stated in the *Landtag* in 1909, it was not only Jewish users who exploited the people, but Christian ones also.⁹¹

Other instances of anti-Semitism may be found. The upper bureaucracy in Bukovina was in the main mildly anti-Semitic, though some from western Austria were vehemently so.⁹² Although Bukovina had many Jewish doctors, leading positions in hospitals were generally closed to them.⁹³ Secondary school teachers from western Austria were quite likely to be anti-Semitic, much more so than those of Bukovinan origin.⁹⁴ Pressure by the authorities ended an attempt by one of these to set up a *Judenfrei* class at the First Gymnasium in Czernowitz.⁹⁵ Earlier, in the late 1870s, the government prevented the publication by some ethnic Romanians of anti-Semitic hate literature.⁹⁶ When some agitators in Kuczumare, in an area populated mainly by Ukrainians, attempted to stir up an anti-Jewish demonstration, one gendarme sufficed to quiet things down.⁹⁷ An elementary school teacher might make unfriendly remarks about Jews and schoolchildren might sneer at Jewish customs and snatch skullcaps off the heads of Jewish classmates.⁹⁸ Was the latter typical schoolyard behaviour towards those of any minority distinctive because of clothes and customs, or was it really anti-Semitism?

Among adults there seems to have been little overt anti-Semitism. Perhaps one might legitimately talk of passivity as a characteristic of Bukovina’s peasant population. The noted Galician Ukrainian author Ivan Franko thought in 1906 that among West Ukrainian peasants anti-Semitism was “silent, latent in peasant huts.”⁹⁹ Josef Schapira thought it was envy rather than religious anti-Semitism that was being manifested in his small town.¹⁰⁰ But Bukovina in Austrian times was noted for its spirit of tolerance and accommodation. The *Land’s* culture, pre-1914, would work against extreme viewpoints.¹⁰¹ In any case, although its peoples lived in close geographic proximity, there was generally a social distance between them.¹⁰²

But the distance was not always unbridgeable. Among politicians, Wassilko was able to refer to Straucher as “my personal and political friend.”¹⁰³ A rabbi might be quite friendly with the local Catholic priest and discuss religious issues with him.¹⁰⁴ The Trust Fund of the Orthodox Church liked to do business with enterprising Jews and on occasion, as at Dorna Watra and Wisnitz, made land available free of charge for the building of synagogues.¹⁰⁵ A rabbi might join with Orthodox and Protestant clergy in offering prayers on celebratory occasions.¹⁰⁶ In Unter-Stanestie in 1890, while 106 Jewish children attended the public elementary school, 20 others were sent to a private Christian school (where they formed almost one-third of the enrollment).¹⁰⁷ In the same place Ukrainians would bring their New Year celebrations to Jewish houses and would be well received there, and Jews would send a delegation to welcome any bishop who visited the town.¹⁰⁸ And when the Russians invaded in 1914, Archbishop Repta of the Orthodox Church safeguarded the Torah and other holy texts from the main Czernowitz synagogue.¹⁰⁹ In many respects, then, the picture of relationships is nuanced.

It is only in the political sphere that it becomes clearer. Here Jews and Germans were regarded as the mediators between Romanians and Ukrainians.¹¹⁰ And the place that Jews held in Bukovinan public life was further demonstrated by the events of 1908–9. With the advent of universal male suffrage in 1907, there was need to change the law on elections to the Bukovinan *Landtag*. Straucher together with Ukrainian, Romanian and Polish progressive deputies secured the adoption of a draft law setting out the number of seats to be allocated to each of the national entities in Bukovina: German, Polish, Romanian, Ukrainian and Jewish. This open identification of Jews as a national group, though making eminent sense in Bukovinan circumstances, was not acceptable to the authorities in Vienna.

Faced with this veto, Bukovinan politicians then devised a new law in which Germans and Jews were combined into one general curia, but complicated arrangements in effect divided this grouping into two. The recognition of Jews as a national group was thus achieved *de facto*, though not *de jure*.¹¹¹ It is noteworthy that Jews of all political persuasions supported the efforts to have Jews recognized as a national community. It is noteworthy too that the *Landtag* unanimously approved a resolution stating, “In the actual circumstances of Bukovina, the *Landtag* affirms that the Jews form a distinct national individuality and a special *Volksstamm*, and therefore they should have their own national Curia.”¹¹²

Given the economic predominance Jews had achieved, it is surprising that there were so few indications of overt anti-Semitism. Jews benefited from the civic rights, the economic opportunities and the overall security that Austria provided, and for which they were very thankful. They benefited, too, from Bukovina’s general culture, with its emphasis on cooperation and compromise in political and social life. Jews were able to live in peace. Some prospered and became wealthy, others were fairly affluent, and many were poor. But they had earned recognition

and a good measure of respect in this multinational corner of the Empire.

Therefore, one must ask the question: what accounts for the particular circumstances of the Jews of Bukovina?

First, one must take account of the fact that no one linguistic-national group had a majority in Bukovina. There was indeed inter-group rivalry in Bukovina, but no one group could repress the others, and indeed Jews at times played a mediating role in politics at the local and provincial levels.

Second, both the Austrian and the Bukovinan governments needed the entrepreneurial talents of the Jews in order to improve and modernize the economy of this underdeveloped province.

Third, Austria needed Bukovina's Jews, especially the upper middle class Jews who were so proud of their German language and so much influenced by German culture, in order to maintain the Austro-German character of Czernowitz and Bukovina. This need continued even after the Bukovinan ethnic Germans refused any longer to cooperate with the linguistic German Jews. Perhaps the need was even greater then, for Jews were known to be especially loyal citizens of the Austrian Empire.¹¹³

Fourth, the Austrian administration of Bukovina appears to have pursued a fairly even-handed course, in which Jews too enjoyed the full protection of the state. Officer Koch's statement that "the gendarme cares for the safety of the person and the property of all citizens,"¹¹⁴ sums up this multiculturalism. The treatment accorded to Bukovina's Jews by the provincial authorities was particularly significant in setting an example for traditionalist peasant populations that were disposed to accept the legitimate authority of the state.¹¹⁵ The presence of civic officials at major Jewish functions such as the installation of a rabbi was also important as an indicator of the community's status.¹¹⁶

Fifth, once Jews were granted full citizenship in 1867, they were able quite quickly to attain a preponderant position in Bukovina's economy and the political influence that came with this.

Finally, the attitude of the state authorities and their own economic success gave Bukovina's Jews a feeling of self-worth in an era of stability. They really were the most fortunate Jews in Eastern and East Central Europe.

Epilogue

The outbreak of the first world war in 1914 brought to an end the age of stability and opportunity for Bukovina's Jews. The Russians speedily occupied Czernowitz and most of Bukovina. The Jewish mayor, Salo Weisselberger, and some other prominent persons were

transported to Siberia; Weisselberger was later ennobled by the Austrians. Trade was destroyed. Those Jews who could left for unoccupied parts of Austria-Hungary, to return once the Russians were driven out. But Czernowitz was briefly reoccupied by the Russians in 1916, with another outbreak of anti-Jewish action.

In November 1918 Romanian troops occupied Bukovina and after a so-called plebiscite the province was incorporated into the Kingdom of Romania. Jewish freedoms were circumscribed; the press was censored. There were quotas on Jews in educational institutions. Naturally the Zionist movement now made headway. Romanian anti-Semitism was felt throughout Bukovina, though worse in some places than in others, seemingly dependant on the whim of the local chief administrator. This, too, changed in 1938, when an avowedly anti-Semitic government came to power in Romania.

In 1940 the Soviet Union demanded that Northern Bukovina, including Czernowitz, be handed over to it. Now a new lot of tormentors descended on the Jewish population. Some Jews were murdered, others were transported to the interior. These, it turned out, were the lucky ones, for they were spared the mass murders of 1941, perpetrated on the spot by Nazis and their Romanian henchmen, and the death marches to the Dniester and to the camps beyond, from which those who managed to survive deprivation, malnutrition, cruelty and the cold emerged in late 1944 and made their way back to what had been their homeland.

This was the fate of Bukovina's Jews, who for a brief half-century under Austrian rule had enjoyed circumstances not given to other East European Jews: a time when a Jew had been a full citizen.

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Footnotes

¹ H.Sternberg, “Zur Geschichte der Juden in Czernowitz,” in H.Gold (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukovina*, Vol.II (Tel Aviv, 1962), p.32.

² Gold (ed.), Vol.I (Tel Aviv, 1958), p.65.

³ J-P.Himka, “The Snows of Yesteryear,” *Cross Currents: A Yearbook of Central European Culture*, No.10, pp. 67 and 71. See also A.Heuberger, “Die Bukowina - eine Region entdeckt ihre Vergangenheit wieder,” *Osteuropa*, vol. 42 (1992), pp.978-983.

⁴ J-P.Bled, “Czernowitz avant 1914: une societe multiculturelle,” *Revue roumaine d’histoire*, Vol.XXXV, Nos.1-2 (1996), p.22.

⁵ L.A.Simiginowicz-Stause, *Die Völkergruppen der Bukowina: Ethnographisch-culturhistorische Skizzen* (Czernowitz, 1884), pp.191-193. “The architectural development of the city was in great part the work of Jewish entrepreneurship”: Sternberg, “Zur Geschichte,” p. 36.

⁶ See, for example, *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, March 24, 1886: “Our brave fire brigade rescued two families from the floodwaters.”

⁷ *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, January 28, 1886.

⁸ *Ibid.*; R. F. Kaindl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz* (3rd ed., Czernowitz, 1908), p. 149.

⁹ C. Presl, “Die öffentliche Gesundheitspflege in Oesterreich seit dem Jahre 1848,” *Statistische Monatschrift*, Vol. XXIV (1898), pp. 390 and 399-400.

¹⁰ *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, April 10, 1886; Bratassevic, “Die Infectiouskrankheiten in Oesterreich während des letzten Decenniums 1890-1899,” *Statistische Monatschrift*, Vol. XXVIII (1902), pp. 392-94; J. Schapira, *Die Juden in Unter-Stanestie a/Cz* (the author [in Israel], 1965), pp. 33-34 (I am grateful to Mr. I. Osterer of Montreal for drawing my attention to this book).

¹¹ Derived from *Oesterreichische Statistik*, Vol. I. See Appendix.

¹² H.Gold (ed.), *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukovina*, two volumes (Tel Aviv, 1958 and 1962).

¹³ N. M. Gelber, “Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina, III, Selbständiges Kronland,” in Gold (ed.), Vol. I, pp. 50-52; Sternberg, “Zur Geschichte,” pp. 31-32 and 49-51; D. Sha’ari, “The Jewish Community of Czernowitz under Habsburg and Romanian Rule: Part One,” *Shvut*, no. 6 (1997), pp. 169-70. J. Polek, “Statistik des Judenthums in der Bukowina,” *Statistische Monatschrift*, Vol. XV (1889), pp. 269-70; E. Turczynski, “Die Bukowina”, in I. Röskau-Rydel: *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas: Galizien* (n.p. 1999), p. 249. The building was partially destroyed by Romanian troops and German S.D. units in 1941; it is now a cinema.

¹⁴ S.J.Schulsohn, “Die Rabbinerhöfe in Sadagura und Bojan,” in Gold (ed.), I, pp.85-89; see also *ibid.*, II, pp.98-101.

¹⁵ N.M.Gelber, “Die Wisnitzer Zaddikim Dynastie,” in *ibid.*, I, pp.89-90; Rabbi I. Harnik, *History of the Jewish Community in Radautz*, Central Archives of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, file RM/373, chapter 11 (I have used a handwritten German translation, made available to me by courtesy of Prof. B. Reisch of Cornell University); Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, p. 147.

¹⁶ Gold (ed.), Vol.II, p. 93.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol.II, p.85.

- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, pp.83, 109 and 122.
- ¹⁹ Harnik, *Radautz*, chapter 17.
- ²⁰ Gelber, “Geschichte der Juden,” p. 52; Sternberg, “Zur Geschichte,” p.32; on the role of the wealthy businessmen see also Sha’ari, “The Jewish Community”, pp. 166-67.
- ²¹ Harnik, *Radautz*, chapters 8, 9, 15 and 16; see also Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, p. 97.
- ²² *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 56, 62, 120 and 138-81; Harnik, *Radautz*, chapter 4.
- ²³ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, p. 61. In Czernowitz an ultra-orthodox family initially declined to be rescued from the floodwaters of the Pruth because the rescue would have involved stepping on a loaded horse-drawn wagon that would then be moved to safety.
- ²⁴ Harnik, *Radautz*, chapters 4, 11, and 19.
- ²⁵ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 195-96 and 200.
- ²⁶ Harnik, *Radautz*, chapters 11 and 15; Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, p. 113.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 93; Harnik, *Radautz*, chapter 12.
- ²⁸ For Radautz see Gold (ed.), vol. II, p. 93; for Ober Wikov, a large village of over 5,000 inhabitants, see Harnik, *Radautz*, chapter 21.
- ²⁹ *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, May 14, 1908.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, May 17, 1908.
- ³¹ Many pre-1918 Jewish and non-sectarian charitable organizations with Jewish participation in Czernowitz are listed by E. Neuborn, “Die ältesten Vereine, Institutionen und Organisationen in der Bukowina,” in Gold (ed.), vol. I, pp.153-159. Business organizations might also engage in charitable activities: the Jewish Citrusfruit Merchants’ Benevolent Organization ended its meeting with a “Hoch für den Kaiser,” *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, Mar.27, 1886.
- ³² Gold (ed.), Vol. II, p.99; Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 56 and 198. The *Luftmenschen* (people who live on air) are said to have trusted in God and to have boundless optimism.
- ³³ Gelber, “Geschichte der Juden,” p. 48; Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 88-89.
- ³⁴ For Czernowitz see Sternberg, “Zur Geschichte,” pp. 35-36; for Radautz, see Gold (ed), Vol. II, p. 92, for Zastawna see *ibid.*, p.123.
- ³⁵ Sternberg, “Zur Geschichte,” p.35.
- ³⁶ See, for example, D.Kwitkowsky *et al* (eds.), *Bukovyna ii mynule i suchasne* (Paris and Philadelphia, 1956), p. 467.
- ³⁷ Gelber, “Geschichte der Juden,” p. 47. A listing of estates in Jewish hands as of 1888 is given in J. Polek, “Statistik,” p. 264.
- ³⁸ Gelber, “Geschichte der Juden,” p. 47; Harnik, *Radautz*, chapter 19, praised the employment practices of Baron von Popper, the lessee of large tracts of forest.

³⁹ Sternberg, “Zur Geschichte,” p. 35, Mariana Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina* (Munich, 2001), p. 79; *Die Oesterreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild: Bukowina* (Vienna, 1899), p. 484.

⁴⁰ *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, March 21, 1908 and Feb.1, 1910; Gold (ed.), Vol. II, p.47, footnote 50. Under Romanian rule, Jewish children were not admitted to the hospital that had been established by Jewish largesse.

⁴¹ However, there were some Jewish bricklayers and carpenters elsewhere, as at Saragota and Unter-Stanestie.

⁴² Gelber, “Geschichte der Juden”, p. 47; Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 29, 91, 115 and 197-99; C. Wendling, “Zur Tierzucht und Landwirtschaft des Buchenlandes,” in F. Lang (ed.), *Buchenland: Hundertfünfzig Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina* (Munich, 1961), p. 202.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Per capita, considerably more Jews than gentiles were sentenced by the courts for cheating [Betrug] in the years 1882-85, though the total number was not great: Polek, *Statistik*, p. 265. The *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, January 13, 1886, noted that there were many cases of giving false weight at the market there, but did not identify the perpetrators by religion or ethnicity.

⁴⁵ Gold (ed.), Vol. II, pp. 82-83.

⁴⁶ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 23, 94, 96, 197.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 22 and 41. West Ukrainian peasant women knew well the dates of Jewish holidays and would bring geese and goose-grease to market just before such dates: A. Birnbaum, *From my Father's House* (in Yiddish) (Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 25-31. I am indebted to Mr. Y. East of Winnipeg for this reference.

⁴⁸ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 69 and 154-55.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 122, 125 and 128-29; see also pp. 122-35. The Czernowitz *Kultusgemeinde* had a quite considerable fund to provide money for wedding outfits for needy young women: Gelber, “Geschichte der Juden”, p. 52.

⁵⁰ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, p. 22.

⁵¹ J. Thon, *Die Juden in Oesterreich* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 85 and 90; Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 36-50.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 102; sometimes money for clothes was provided by the *Kultusgemeinde* itself, see for example *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, January 10, 1886.

⁵³ Thon, *Die Juden*, p. 85; Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 39-40.

⁵⁴ Gold (ed.), Vol. II, p. 94.

⁵⁵ Chernivtsi Oblast Archives, Fond 211, opys 1, file 10351; other ethnic groups also joined in the protest: fond 211, op.1, file 9718. A German-language parallel class had to be instituted almost from the beginning: *idem.*, fond 211, op.1, file 9730. See also W. Denesczuk, *Rechtliche Stellung der Ukrainer (Ruthenen) in der Bukowina von 1774-1918* (dissertation, Innsbruck University, 1972), pp. 56-58.

⁵⁶ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, p. 205.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁵⁸ Vienna, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterrichts, Fasz.1101, sign 5A Czernowitz: Minister Stremayr to Emperor Franz Joseph, Nov.26, 1874.

- ⁵⁹ Gold (ed.), Vol. I, p. 65. Other professors who were originally Jewish but became baptized Christians also served as rectors.
- ⁶⁰ *Pharmazeutische Zeitung*, vol.121 (1976), p.1462.
- ⁶¹ In 1900 there were 9 male and 63 female Jewish teachers in Bukovina's public elementary schools: Thon, *Die Juden*, p. 89.
- ⁶² Vienna: Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Unterricht, Fasz.1510, file 9D1. There were of course also unlicensed Jewish midwives who had learned their skills from their mothers or others: Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 30-31.
- ⁶³ Sternberg, "Zur Geschichte", p. 36. For the foregoing see also J. Buszko, *Zum Wandel der Gesellschaftstruktur in Galizien und in der Bukowina* (Vienna, 1978), pp. 36-37.
- ⁶⁴ Gold (ed.), Vol. II, p.84.
- ⁶⁵ E.Turczynski, *Geschichte der Bukowina in der Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1993), p.192; J.Kissman, "Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Arbeiterbewegung 'Bund' in der Bukowina," in Gold (ed.), Vol. I, p. 130.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.130-133.
- ⁶⁸ See Gold (ed.), *passim*, and M.Broszat, "Von der Kulturnation zur Volksgruppe: Die Nationale Stellung der Juden in der Bukowina im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 200 (1965), pp. 572-605. Broszat does not distinguish sufficiently between Jewish-Nationalists and Zionists.
- ⁶⁹ Gold (ed.), *passim*.
- ⁷⁰ Diaspora nationalism has also been described as "a Jewish selfhood that did not require return to Zion": K. Frieden, *Classic Yiddish Fiction* (Albany, NY, 1995), p. 314.
- ⁷¹ W. Häusler, "Zur historischen Situation des Ostjudentums in der Habsburgermonarchie," in I. Slawinski and J. P. Strelka (eds.), *Die Bukowina: Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Berne, 1995), p. 31. Bloch was a member of the Reichsrat from 1883-95, for a Galician constituency.
- ⁷² See in particular A. Rachaminov, "Diaspora Nationalism's Pyrrhic victory: The Controversy Regarding the Electoral Reform of 1909 in Bukovina," in J. S. Micgiel, *State and Nation Building in East Central Europe* (New York, 1996), pp. 8-9. Benno Straucher did much from the 1880s onwards to strengthen Jewish national consciousness in Bukovina: Gelber, "Geschichte der Juden," p. 60.
- ⁷³ G. Stourzh, *Die Gleichberechtigung der Nationalitäten in der Verfassung und Verwaltung Österreichs 1848-1918* (Vienna, 1985), pp. 234-35. See also H. Sternberg, "Das Unterrichtswesen der Juden in der Bukowina," in Gold (ed.), Vol. I, p. 81.
- ⁷⁴ On the Hebrew language movement in Bukovina see Gold (ed.), Vol. II, pp.162-163.
- ⁷⁵ Ruth R. Wisse, *I. L. Peretz and the Making of Modern Jewish Culture* (Seattle, 1991), pp. 95-97; J. Kissman, "Zur Geschichte", pp. 131-132.
- ⁷⁶ Sternberg, "Zur Geschichte," pp. 32-33.
- ⁷⁷ An Austrian court held in 1909 that Yiddish was a local language not protected by law; Broszat, pp.580-581.

- ⁷⁸ Gold (ed.), Vol. II, p.165. But “German,” not Yiddish, was still given as their language.
- ⁷⁹ *Oesterreichische Statistik*, Vol. LX, no. 3, pt. 2, p. xxviii.
- ⁸⁰ Harnik, *Radautz*, chapter 19.
- ⁸¹ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 115, 195-96, 197-98; Gold (ed.), Vol. II, p. 119.
- ⁸² Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, p. 203.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78 and 182-90.
- ⁸⁴ Sternberg, “Zur Geschichte”, pp. 32-33.
- ⁸⁵ Harnik, *Radautz*, chapter 21; Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, p. 195.
- ⁸⁶ H. Rubel, “Jüdischer Sport in der Bukowina”, in Gold (ed.), Vol. I, pp. 167-68; see also *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 96.
- ⁸⁷ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 197 and 204.
- ⁸⁸ Bukovina had by far the highest per capita participation in university education among the Austrian crownlands: H. v. Haan, “Statistische Streiflichter zur österreichischen Hochschulfrequenz”, *Statistische Monatschrift*, new series, Vol. XXII, pp. 185-88. On competition see E. Ehrlich, *Die Aufgaben der Sozialpolitik im österr. Osten insbesondere in der Bukowina* (Czernowitz, 1909), pp. 24-26, and Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung*, p. 78.
- ⁸⁹ Gold (ed.), Vol. II, pp. 90, 92, and 108; see also I. Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), p. 63.
- ⁹⁰ F. Neubauer, *Die Gendarmerie in Oesterreich 1849-1924* (Vienna, 1924), pp. 452-53. Five Jews from Bojan were convicted of usury in 1905 after a long investigation: *Ibid.*, p. 453.
- ⁹¹ See R. Wagner, *Der Parlamentarismus und nationale Ausgleich in der ehemals österreichischen Bukowina* (Munich, 1984), p. 175. For anti-Semitism among ethnic Germans (some of whom tended to blame Jews for Bukovina’s social problems) see also the brief mention in Hausleitner, *Rumänisierung*, p. 71.
- ⁹² See, for example, Gregor von Rezzori’s portraits of his uncle and his father in his *Memoirs of an Anti-Semite* (New York, 1982 [Penguin edition]), pp. 16, 32-33, 53, 65 and 194-195.
- ⁹³ L. Wisnitzer, “Das jüdische Spital in Czernowitz,” in Gold (ed.), vol. II, p. 167.
- ⁹⁴ Sternberg, “Unterrichtswesen,” p. 79.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
- ⁹⁶ Gelber, “Geschichte der Juden,” p. 65, footnote 61; see also Hausleitner, *Rumänisierung*, p. 56.
- ⁹⁷ J. Koch and H. Kipper, *Aus dem Tagebuch eines österr. Gendarmen* (Czernowitz, 1912), pp. 155-161.
- ⁹⁸ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 26 and 34.
- ⁹⁹ Quoted from one of Franko’s book reviews in A. Wilcher, “Ivan Franko and Theodore Herzl,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. VI, p. 241.
- ¹⁰⁰ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, p. 29; but the author is not consistent in this view.

¹⁰¹ E. Turczynski, “Exogene und endogene Faktoren der Konssensbildung in der Bukowina,” *Südostdeutsches Archiv*, Nos. 38/39, esp. pp. 104-06. The accommodationist attitude of the so-called *homo bucovinensis* was harshly criticised by later Romanian historians: see Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics*, p. 59.

¹⁰² For the concept of social distance see E. S. Bogardus, “Measuring Social Distance,” *Journal of Applied Sociology*, vol. 9 (1925).

¹⁰³ See Wagner, *Parlamentarismus*, p. 175.

¹⁰⁴ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, p. 113.

¹⁰⁵ Hausleitner, *Rumänisierung*, p. 73; Gold (ed.), Vol. II, *passim*.

¹⁰⁶ As at Radautz in 1902: *Czernowitzer Zeitung*, August 19, 1902.

¹⁰⁷ *Schematismus der Allgemeinen Volksschulen und Bürgerschulen* (Vienna, 1891), p. 765.

¹⁰⁸ Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, pp. 34-35 and 78.

¹⁰⁹ L. Schmelzer, “Die Juden in der Bukowina (1914-1919),” in Gold (ed.), Vol. I, p. 68; Sha’ari, “The Jewish Community,” p. 179.

¹¹⁰ Wassilko in the *Landtag*, citing the *volksdeutsch* Rector of the University: Wagner, *Parlamentarismus*, p. 177.

¹¹¹ G.Stourzh, “Die Gleichberechtigung der Volksstämme als Verfassungsprincip,” in Urbanitsch and Wandruszka, *Das Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918*, Vol. III, pp.1191-1196, *inter alia* described the Bukovinan electoral law as “the most complicated that existed in Cisleithanian Austria or at that time anywhere in Europe.” See also Rachaminov, “Diaspora Nationalism’s Pyrrhic Victory,” pp.1-16; the author was scarcely interested in the final compromise.

¹¹² The text is reprinted in Wagner, *Parlamentarismus*, pp. 241-42.

¹¹³ “There was a unique relationship between the confessionally tolerant monarchy and the Jews, who were among its most loyal citizens”: I. Deak, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social & Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848-1918* (Oxford, 1992), p. 172; see also *ibid.*, p. 176, and Gelber, “Geschichte der Juden”, p. 45. Bukovina’s Jews were notably *kaisertreu*.

¹¹⁴ Koch and Kipper, *Aus dem Tagebuch*, p.156.

¹¹⁵ It was noted in one small town that “the enjoyment of civil rights was not limited by religion” in the administrative practice of its long-term mayor: Schapira, *Unter-Stanestie*, p. 35.

¹¹⁶ Harnik, *Radautz*, chapters 16 and 18.

APPENDIX

Fig. 1. Populations of Principal Towns in Bukovina as of 1880,
Together with Percentage of Jews

Czernowitz	45,600	31.7
Radautz	11,162	30.9
Suczawa	10,104	37.1
Sereth	7,240	43.1
Kimpolung	5,534	14.4
Bojan	5,227	14.9
Storozynetz	4,852	32.8
Sadagora	4,836	80.3
Waszkoutz	4,277	18.3
Wiznitz	4,165	91.1
Dorna-Watra	3,980	12.4
Rohozna	3,790	36.9
Unter-Stanistie	2,727	25.3

Based on *Oesterreichische Statistik*, Vol. I.

Note: Although the population increased after 1880, the proportions did not change greatly.