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When royalty visits our democratic shores, 1926.



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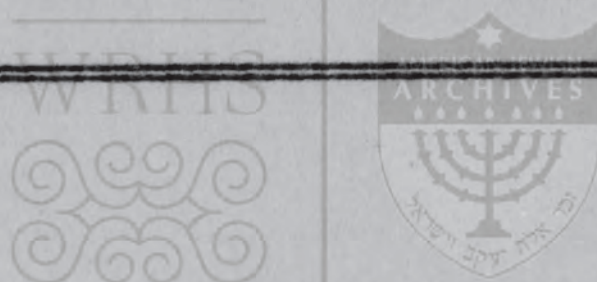
"WHEN ROYALTY VISITS OUR DEMOCRATIC SHORES."

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

THE TEMPLE, SUNDAY MORNING.

OCTOBER 31, 1926, CLEVELAND, O.

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JOSEPH T. KRAUS  
Shorthand  
Reporter  
CLEVELAND



The subject of my address this morning,

"When Royalty Visits Our Democratic Shores," was suggested to me by a facetious remark which I heard recently, that when royalty visits our shores Americans become "Roumaniacs." I venture to say that seldom has a visitor to our shores received such universal acclaim and been met with such great enthusiasm as this gracious queen, who comes from a country concerning whose whereabouts nine-tenths of the Americans are still in doubt. We read that her progress through the streets of our great metropolitan cities is impeded by the vast throngs who pour out to catch a glimpse of her, many of whom endanger life and limb in the process. Our newspapers, which are an exact reflex of the mind and the temperament of our people, devote columns of space describing in minutest detail the triumphant processional of this charming queen,--her manners, her speech, her dress, her menu, and all her momentous comments, and everything under the sun. She is feted by all the political and industrial potentates of our land. We are told that her hotel suites have been furnished with a quarter of a million dollars worth of antique furniture and bric-a-brac, for which, of course, this thrifty and saving queen pays not a penny; and we are told that her train is the most sumptuous on wheels, very much unlike the trains in which democrats have to travel here, and certainly in Roumania,



for which "joy ride" across the continent this practical queen again does not pay a penny. She compensates the hotel and the railroad with the privilege of entertaining royalty. In a democracy that is the rarest privilege. We are even told that this wise queen is laying aside a tidy sum of money for a rainy day back home, where money is not so plentiful and where royalty is a daily occurrence. She has syndicated her important numerous versions of her trip, and she has even deigned to grant the use of her royal name to democratic commodities like soap and perfume. We are even told that the great American industry of the moving picture may soon be graced with the regal presence of this queen, either as scenario writer or as actor.

Now, that is all very interesting, and I suppose that this homage which we have paid to Queen Marie, and which has given our amused European friends a good laugh at our expense, is not to be taken very seriously. The American people loves a good show, and whether it is a circus, or the funeral of a great moving picture star, or the Prince of Wales, or Billy Sunday, the American people does love and enjoy good shows,--something which takes it out of the commonplace and unromantic domain of our daily life. And Queen Marie has given them a good show.

She is, first and foremost, as Mr. Charles Mertz, the American journalist has keenly observed, a great journalist, with a keen sense of appreciation of the importance of the press. She is the first great modern



journalist among royal personages. She is here, of course, not to dedicate a museum in Seattle, but to negotiate a loan in New York, and she knows the importance of creating through the medium of the newspaper, the press, the atmosphere for the successful consummation of her purpose. She knows what the public wants, and she has a remarkably accurate estimate of the average mentality of the American public. I read, within the last two or three weeks, one or two of her articles, and I was amazed at the astounding grasp which this visitor to our land has of the mind of the average American,--almost as keen as that of Mr. Brisbane. She is not writing for a group of intellectuals, a small group of elite, who are, anyhow, sour on royalty and knows that it is a fraud; and she does not appeal to that group. She appeals to a nation of clerks and stenographers and shop-keepers and political boobies. She understands them and she writes for them; and they eat out of her hand.

I was not at all disturbed by this. Queen Marie is a very competent and a very charming and a very effective person and deserving of the hospitality and a hearty welcome on the part of the American people. But I was disturbed about something else; I was disturbed by the indifference which was almost universally manifested as to the type of government which this visitor represents. I was disturbed by our absolute reticence concerning the political crimes which are daily being perpetrated in the land whence this visitor comes and which she officially represents. For



the queen is not here in an individual capacity but in a representative capacity, and the royal house in Roumania is not without responsibility because it is not without power and influence in the government of that country. And yet here was a visitor from a land which is the most corrupt, the most feudal in Eastern Europe, and not an expression of moral indignation is raised in this, the greatest democratic country in the world.

My mind kept reverting during the past three or four weeks to the role which Roumania has played in the last ten or twelve years in history.--a role of political black-guardism and villany, a role of exploitation and oppression, unparalleled even in that medieval Balkan world where Roumania is the most dominant nation. My mind kept going back to the disreputable role which this country (Roumania) played during the war. For two years Roumania coolly and deliberately calculated as to her chances of profit if she would join one of the contending armies in the world war or the other.--a cool, mercenary calculation; and finally, in 1916, two years after the war had been launched, Roumania.--that is, the ruling oligarchy of Roumania, for the people of Roumania never wanted war.--thinking that the Allied Powers were about to be victorious, decided to join in the war on the side of the Allies. And Roumania, too, fought the war for civilization and for the self-determination of peoples and for democracy; and all during that time she had in her possession a secret treaty



which gave her dominion over peoples and territories not at all belonging to her and whose peoples would never enjoy self-determination under her sovereignty. And my mind kept going back during these last few weeks to the role which Roumania played after the conclusion of the war, when ruthlessly she seized a vast stretch of territory belonging to Hungary,--Transylvania, a territory where the Hungarians resisted the Roumanian aggression and where the Roumanian inhabitants did not wish to have the boon of Roumanian citizenship imposed upon them.

After the war, at the collapse of Bela Kun, Roumania invaded Hungary, seized its capital, Budapest, terrorized its inhabitants and confiscated and exported from the country everything that she could lay her hands on,--all the rolling-stock, all the cattle, all the machinery, all the agricultural implements, all the telephone and telegraph wires, every typewriter in Hungary, was looted; the country was stripped. Roumania would not listen to the admonition of the Council of Ambassadors. It was only at the drastic intervention of Mr. Hoover, our own Mr. Hoover, who threatened to cut off the food supply to Roumania, if this brigandage and looting did not cease,--it was only then that Roumania checked her predatory instincts in Hungary.

The queen of that country is now visiting a great democracy, and not a word of protest, of moral indignation, is raised.

After the war Roumania seized Bessarabia,



which is largely Russian territory, and inhabited largely by Russians and by non-Roumanian people, and since 1918 the most hideous reign of terror has been carried on in that sorely afflicted country by Roumania. You probably have read little about it in the newspapers, because Bessarabia has no legal representatives in the United States and no approach to the avenues and the channels of communication; but every conceivable form of inquisition and torture, and medieval torture, was practiced in that land to stamp out the Russian feeling and the Russian sentiment,--to Roumanize that people. The Russian schools were closed, the Russian school-masters were flogged and exiled, and thousands of Bessarabians are to this day rotting in the jails of Roumania for their loyalty to their country.

Last year there was a trial in Roumania, the trial of that infamous Morarescu. You may not have heard of him or this trial, but Morarescu was one of the horde of Roumanian officials sent into Bessarabia to subdue that country. His crimes were so outrageous, so infamous, so inhuman, that he was ultimately brought to trial,--he and twenty of his henchmen. These are some of the things which were brought out in the trial of Morarescu: "He and the detachment under his command were stationed on the Dniester border when refugees from Ukraine, fleeing from Soviet misrule, sought sanctuary in Bessarabia. Morarescu drew up a very simple code of conduct for himself and his men: he was to defend the Rumanian frontier against invasion. It was an



assignment that might be turned to profit. He ordered any boat that tried to cross the Dniester to be fired upon, and any refugees who succeeded in reaching the Rumanian side to be shot on the spot. He thus performed his duty. Then he turned to private business. The bodies were searched and stripped of their clothing and valuables. With the proceeds he bought Ukrainian horses. The corpses were consigned to the rapid waters of the Dniester.

"Ex-soldiers who are now workingmen and shepherds have testified with the utmost candor to the horrors in which they participated on the Dniester. They cannot tell the whole story; it is too long and dreadful. Shooting en masse, men mutilated and beaten, women and children massacred. Soldiers wept and refused to shoot down people who knelt before them begging for mercy; but Morarescu threatened them with flogging and death if they refused. A mere gesture toward the hand grenades that always lay upon his desk, and the poor troopers obeyed his command.

"One witness stated: 'I have received as many blows from him as I have hairs upon my head.' Another, a peasant boy who was then serving his term as a soldier, testified: 'We shot the mother of a three-year old baby. The man who shot her brought the little one to Morarescu. The latter asked: "Haven't you shot down that thing yet?" "What harm can he do, sir?" pleaded the soldier. "Send him after his mother." And the soldier murdered the child. To



refuse would have been to invite his own death.

"Other soldiers testified that they were ordered to shoot every prisoner on the Dniester, including those who surrendered. One night they stumbled upon a group of refugees, including women and children, who fell on their knees pleading for mercy. The soldiers shot them down as they knelt there, while the children cried: 'Father! Mother!'

"A soldier named Caroma testified: 'Once when I and some officers were shooting a group of refugees we noticed that one of them was still living. Morarescu personally gave him his coup de grâce with a revolver shot; then resumed playing on his cither.'

"Four Jews were arrested. Morarescu spent the entire night drinking wine with them and playing the balalaika, ordering them to dance to his accompaniment. At dawn he shot every one of them.

"A soldier named Bologan testified: 'I never killed but one woman, one child, and one man, and that under threats from my lieutenant.' Another soldier, named Luxandrei, testified that he took part in shooting two women, two men, one child, and one Rumanian soldier named Gorge, also under threat of being shot himself if he refused."

I could continue reading this catalogue of crime, only of one Roumanian officer in Bessarabia; and it might interest you to know that this Morarescu, tried in the



courts of Roumania, was finally acquitted.

Here is the queen of this government visiting a great democracy. No one has lifted his voice to remind the queen of the moral obligations of sovereignty. During the past few weeks my mind kept reverting to what Roumania has, in the past generation and more, done to my fellow Jews there. There were Jews in Roumania before the Roumanians were there. Before the Roman emperor Trajan colonized the land, which was then known as Dacia, with Roman companies, the Jews were there. And yet no country in Europe has a blacker record of persecution and oppression of this racial minority, the Jews, as Roumania. Hardly an item is missing in the catalog of persecution, from forced baptism to blood-accusation, to exile, to pogroms, to torture,--hardly an item missing; and no country in the world, not excluding Russia, has, in the last one hundred years, had a darker record of anti-Jewish legislation, deliberate and consistent, as Roumania. One policy has dominated the Roumanian government in the last few generations, and that has been the policy to exterminate the Jews of Roumania, either by starvation, by baptism or by exile. Roumania has passed numerous laws, each intended to tighten the screw a little more, to crush the life of the people a little more. The Jews of Roumania were first prohibited to dwell in the rural districts, thereby making it impossible for the Jews to carry on trade among the peasants of Roumania. Laws were then passed making it



almost impossible for a Jewish merchant in Roumania to carry on his trade in the cities of Roumania. Laws were later on passed making it almost impossible for a Jewish artisan, a workingman, to earn a living at his craft, at his trade, in Roumania. Laws were passed prohibiting Jewish children from attending public schools in Roumania; laws were passed forcing Jews out of the professions in Roumania.

Roumania never granted the right of citizenship to the Jews there, and these accumulated legal restrictions crushed the Jews of Roumania. A respite came in 1878, after the Russo-Turkish War. At the Congress of Berlin Roumania was called upon by the great Powers to grant absolute equality to all her natives, including the Jews, and Roumania agreed to abide by the famous Article 44 of the Treaty of Berlin; but before six months had gone by Roumania had found a way to evade that article. Instead of bestowing the rights of citizenship automatically upon all the people of Roumania, she passed a law requiring a special act of Parliament to naturalize each and every individual. As a result of that, the first year, in order to give evidence of her honesty and her noble intention, Roumania naturalized 883 Jews,--Jews who had fought in the Roumanian army. In the following twenty-five years 87 Jews were naturalized, and there are a quarter of a million Jews in Roumania. There was a brief respite whenever the Roumanian government needed a loan, just as it is needing it now. She would become excessively generous to her Jewish



subjects and grant them a pittance of privilege, which was as quickly removed as soon as the loan was procured.

When the World War ended and the Treaty of Versailles was being formulated, the Jews of the world brought to the attention of the great Powers these political crimes of Roumania and demanded in the name of justice that Roumania be compelled to grant equality, the elementary human rights to all the racial minorities within that country, and to the Jewish racial minorities. Under duress she consented, but twelve months had not gone by before Roumania found ways of evading this Treaty of Versailles, and today there is no country in Europe more saturated with anti-Semitism, there is no country in the world where the Jew is being deliberately discriminated against and hunted and ostracized as in Roumania. The Jew is being forced out of the schools and the universities; the students are incited to riot against Jewish students and against Jewish professors. The lot of the Jew in Roumania, which fought for civilization and the self-determination of peoples, is as sad today, almost, as it was in the days before the War.

Now the queen of that country, in a representative capacity, is today visiting America--America which once took occasion through its Secretary of State, John Hay, to warn the Roumanian government against the persecution of the Jews.--the queen of Roumania is now visiting America, and yet, somehow, so dull has become our sense of responsibility as a people for the establishment



of democratic ideals in the world, no one thinks of raising his voice in admonition. We have drifted far from our splendid traditions of a crusading democracy. We once fought a war for human freedom, to free ourselves,--a revolution. We fought another war to free slaves, a bloody civil war, because we were propelled by a passion for human rights and human liberties. These dreams were real and potent and dynamic in our lives; they thrilled us into action; they determined our conduct; they guided our international policy; we were champions of ideals in the past. And we entered a third war, avowedly to establish greater democracy in the world and greater freedom in the world, but so far has the democratic enthusiasm slumped in our midst, and so far have we drifted from our ancient moorings, that but for a few rare exceptions no one hears today a word of complaint of the hells of suffering that submerged peoples are today living in.

We have our own trouble, I am afraid, to keep ourselves from becoming oppressors and exploiters of peoples, whether it is in Mexico or in Central America or in the Philippines. You see, we have become so rich and so prosperous, and our financial entanglements are so great, that we cannot afford to speak as we once spoke, heroically, freely, for the rights of human beings and for the rights of peoples. We are, I am afraid, becoming an Old World nation with Old World diplomacy and Old World conventions. Perhaps this is only a temporary mood of the American people. I



hope that it is, but clearly these last few weeks have not contributed much to our own self-respect as the world's greatest democracy, nor to our respect and prestige in the eyes of the nations of the world. I sometimes wonder why the European peoples do not take us at our word when we speak about our love of democracy and freedom; why they are skeptical and at times cynical at our protestations. I can understand now a little better; I can understand the reaction of an European on reading the accounts of the last three or four weeks. They believe that we are very much like any other people,--like themselves, for that matter, and that our desire to play the role of champion of human rights, crusader of human ideals, is an unwarranted role, because it no longer springs from the deepest sources of our national being. Liberty and democracy and human rights are a part of ancient slogans which moved our armies into battle. They are no longer driving motifs in our own lives; and it is a sad day, a sad day for the world and for ourselves, if this would prove to be a permanent mood rather than a passing mood of the American people. For democracy, my friends, is today,--as I have had occasion to say more than once, and as I shall have occasion to say again and again in the future,--democracy today is at the cross-roads; democracy today is being pestled in the crucible; democracy is being challenged by mighty and powerful forces, the whole philosophy and the whole axiom of democracy. Governments are being called into question seriously by great and



powerful peoples, and if this land, which first gave prophetic voice to the democratic idea, and first incorporated it on a large scale in human institutions,--if this nation is to lose its prophetic fervor, its lift and its crusading zeal for enforced victory of democratic principles in the world, then democracy is in sore straits, indeed; and these events of the past three or four weeks, while in themselves of not unusual mode, are, nevertheless, indicative of a trend of thought and a freedom of mind and a mood and temperament which ought to give serious students of human history and real lovers of democracy pause and concern.

Perhaps we shall yet have an opportunity in the next few weeks to voice the real convictions of real Americans. I hope that we may.

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1. Saw me - factually - "Roumaniacs." Seldom -  
- whereabouts -

- ① impede.
- ② columns newspapers - details
- ③ Is Feted
- ④ Her suite - train - joy-ride -
- ⑤ Use green days - tidy sum - syndicated -  
- movies -

2. Homage paid - amused Europ. laugh - seriously -

- ① Am. look a good show - journalist -  
a thorough modern journalist - aware & infect -
- ② Knew what public wants - mentality - Read  
- amazed - British - Intellectual -

3. instructed by whiff to type & govt. sh. up us -

- seemingly dulled sense to express indign. pol.  
crimes, cynical planning -

- ① Not in personal capacity - moral  
issues.

4. My mind kept - to returning to his role  
in last - last 10-12 years - pol. black-judges  
+ villainy, intrigue, exploit - med. Bal. un

- ① Unofficial role during war - coll.  
advent. for 2 years - was for civil.
- ② Transylvania - Round at Hung. Council  
- from -



③ Benarabia - 1918 - Hidden eyes, Terr.  
Morarescu - (inst)

④ R. paper - often a cons. monarch - no  
free press - oligarchy, feudal. class -  
peasant

⑤ Queen - not no remnant of the  
moral obl. of sovereignty.

5. Kept thinking of Tiers

① Three before R. Trajan - Waceta

② No blacker seed -

③ Policy - to exterminate laws - as rights  
of city - moral - land - work - children

④ Berlin 1878 - Article 44 -  
883 - 87 years -

⑤ Versailles - numerous clauses

6. This queen - country - 3 wars - moral  
indignity -

7. Whipped from splendid Trade - Council -  
- kept from be. App. in App. -



fraternally

1. Some one has said that when royalty visits our land, there has  
become Romanian. Seldom has a visitor to our shore been greeted  
with louder acclaim and greater enthusiasm than this gracious  
queen who comes to us from a country concerning which  
whereabouts 9/10 of our people have serious doubts.  
Crowned united her progress thru the streets, our great  
metropolises wherever she appears. Thousands endeavor to  
and wait to catch a view of her. The columns, our  
newspapers which are a true reflection of the mind, our  
people are filled with the most inimitable beauty of her features, her eyes, her hair, her figure, her grace, her charm, her manners, her speech, her dress, her movement, her very every thing she does, she is perfect in every way.  
She is loved by all the people of our land - the poor as well as the rich, the illiterate as well as the educated, the foreigner as well as the native.  
The suite is furnished with 12 million dollars  
worth of antique furniture and bri-a-bron, for which this  
beautiful queen, who has a remarkably thrifty and  
sparing, pays not a penny. the train upon which she travels, is the most luxurious in the world, very diff from the train ordinarily used in the country.  
The train company is compelled to travel on both her to keep in her train and again, we are informed, that the royal train green will not have to pay a penny for this joy-ride across the continent. the privately owned hotel and railroad with the privilege, subsidized by royalty - and what higher remuneration can democrat conceive of the wise queen even manages to lay aside a tidy little sum for a rainy day at home. she has her nume- rous arrangements in her trip organized. the great use of her name in connection with a drama is being made and it is even suggested that a face powder, a perfume and it is even suggested that the great man writing the scenario will soon feel her royal presence, either as scenario writer, or actor.



2. I suppose that the great homage which our people paid  
this visiting queen, and which ~~was~~ gave the amount of her  
views in Europe a good laugh at our expense, might not  
be taken too seriously. Am. are attracted by a  
good show, whether it's a circus, or the funeral  
of a great nursery picture star, or the Prince of  
Wales, on Wholly Sunday. And Queen Marie gave  
the Am. public a good show — As Mr. Charles  
Mery, the N. R. heavily obscured, the queen is just  
and foremost "a journalist, a thorough modern journalist,  
the first queen-journalist in Europe". She is aware  
of the importance of the press in America, and she  
is a typewriter & she dictates & dictates. Cultivates it. She knows  
what the public now wants — what the public  
mentality is, and she provides the copy for its  
large consumption — I read one or two of her  
syndicated articles which appeared in the Am.  
press. and I was amazed at the way she sized up  
the audience — with a skill of a Pris Pris. She was  
not writing for a handful of intellectuals in Am.  
who are scared on the whole her. (royally any how  
and know what a fraud it is — she was writing  
for a nation of clerks, stenographers, shop-girls  
and political bores — and they were going  
out of her head —

3. What disturbed me was the indiff., the un-  
interest which the visitors in her regal capacity re-  
presented, the seeming degraded human sense & our  
people is not seeing the opportunity to express their







5. I kept thinking of the attitude toward the Jews - The Jews were in R. before the Revolution - before the French Revolution. Prussia settles the country which we then knew as Dacia - with R. converts. & the country has had ever in the last 100 yrs a delicate view of converts, making present of Jews as R. no item in the calvary, Jew-Jews freed baptism - ritual murder & such a meaning.

① R. policy was to exterminate the Jews by slow starvation & conversion. She granted them no rights of citizenship - She drove them from rural com - Prob. holding of land - Indeed merchants out of business - Partisans out of crafts - Prob. J. children from school. Prob. J. & J. men driven from professions.

② Berlin 1878 Russo-Turkish War - Article 44. 'Jews to receive full rights of citizenship' but ended it. Naturalization was not automatic by special act. Spas. in East. Oct. 1879 1883. - In the following 25 years 87 Jews were naturalized - & R. best prop. of 1/4 million.

6. Versailles - again compelled to grant citizenship & minority rights. Again ending them.







numerous clauses — notes — administration

7. The sub government <sup>which is not intelligent - doesn't know</sup> that ruling <sup>not without ~~any~~ ~~responsibility~~</sup> ~~that country~~  
now wants the united protest ~~democracy~~ - and the  
people that are paying a bloody war for freedom  
+ a Civil war for freedom - ~~that~~ a united  
war premium for freedom + self defense is not  
even moved to with a protest - to express  
a moral indignation - ~~to indicate that~~

8. We have drifted far from our splendid traditions of  
crusades for human freedom - We have much  
to do to keep ~~from~~ <sup>WRHS</sup> <sup>AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES</sup> ~~from~~ <sup>Yiddish</sup> ~~us~~ -  
in Mexico, in Central America in  
the Philippines - elsewhere -