

The tragedy of the Jews and the tragedy of the Roma: similarities and differences

In a memo presented to the People's Court on 15 May 1946 Ion Antonescu tried to justify his decision to expel the Jews and the Roma as necessary for state security: "I expelled the Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina for reasons of political and military security and for their own safety..... State security demanded that we not allow them to penetrate into the state and especially [not] into the capital." The expulsion of the Jews was carried out, according to Antonescu's statement, to "protect" them from the Germans. He decided to remove the Jews from the regions through which German forces were moving to the front and to send them to the northern area of Transnistria¹.

The Roma were expelled, added Antonescu, because they robbed and terrorized the Romanian population: "Because of the black-out the inhabitants of the cities were terrorized at night by bands of thugs, often armed, who robbed and sometimes killed. The perpetrators were Roma. Everyone demanded to shoot them. Transnistria suffered from a lack of manpower. So I decided that Roma who were convicted of crimes or of more than three acts of theft would be expelled to Transnistria."²

Commander of the Gendarmerie and Deputy Minister of the Interior Constantin Vasiliu stated during his interrogation on 26 April 1945 that Antonescu had ordered to expel not only criminal Roma but also to assemble the nomadic Roma and expel them³. At a government meeting on 29 September 1942 Vasiliu made it known that he "had sent" 26,000 Roma to Transnistria. Deputy Prime Minister Mihai

Memorandum by Ion Antonescu to the People's Court, 15.05.1946, Ministry of Interior Archive, File ¹ 40010, Vol. 4, pp. 19-20. Copy: US Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives (hereafter USHMM), RG-25004M, reel 31.

Ibid., p. 20.²

Affidavit signed by general Constantin Vasiliu, People's Court, File 44/1945, Ibid., vol. 59, p.2; ³ USHMM, RG-25004M, vol. 49.

Antonescu asked for an investigation of complaints about erroneous expulsion of Roma, such as people conscripted into the army, craftsmen, disabled war victims, and others, but Vasiliu opposed this. Mihai Antonescu concluded the discussion on the expulsion of the Roma: “Those whom you have expelled – **May God be with them!** – **We will not return them any more.**”⁴

These words on the fate of the Roma who had been expelled, expressed on 29 September 1942, when most of the deportees were still alive, exposed the true aim of the expulsion: annihilation but not through execution.

Ion Antonescu and whoever was involved in the Holocaust of the Jews and Roma lied at investigations and trials held in 1946 and tried to hide the fact that they had planned and carried out the liquidation of hundreds of thousands of people whose only sin was they had been born as Jews or Roma. The expulsion and annihilation of the Jews was planned before the outbreak of the war against the USSR, was justified at meetings of the government; in the orders and directions given to the army, the Gendarmerie, and the police; was praised in newspapers; and discussed with German emissaries on behalf of Himmler.

Ion Antonescu informed his ministers on 11 October 1941 of the war’s domestic objectives: “Sirs, as you know, one of the struggles I undertook to wage is to reshape this nation. I shall turn this nation into a homogenous group. Anything foreign – must leave, bit by bit... Any suspect Jewish element, all Jewish Communists, must go back to where they came from. I shall drive them to the Bug,

Stenographic record of the cabinet meeting on 29 September 1942, Arhivele Naționale ale României, ⁴ *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri: Guvernarea Ion Antonescu*, vol. VIII (august – decembrie 1942), 2004, pp. 228-229 (my emphasis).

and from there they will be transferred further...”⁵ The plan “to homogenize” the Romanian people was applied in May 1942 also in regard to the Roma.

The extermination camps on the Bug or the killing fields in the Ukraine under the Nazis were in autumn 1941 the expulsion destinations of the Antonescu regime. The eviction of the Roma was made upon the initiation of Antonescu and organized and executed by the civilian and military authorities of the Romanian state. In contrast to the Jews, part of whom were shot to death immediately after the entrance of the Romanian army to Bessarabia and northern Bukovina and part of whom were deported to Transnistria and imprisoned in ghettos and camps – the Roma were sent to Transnistria to die. The authorities lied to them about the aim of “their transfer” and in Transnistria they were left to die of starvation, cold, typhus and other diseases. Of course only *God remained with them*. The Romanian gendarmes, the Bucharest authorities, the Transnistria administration, the Ukrainian police, local German death squads – all of them tortured the Roma, robbed them, beat them.

The deportation of the Jews began in September 1941. They were forced out after decades of anti-Semitic intoxication of Romanian public opinion, of hate propaganda against the Jews waged by the anti-Semitic parties and movements. The deportation of the Roma began in May 1942 and was carried out unexpectedly, without their being considered a “danger” to Romanian society – they were Christians like their Romanian neighbors, despised but not hated like the Jews. The military and civilian authorities who expelled the Jews did not hide the fact that the aim of the expulsion was their extermination, while the civilian and police authorities who expelled the Roma tried to fool them in every way about the purpose of their transfer to Transnistria. One Roma testified: “They lied to the people that they would give [us]

Minutes of the government session of 11 October 1941, Interior Ministry Archive, File 40010, Vol. ⁵ 11, p. 47 (USHMM/RG25004M, Reel 32)..

horses, cattle, houses so that we would no longer be poor...but there it was much worse for us.” Not all the Roma were poor and they did not want to become rich on ⁶ the account of another people. In a report on the mood of the populace in Bessarabia in September 1942, it was pointed out that “since the population was greatly agitated as a consequence of the expulsion Roma to Transnistria, it was explained that this step was applied exclusively to nomadic Roma, who are being sent to Transnistria where they will be granted plots of land so as to turn them into established, wealthy middle-class people.”. Moreover, the nomadic Roma who were deported. But it was not only that ⁷ Mihai Antonescu’s remark that he opposed the return of some of them and that “*May God be with them*” undoubtedly demonstrated that the expulsion of the Roma was not carried out to improve their lot.

The expulsion of the Jews was carried out forcibly, the expulsion of the Roma not. The convoys of Jews reached the Dniester after tens of thousands had been shot to death or perished from hunger, maltreatment, and imprisonment in camps for two and a half months (July–September 1941). Jews who did not keep pace with the marching columns were shot. In both instances convoys of expellees were not accompanied by many gendarmes. And what kind of resistance could the Jews or Roma demonstrate against the organized power of the Romanian state? The Jews had nowhere to run from the convoys, and no one was prepared to take the risk of offering them help in hiding. The Roma convoys of dozens of wagons were accompanied by 2–4 gendarmes. The Jews and the Roma could not disappear among the local population. Their appearance was different. The hair of the Roma men was long and the woman wore distinctive dresses.

⁶ Fuga spre Romania, see the collection of testimonies published by Luminița Mihai Cioabă, *Romane Asva, Lacrimi Rome*, București, Ro Media, 2006. Hereafter, Romane Asva. Excerpts from file no. 4/1942-1943, Volume VIII of the Government of Bessarabia, USHMM/RG-7 25004M, Reel 35, p.188.

During the crossing of the Dniester, in July-October 1941, thousands of Jews were shot. The Jews guessed they were being led to their deaths, the Roma not as yet. The Jews of the Regat who were not expelled tried to intervene with the leaders of the regime to prevent or slow the pace of the expulsion. They had a central organization, The Federation of the Jewish Communities, and an energetic, recognized leader, Wilhelm Filderman, who had been received for a meeting with Ion Antonescu on 7 September 1941 – the last time that the Romanian Führer met with him – but with no results. From the passage point over the Dniester in Ataki, the head of the Rădăuți community, Issidor Pressner, sent a desperate call on 22 October 1941 to the Jewish leader in Bucharest, to save his community from destruction: “Hundreds have died, many have become insane, others have committed suicide.”⁸

The Roma had no central organization or recognized leader⁹ who was able to intervene with the authorities to cancel the expulsion at the last moment. But even if they would have had an organization and a recognized representative, as did the Jews, even then no intervention would have been able to save the Jews or the Roma from deportation, since it was Antonescu’s desire, plan, and order to “homogenize” the Romanian nation.

The Roma were robbed before deportation, during it, and during the crossing of the Dniester as were the Jews. Delegates of the National Bank of Romania and the gendarmes searched the Roma for gold and gold coins, silver objects, and cash. Confiscated from the Jews at crossing points were all types of jewelry, diamonds and precious gems, foreign currency, objets d’art, costly silver and gold religious artifacts,

Pressner's letter to Filderman, 22.10.1941, M. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, III, București, 1947, nr. 161, p. ⁸ 314-315.

There was an "Association of the Roma in Romania" established in 1933 by sedentary Roma but as ⁹ far as we know it did not intervene when the deportation began. See: Viorel Achim, *Tigani în istoria României*, București, Editura Enciclopedica, 1998, p.129-130.

identity cards, deeds for houses and property, stocks, insurance policies, bank and saving accounts, academic and professional diplomas, confirmations of military service and army identification cards. The authorities did not bother to search the Roma for all these possessions and documents, even though many of them were owners of homes and land. In both cases no one knows the scope of official or private robbery carried out by the authorities for the state or its representatives, since this information was kept hidden by order in the National Bank of Romania in accordance with the official policy to leave no written proof of its involvement in the plundering of the deportees. The Jews as well as the Roma did all they could to hide part of their cash and objects of value among bundles of clothing, with the women, and so on. For the Roma it was in the wagons in which they traveled; they even swallowed gold coins before crossing the Dniester, and they invented other methods, not always successful. A portion of the money confiscated – the part that was not stolen by the gendarmes – was exchanged into roubles at ridiculous rates that were essentially official stealing of property for the Romanian state. As for the Jews, the searching among the bundles and on their bodies was carried out brutally, with beatings, torture, and even shots at the people to frighten them. Among the Roma instances of killing were rare, but in both cases they were terrorized so that they should leave “the gold” behind.

The long processions of Jews in Transnistria were brought on foot to the ghettos and camps. The Roma who lived in settlements were exiled by train, while the nomadic ones traveled in their wagons hitched to horses, the means that guaranteed them freedom and mobility as well as maintenance of their linguistic and folkloric traditions. The expulsion of 11,441 nomadic Roma began in May and ended on 15 August 1942. Some 13,000–14,000 Roma who had dwelled in villages and urban

settlements were expelled by train in September 1942, together with 6,306 Jews expelled in a similar manner. At a meeting with the prefects of Transnistria, held on 13 August 1942 in Tiraspol, the governor of Transnistria, Gheorghe Alexianu, stated: “The Roma who have arrived now will be sent to villages and forced to work. Whoever steals will be immediately punished. The horses and wagons will be taken from them and given to the kolhozes. No one will roam any more. All the Jews must also be put to work: food will be given only in exchange for work.”¹⁰ The confiscation of nomadic Romas’ horses and wagons meant, under conditions prevailing in Transnistria – as had been proven after the plunder of Jewish property in fall-winter 1941 – a sentence of death by starvation, cold, typhus. The confiscation of the wagons and horses was first of all theft. “Suddenly the gendarmes attacked us and took our horses, wagons, everything....They took the bacon, the clothes, the gold that we had hidden in the wagon planks, we had gold coins there...they drove us out of the tents...they sent the men to turn the wagons and the horses over to the kolhozes.”¹¹ The Roma were left to the good will of the corrupt Romanian administration, of those in charge of the sub-districts – the pretors; of the gendarmes and the auxiliary force who served the Romanian occupation regime – the Ukrainian police; and the death squads of local Germans who enjoyed total freedom of action.

The Golta District, to which most of the nomadic Roma were brought in summer-fall 1942, was dubbed by me in my book on Transnistria “the kingdom of death,” and by the Roma survivors Valea Plângerii (“The Vale of Tears”). There over one hundred thousand Jews, most of them Ukrainians, were shot to death or perished during the winter 1941/42 and their corpses burned.

Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941-1942, The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, Tel Aviv University, ¹⁰ 2003, Vol. 2, doc 899, p.1056.
Antonescu și măgarii, Romane Asva. ¹¹

In mid-June 1942 new blood was pumped into the “kingdom of death”: A secret order signed by Alexianu informed the prefect of the Golta district, Isopescu (as well as the prefects of Balta, Berezovka, and Ochakov) that the government had decided to deport the Gypsies of Romania to Transnistria and that he was to host some of them.¹²

The resettlement of the Gypsies resembled that of the Jews: They were robbed the same way by the same people.¹³ Although they arrived in the “kingdom of death” relatively healthy, less than one month later the district military physician, Captain Ion Tomescu, reported to the prefecture that “the Gypsies, the new plague in the district, are not receiving food, ... and since their hygienic conditions are unreliable — and if, on top of this, we add starvation — they constitute an immediate danger for the outbreak of epidemics.”¹⁴ Tomescu visited the Roma camps in Domanevka, Bogdanovka, Ackmechetka, and Novo-Cantacuzenko, the camps where 7–8 months earlier tens of thousand Jews had been slaughtered.

And indeed, a typhus epidemic reminiscent of the one that had struck the Jews a year before spread through the districts where the Gypsies were resettled. Since the first outbreak, the Transnistrian government and the Romanian army had set up a network of stations devoted to epidemic prevention and treatment, but they had learned nothing. As long as the victims were Gypsies and Jews, there was no real

Governor Alexianu informes Prefect Isopescu of Golta of the cabinet's decision to deport Gypsies¹² from Romania. He governor specifies where they are to be settled in the district, June 16, 1942, Nikolayev Archive, 2178-1-31, p. 78

¹³The prefecture staff's robbery of the Gypsies is noted in *Actul de Acuzare, Rechizitoriile și replica acuzării la procesul primului lot de criminali de război* (Indictment, remarks by the prosecution, and response by the defense in the trial of the first group of war criminals), Bucharest: Editura Apărării Patriotice, 1945 (hereafter: *Actul de Acuzare*), p. 76. When the Gypsies wouldn't surrender their horses and wagons, Isopescu brought in the gendarmerie. Ultimately, this property was transferred to the state and collective farms. Alexianu had ordered its confiscation to keep the Gypsies from wandering and spreading diseases. Order issued by Alexianu to the Balta prefect, July 29, 1942, Odessa Archives, 2358-1c-19, p. 41.

¹⁴ Report from Tomescu to Isopescu, July 10, 1942, Nikolayev Archives, 2178-1-27, p. 150.

interest in learning anything. In September 1943, Prefect Leonida Popp of Berezovka finally reported that all the Gypsies in his district were “naked and barefoot ... without clothing, shirts, or shoes.”¹⁵

In early 1944, Dr. Victor Petrenciu, deputy prefect of Berezovka, reported to the Transnistrian government that most of the 7,500 Gypsies brought to his district in the summer of 1942 and packed into the large village of Trihaty and the small village of Kovalevca had perished:

The typhus epidemic broke out in mid-December 1942, and the average daily death toll was 200–250. Because of the large number of people who died each day, it was impossible to identify the bodies, while on the other hand the Gypsies threw the corpses [either] into houses and cowsheds that were set on fire by them [or] into the shrubbery, or [left by them] on the streets. Lice the size of fingers swarmed over all these bodies. Owing to the situation described above, it was impossible to conduct any registration of the living or the dead. When the epidemic ended, approximately 1,800–2,400 Gypsies were left in the village.¹⁶

“The Vale of Tears” for the Roma was actually any village, hamlet, field, or valley in which they were crammed into huts dug into the soil, without windows, without chimneys, without wood for heating, without any basic furniture, with beds of soil, huts that were dug in haste at the order of the authorities, as close as possible to the Bug, as close as possible to death. After the plundering at the time of evacuation from their settlements in Romania, the robbery during the crossing of the Dniester, the

¹⁵Popp to Alexianu, September 24, 1943, Odessa Archives, 2361-1-591, p. 51.

¹⁶Petrenciu to the Justice Department of “the Army Administration in the Area between the Dniester and the Bug” (the Transnistrian government’s new name as of January 1944), February 10, 1944, *ibid.*, 2361-1-512, p. 151.

confiscation of the wagons and horses and cash, the confiscation of objects of value, came the turning of the Roma into serfs of the Romanian state, serfs of the Transnistrian administration, who were forced to work in the fields, on the Soviet sovhozes (“state farms”) that became farms of the Romanian state or kolhozes, communal Soviet farms that were not dissolved by the authorities of the Romanian occupation.

In the collective memory of the Roma, the Vale of Tears is the place where they suffered from starvation, cold, typhus; the place where perished the old and the children; the place where the woman and girls were sexually assaulted and often murdered by perverted torture; the place in which they were left without food and had to steal from the fields any humanly edible and inedible plant and animal; the place in which the Ukrainian police and bands of local villagers or local Germans waged hunts against them; the place in which they sought and ate clams, rats, cats, dogs, and even human flesh.

Similarly to the Jews a year previously, the Roma, too, tried every means of surviving, of providing food for the children, the women, the elderly. Similarly to the Jews a year previously, many sold their clothing and remained almost naked at the winter’s approach and later froze to death. Whoever was caught stealing from the fields was punished mercilessly.

In the terrible winter of 1942/43 the accursed huts turned into mass graves for hundreds and thousands of nomadic Roma. This was the Romanian system for annihilating the Roma which had been applied a year earlier to the Jews in the ghettos: apathy toward their fate and not execution or gas chambers. The Romanian regime knew what would happen in the horrible Russian winter to people who were left without shelter, clothing, food, and heat: “They brought us to the banks of the

Bug. Whoever entered a hut first, took a hut. They squeezed even five families into one hut. Whoever did not manage to get inside died by morning from the frost. They froze to death and died with small children in their arms...when light dawned we screamed: Who is still alive?"December 1941 Jews who had been –In November ¹⁷ expelled to the Bogdanovka camp and not succeeded in getting to the pig sties froze in the night from the cold. The mortality rate then reached 500 Jews a day.The ¹⁸ Roma were not familiar with the tragedy of the Jews in those places but their testimonies are a repetition of the Jewish tragedy.

The bitter fate of the Roma girl and woman was unknown until now and became clear only upon the publication of testimonies collected in recent years. This subject was concealed by the Roma for understandable reasons, the same way it happened among the Jews, although the subject was noted immediately after the fall of the fascist regime in Romania. The abusive maltreatment of the Roma or Jewish woman constituted an integral part of the conscious decision of the Romanian regime to release the gendarmes and all those who served the occupation regime in Transnistria from all moral or legal limitations regarding anything related to their attitude to the Roma, their property and even their body. The greatest criminals in addition to the Romanian gendarmes were the Ukrainian policemen who enjoyed total freedom in this regard and did whatever they pleased. The humiliation of a Roma girl or woman was not seen as a crime but as a reward. Yet we are not speaking only of rape. Roma women were murdered mercilessly and their stomachs ripped open in search of gold coins. Resistance to rape was punished by agonizing death as also happened with the Jewish women. The Roma woman was considered spoils of war and here ends the comparison of the behavior of the Romanian gendarmes and regime officials

Mătasea și tifosul, *Romane Asva*.¹⁷

¹⁸ *Actul de Acuzare*, p. 73.

towards women of other nationalities. This collective crime was executed by members of all the nations in Transnistria — Romanian gendarmes and regime officials, Ukrainian, Russian and local Romanian policemen, local Germans from death squads.

One aspect of this humiliation is restricted to only the Roma women.

Gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen created a type of special entertainment, when they themselves did not want, for various reasons, to rape Roma women. They forced Roma men and women caught foraging for food in the villages to have sexual relations in public, without taking into consideration the level of familial relation between them – fathers and mothers with their children, sons and daughters from the same family. They did not try such a form of humiliation with the Jews. One of the survivors testified: “The Romanians raped [first]. Then came the [local] Germans to abuse our women. They took the virgins. When the gendarmes would catch Roma men in the villages they would mock them. Even if it was your brother, your mother, your father, they forced them to have relations while they watched.”¹⁹ Russians were terrible. When they saw Roma women and men they commanded them on the spot to stretch out on the ground and make fun of one another, even if it were your mother, your sister, your father [by saying]: Make love to her and then I’ll let you go.”²⁰

Cannibalism in Europe in the twentieth century is a most desperate means of survival that is impossible to imagine among Jews or Christians or any other nation or religion. Yet instances of cannibalism did take place among Jews in the Pechera death camp in the Tulchin district in northern Transnistria. In that camp there perished between November 1941 and September 1942 some 4,000 Ukrainian Jews from that district and from the Mogilev district because the authorities supplied no food for

Ibid.,¹⁹
Romii și armata română, *Romane Asva* ²⁰

those imprisoned until fall 1942. Thus it is no wonder that also the Roma, whom only God was to take care of, deteriorated within a few months to cannibalism, a happening about which we had known nothing until now. It must be crystal clear that this form of moral baseness is not a proof of the moral degradation of the Roma but rather of those who caused them to face such a situation. Cannibalism was noted in those places in which the Roma had nothing more to eat after having eaten all the rats, dogs, and cats that were to be found. Not all the Roma resorted to this kind of survival but the “secret” was known to all: “We ate dog meat. We cut off the flesh and ate. There was nothing left to eat. Someone took a knife and cut [flesh] from the backside of a [dead] woman, Bina, put it on the fire and ate...there the meat was the best. You stopped thinking [logically]. There was nothing more to eat. Another woman whom they ate was Titira. They found her and they ate her.”²¹ Another witness gave the reason why the terrible “secret” did not leak out: “There were no Russians there, there were no gendarmes, there were no others there, that is, only us the Roma. When a child of yours died, when a relative died, they would throw him on the fire, roast [him] and eat.”²²

The Roma did not know then and to this day do not know that the deportation of the second shipment of 12,497 Roma – which was supposed to begin on 12 September 1942 – city residents, “who could not be conscripted into the army and who were a threat to the public order,” as defined by the authorities, was thwarted²³ thanks to the struggle of the Jewish leader Filderman to prevent the deportation of all the Jews of Romania to the death camps in Poland. Filderman managed to obtain the support of the opposition leader, Iuliu Maniu, and other Romanian personages who

Mătasea și tifosul, Ibid.,²¹

Niculaiev, lagărul morții, Ibid.,²²

Viorel Achim (ed.), *Documente privind deportarea țiganilor în România*, Culegere alcătuită cu²³ Studiu introductiv de Viorel Achim, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2004, Vol. II, doc. 93, p.146.

intervened for the cancellation of the expulsion of the Jews, a struggle that also influenced the decision to expel the Roma. On 14 October the press reported that the²⁴ expulsion of the Jews had been delayed and that same day the Ministry of the Interior informed the general headquarters of the Gendarmerie that “there shall no longer be sent to Transnistria any category of Roma.”²⁵

In this review we have presented a number of the facets of the suffering of the Roma in comparison to that of the Jews in Transnistria. We had to forgo important topics such as the attitude of the Transnistrian administration toward both peoples, the junctures between them there; the delivery of Jews and Roma in summer–fall 1943 to the German authorities across the Bug and in Transnistria for various construction projects of military importance, the suffering of the surviving Roma at the time of the journey back to Romania; the attitude of the Orthodox Romanian Church to the Roma, since one must never forget that they were Christians in every way and not members of the “cursed” Jewish religion; the coping of the Roma with faith in the Lord in contrast to the crisis of faith among the Jews; the relations with their Romanian neighbors after the return of the survivors to Romania; and finally, the reasons for the long silence regarding their fate and the lack of documentation of their tribulations.²⁶

At the beginning of this lecture I pointed out Antonescu’s desire to create a homogenized Romanian nation as the motive for the expulsion of the Jews and certainly of the Roma. But in the Romania of Antonescu, in April 1941, there lived, before the liberation of Bessarabia and Bukovina, other minorities, too: 407,188

See chapter 36 in *History of the Holocaust: Romania*, Vol. 2, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 2002, pp. ²⁴ 1241-1298.

Achim, op cit., doc. 189, pp. 286-287.²⁵

See: Jean Ancel, Tragedia romilor și tragedia evreilor din România; asemănări și deosebiri, *Romane asva*, pp. 3-32.²⁶

Hungarians, 542,325 Germans, and over 450,000 members of other nationalities.²⁷

These minorities were not considered inferior racially and were not intended for expulsion, because they had mother countries that could take revenge on Romania and the Romanians. When the Head of the Romanian Orthodox mission to Transnistria, Iuliu Scriban, asked Patriarch Nicodim in May 1942 whether it is permitted to baptize Jews seeking to convert, the Patriarch responded:

“In the matter of baptizing Jews into the faith, may we inform you that in the Regat, this is forbidden by a decree-law governing the baptism of Jews *for reasons of preserving the race.*”²⁸

Homogenization was applied only to defenseless peoples, only to peoples who were considered inferior in the eyes of the Nazis and therefore also in the eyes of Antonescu Regime.

Enciclopedia de Istorie a României, Editura Merona, București, 200, p.333.²⁷
Romanian patriarchate to Scriban, May 20, 1942, *ibid.*, 2264-1c-40b, p. 165. Emphasis added.²⁸