

LEO BAECK
INSTITUTE
OF JEWS FROM
GERMANY

YEAR BOOK
1957

LEO BAECK INSTITUTE
YEAR BOOK

1957

LEO BAECK INSTITUTE
YEAR BOOK

1957

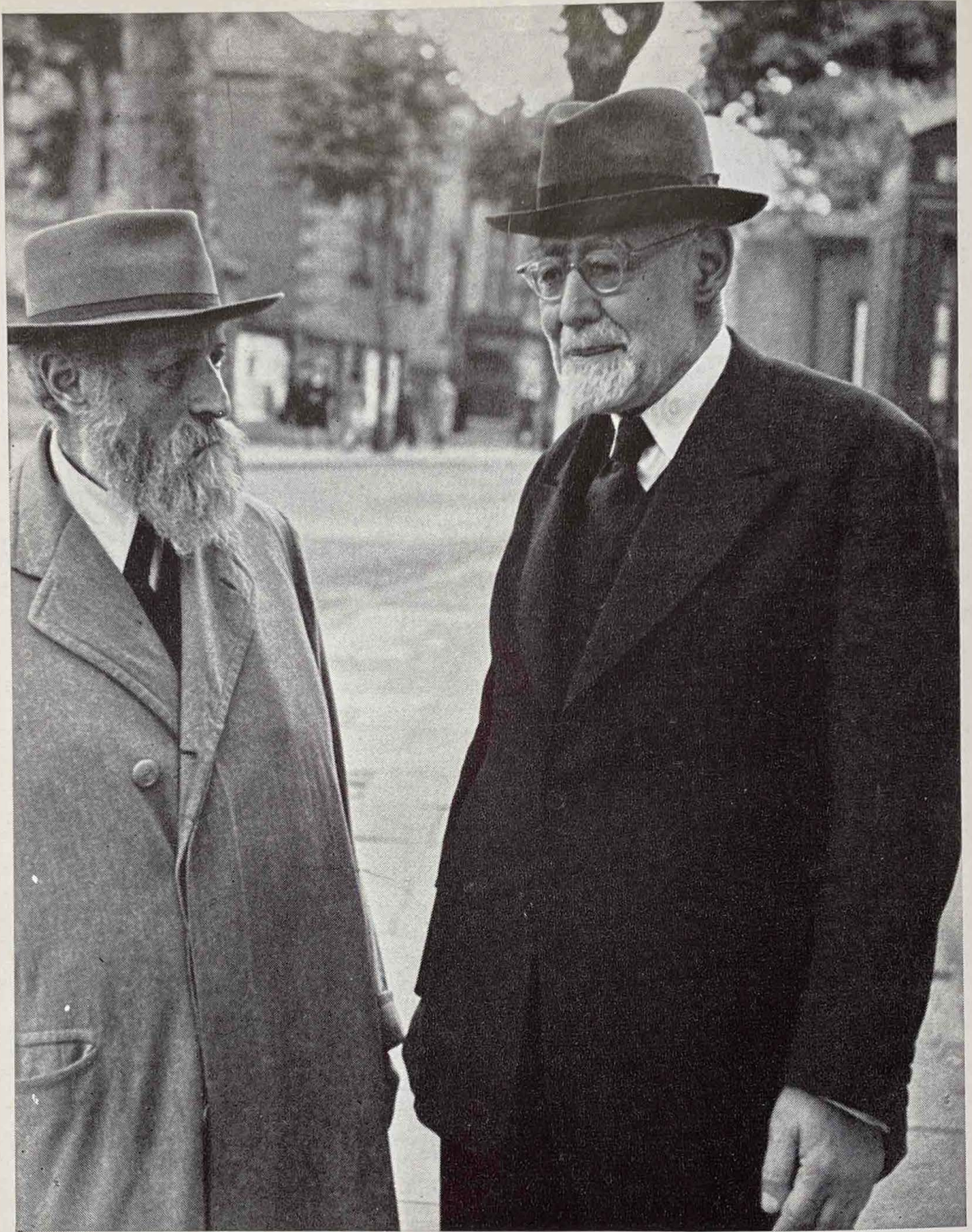


Photo Krongold

Leo Baeck with Martin Buber. Photograph taken in London on the occasion of Buber's visit in 1947. Martin Buber will be 80 years old on 8th February 1958.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
LEO BAECK INSTITUTE
OF JEWS FROM GERMANY

YEAR BOOK II

1957

PUBLISHED FOR THE INSTITUTE BY THE
EAST AND WEST LIBRARY
LONDON

EDITOR: ROBERT WELTSCH

OFFICES OF THE
LEO BAECK INSTITUTE

JERUSALEM (ISRAEL): 18 Bezalel Street
LONDON: 8 Fairfax Mansions, London NW3
NEW YORK: 1239 Broadway, New York 1, N.Y.

© Leo Baeck Institute 1957

Published by the East and West Library
5 Cromwell Place, London SW7

Printed in Holland
by N.V. Drukkerij Levisson, The Hague

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Preface	vii
Introduction by ROBERT WELTSCH	ix

I. IN MEMORIAM LEO BAECK

S. MOSES: The Impact of Leo Baeck's Personality on his Contemporaries	3
H. LIEBESCHÜTZ: Judaism and the History of Religion in Leo Baeck's Work	8
EVA REICHMANN: Symbol of German Jewry	21
WOLFGANG HAMBURGER: Teacher in Berlin and Cincinnati	27
EXCERPTS FROM BAECK'S WRITINGS	35
(a) The German Jews (b) A Light Breaks Forth	
(c) On Moses Hess (d) A Letter	

II. ORGANIZATION OF JEWISH LIFE IN PRE-NAZI GERMANY

KURT WILHELM: The Jewish Community in the Post-Emancipation Period	47
AHRON SANDLER: The Struggle for Unification	76
MAX GRUENEWALD: The Modern Rabbi	85
A. KOBER: 150 Years of Religious Instruction	98
E. D. GOLDSCHMIDT: Studies on Jewish Liturgy by German Jewish Scholars	119
S. ADLER-RUDEL: East European Jewish Workers in Germany	136
WALTER SCHWAB: Some Aspects of the Relationship between the German and the Anglo-Jewish Community	166

III. THE INTERRELATION OF GERMAN AND JEWISH THOUGHT

HANNS REISSNER: Rebellious Dilemma: The Case Histories of Eduard Gans and some of his Partisans	179
IMMANUEL WOLF: On the Concepts of a Science of Judaism (1822)	194

DAVID BAUMGARDT: The Ethics of Lazarus and Steinthal	205
GEORGE L. MOSSE: The Image of the Jew in German Popular Culture:	
Felix Dahn and Gustav Freytag	218
ERNST KAHN: The Frankfurter Zeitung	228
MORITZ GOLDSTEIN: German Jewry's Dilemma before 1914	236
HEINRICH STRAUSS: On Jews and German Art (The Problem of	
Max Liebermann)	255
ERNST SIMON: Sigmund Freud, the Jew	270
 IV. DOCUMENTS	307
Letters from Berlin 1942 (The Last Days of the <i>Reichsvertretung</i>)	309
 V. POST-WAR PUBLICATIONS ON GERMAN JEWRY	315
 VI. LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	329
 VII. INDEX TO VOLUMES I AND II	335

Illustrations

Leo Baeck with Martin Buber	Frontispiece
Oskar Wolfsberg	opposite page XVI
Facsimile of Leo Baeck's Letter	44
M. Lazarus and Ch. Steinthal	212
Leopold Zunz with Jewish scholars	228
Max Liebermann (self-portrait)	260
Sigmund Freud	276

PREFACE

This collection of essays forms the second volume of the Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institute which has been established by the Council of Jews from Germany with the financial support of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany.

The general aims of the Institute have been explained in Volume I, particularly by Dr. S. Moses, the Institute's Chairman, and it may therefore be sufficient on this occasion to refer to his article. The second volume follows the pattern of the first, and special stress has been laid on an analysis of the distinguishing features of the internal organization of the Jewish community within the framework of society. The task of objectively appraising the results of the inter-action between Jews and Germans will occupy us for some time to come. It is complex in its various aspects, and single contributions to a yearbook cannot cover the whole field. There are, of course, many subjects of great interest which have not yet been touched upon. Some reviewers of Volume I reminded us of omissions ranging from the position of Jews in a particular trade to the poetry of Karl Wolfskehl. These and many others are legitimate subjects for research, but a yearbook, like a periodical, is inevitably limited in its scope; it has, however, the advantage of re-appearing every year so that the doors remain open to suggestions. In view of the wide range of our interests, there cannot be even uniformity of content, although the Editor has tried to group together articles of related subject-matter (as, for example, Jewish life in the early Nazi period in Volume I). Experience has shown that it is not possible to adhere strictly to a systematic outline if regular annual publication is to be maintained. With the best intentions, not all contributions are delivered on time. Such causes as illness and other mishaps interfere with planning, especially in an Institute as dispersed geographically as are the Jews from Germany today. We hope to fill the gaps in future volumes.

As was pointed out in the Preface to Volume I, all authors are free to express their own opinions; the LBI has no "official" views on historical subjects apart from the belief that an analysis of the recent past of German Jews is of importance not only to former German Jews and their descendants but also as a subject of general historical research.

The Editor wishes to express his thanks and the thanks of the LBI to all who have helped in the preparation of this volume. Special acknowledgment is due to Mr. W. K. Philips for his assistance in the revision of the English text, and to Mrs. Dora Segall for her secretarial help to the Editor. Mrs. Segall and Miss Ilse Schrier also undertook the difficult task of proof-reading. The bibliography was again compiled by Mrs. Ilse Wolff, librarian of the Wiener Library. The publication of the volume has been made possible by the grant which the Institute received from the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany. Our publishers, East and West Library, London, have once again been most helpful with the presentation of this volume. To them and to many others, who cannot be mentioned, we owe much gratitude.

Introduction

BY ROBERT WELTSCH

THE second volume of the LBI Year Book has first of all to fulfil the sad duty to pay tribute to the man whose name the Institute bears. This is not a formal commitment nor one of a purely personal character. It is part and parcel of the work and the task of the LBI itself. Leo Baeck, who died on November 2, 1956, is himself a part of Jewish history. Both as a thinker and as an active figure in Jewish communal and political life, Leo Baeck left his mark on the last period of German Judaism. His biography, which we hope will be written in due course, will be a condensation of an important chapter, the last chapter of German-Jewish history, and indeed a proud page in the annals of Judaism.

It is perhaps too early, in this year of mourning, to attempt a full critical study of Baeck's personality, his work, and his contribution to the world of thought. This must and will be done. There will be much praise and also some dissension. A powerful and fearless mind that did not evade the consequences of logical thought nor shrink from forceful action, could not have only admirers and followers, but inevitably also had honest adversaries. There were and are conceptions of religion other than his. There may be different interpretations of history. The Editor did not consider it to be his—or the Year Book's—concern at this hour to open the door to a discussion of controversial issues in Baeck's writing. What we intended in this Year Book, the first published after his death* was to present his personality as the great majority of the public—and especially of the Jews from Germany—saw it: the man of public responsibility in the most crucial period of German Jewry, the man of faith and of heroic trial, the man of ideas, the thinker and teacher. He was also the President of the Council of Jews from Germany and of the LBI; what we owe him and how his figure appeared to us, is related in the contribution of Dr. S. Moses, Chairman of the Board of the LBI and Vice-President of the Council.

Many eulogies were delivered or written after Baeck's death. There were memorial meetings in most of the centres where German Jews live, including Jerusalem, London, and New York, and also in Germany (Frankfurt). Jewish periodicals all over the world, and many non-Jewish publications, published obituary articles. In this Year Book we had to confine ourselves to a short—in no way final—selection. It seemed to us to be appropriate to follow approximately the order of the Memorial Meeting

*While the first volume already carried the news of his death, the volume itself had been edited and printed before that sad event, and the announcement was inserted as a supplement. - Ed.

held under the auspices of the Council of Jews from Germany and of the Leo Baeck Institute (London Branch), in London where Baeck lived and worked with the Council. At this meeting Mrs. Eva Reichmann, associated with the great man from early childhood at Oppeln, drew a picture of what its leader meant to German Jewry as a whole, as a focus of veneration which reached its height in the days when he stood up to the Nazis. Dr. Liebeschütz who was in close scholarly and personal contact with Baeck since the days of the Berlin *Lehranstalt*, concentrated his appreciation on Baeck's interpretation of a period of Jewish history, which was particularly close to Baeck's heart and fundamental to his whole teaching, namely, the encounter between Hellenism and Judaism. In that period Baeck saw many similarities to his own time when in the 19th century—particularly in Germany—another encounter between Judaism and a great non-Jewish civilization took place. To the Hellenistic age also dates back the problem of the relationship of Judaism to early Christianity, which played such a decisive part in Baeck's thought, and to which he devoted many important treatises. It is his reading of this problem which aroused doubts and opposition especially in orthodox circles. We are obliged to put this disagreement on the part of an integral section of the Jewish people on record as we thought it proper to exclude, for the time being, any polemical discussion of the subject itself.

We did not feel entitled to publish excerpts of Baeck's own theological writings or of the lectures which he gave to the Society for Jewish Study in London or to the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati during the post-war decade. Some tape-recordings of these lectures are now under expert examination. They need editing, and we hope that they will be collected and published in due course. In his last years, the work to which Baeck's heart was most closely devoted was his book *Dieses Volk* which he started to write on occasional scraps of paper in Terezin concentration camp. He exerted himself to the utmost in order to finish the second volume as he felt his own end approaching. Thanks to his will-power it has been finished; it is now in process of being published in German. We also hope that some of his most important essays will shortly appear in an English translation. All this transcends the scope of the Year Book. We have, however, included an English translation of one or two of his shorter writings which were addressed to German Jews and intended for special occasions. They reflect his unshakable faith in the ultimate victory of goodness even under the most terrifying circumstances. We have added a short chapter from a survey of 19th century Jewish history, taken from the last series of public lectures which he delivered in the summer of 1956, just before his death. It is devoted to Moses Hess, the German Jew in whom the new post-emancipation trends of Jewish life, socialism (albeit non-Marxian) and nationalism (albeit Messianic) for the first time took their characteristic shape. Baeck, also in his old age, was always open to

the young and to the emergence of new ideas, and he was in the forefront of those who fully appreciated progressive trends which altered the course of history. In this respect, his appraisal of Hess is no less characteristic of Baeck himself than it is of his subject.

*

A large part of this book is devoted to the phenomenon of Jewish community life in Germany, or, more precisely, to an evaluation of the specific form of Jewish community organization which developed in Central Europe. The modern Jewish community was the answer to the problem posed by the dissolution of the secluded Jewish world whose classical form had been the Ghetto. Before the emancipation, Jews were not only citizens with restricted rights, but they also preserved their own way of life, regulated by the laws of religion. These laws concerned not solely religious matters, but they were 'totalitarian' in that they claimed to subject the whole life of the individual and of the group to strict rules. After this had ceased, a new form had to be found.

The Community is, in some respect, the offspring of the mediaeval Ghetto, the more or less physically separate and enclosed place of Jewish life. The Ghetto was, after all, not only enforced from outside, it was not only an organizational form by which the state tried to cope with the fact of a completely different minority in its midst, but also the result of the Jewish will to protect their specific way of life. Separation became a natural consequence where an ethnic group obstinately insisted on conducting a personal and communal life not only in accordance with its own customs and folklore, not only with its own religion, but also under its own law—independent of the laws of the country where it lived. It is true that the Ghetto was also a means of oppression and an easy tool for facilitating persecution and discrimination of all kinds, culminating occasionally in total expulsion and deprivation. That, alas, was the almost general attitude of dominant nations to minorities throughout history, before tolerance became more widespread.

A 'state within the state' was considered a 'foreign' and therefore in some respects dangerous element, especially when the French revolution introduced the idea of democratic nationalism and inaugurated the period of the national state. The philosophy of the democratic state's relationship to the Jews is contained in the famous dictum of the liberal deputy Clermont-Tonnère in the French National Assembly (23.12.1789) 'To the Jew as an individual—everything, to the Jews as nation—nothing': in other words, the granting of equal rights was made conditional on the abandonment of national feeling and of institutions with their own administration and jurisdiction. The totalitarian tendency inherent in the democratic system¹ was not compatible with the existence of a nationally

¹cf. J. L. Talmon (of the Hebrew University Jerusalem): *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy*, London 1952.

diverse population. The liberal state, most conspicuously embodied in the American Constitution, knew only individual citizens who were all equal, but no organized bodies which could claim corporate rights, thereby limiting the jurisdiction of the state. From the point of view of the state, religion or ethnic origin were private affairs of the individual. This effect of the French revolution persisted through the 19th century and was perhaps one of the reasons which prevented a timely and reasonable solution of the problem of European nationalities. The Austrian constitution of 1867, for example, guaranteed full rights of citizenship to all citizens without distinction of nationality or creed, but it refrained from granting collective rights to nationalities, which would have transformed them into organized bodies of public law. This would have been regarded as incompatible with the all-embracing state. We should not forget that the egalitarian state was born out of the rejection of the feudal system with its many autonomous dominions. The Jews naturally welcomed this liberal trend. As individuals, they were acceptable to the state and could rely on its protection. It was for this reason that Jews during the whole century were averse to being called a 'nation' or to over-emphasize their allegiance to their own group.

But that is only one side of the picture. There is another side. An unlimited atomization was not feasible as not all the remnants of the past could be abolished at once. The Jews continued to be a separate religious group. Separate interests and communal functions were connected with religion, which made some form of communal organization desirable, although the minority was no longer a legally separate entity. Century-old separation could not be overcome overnight. It so turned out that the removal of legal restrictions did not completely abolish the inveterate desire of the Jews to create the conditions for the pursuit of their own way of life at least in part, undisturbed by 'goyim', in the more homely atmosphere known to themselves from time immemorial. That is by no means an exclusively Jewish attitude. The pattern of cohesion existed in a modernised variation, *de facto* though not *de jure*, in all great centres of immigration. It was quite natural in New York and other large American cities that the immigrants of various nationalities kept together, not only sentimentally but also physically, at least for the sake of convenience as long as they used the language of their former homeland and also had reminiscences of the local customs of the regions they had left. In the case of the Jews, of course, this was aggravated by the force of religion and such things as the ritual dietary laws which were a much stronger preserving force than the eating habits of the other national minorities. The contrast provided by such separation within totally different surroundings was naturally an inexhaustible subject of jokes—a form of innocent self-derision at which the Jews excel. It also provided material for literature, in Yiddish and other languages: There is no more product-

ive motif for satirical writing than the collision of two completely different worlds of thinking and behaviour which suddenly meet. The novels of Israel Zangwill are a case in point, and in the New World this sort of literature became very prolific. Even where it is of no great literary value, it has a certain documentary character which helps us to understand the specific laws of Jewish existence and transformation.

The problem naturally occurred also to Gentile writers, and in nearly all countries studies have been and are being written on the Jewish character in literature, often illustrating the changing attitude of the Gentile world when confronted with the likewise changing phenomenon of the Jew. It is a very large subject which will one day have to be treated comprehensively and without emotional approach; it not only reflects the relationship between Jews and Gentiles, but also helps to understand the evolution of Jewish feeling as it was influenced by the views of the surrounding world. There are not only figures like Shylock and *Nathan der Weise*, both, of course, frequently analysed and discussed, but also many minor figures, less familiar to the general public especially outside the national orbit of the respective writers. One such study on a subject taken from 19th century German literature was written by Professor George Mosse for our present volume.

Jews, as stated above, have associated not only under compulsion, but also on their own impulse, voluntarily and spontaneously. Fleeing from Ghetto life and persecution, they created their own Jewish quarters in free countries. This has only recently become a subject for sociological study; as an example I would refer to the brilliant essay, 'The Ghetto' by Louis Wirth,¹ an analysis of the social trends and psychological facts which bring about the isolation of the Jewish community in a free world which does not restrict them legally.

After the emancipation, Jews established themselves as a religious community analogous to the other religious communities existing within the modern Christian state. This was—as Leo Baeck has repeatedly pointed out—facilitated by the fact that the modern Christian state was not unitarian but comprised several denominations. Nevertheless, the Jewish Community was something fundamentally different from what the Community was in the Christian Church because in the case of the Jews the people (*Volk*) corresponds to what in the Christian world is the church community.² In Central, unlike Western Europe, the state itself insisted

¹Phoenix Books. The University of Chicago Press. The book is a description and appreciation of the Chicago Ghetto and an inquiry into the social factors and the state of mind which led to the formation of the Ghetto. These forces are ever-present in Jewish life and without their proper assessment the Jewish problem as a whole cannot be understood.

²See Alexander Altmann, *Was ist jüdische Theologie?* Frankfurt a.M. 1933: 'Die Gemeinden sind Repräsentationen des Volksganzen. Es ist falsch, wenn Cohen und Baeck davon sprechen, im Judentum sei anstelle der Kirche die Gemeinde getreten. Vielmehr steht anstelle der christlichen Struktur Kirche-Gemeinde die jüdische des Volkes.'