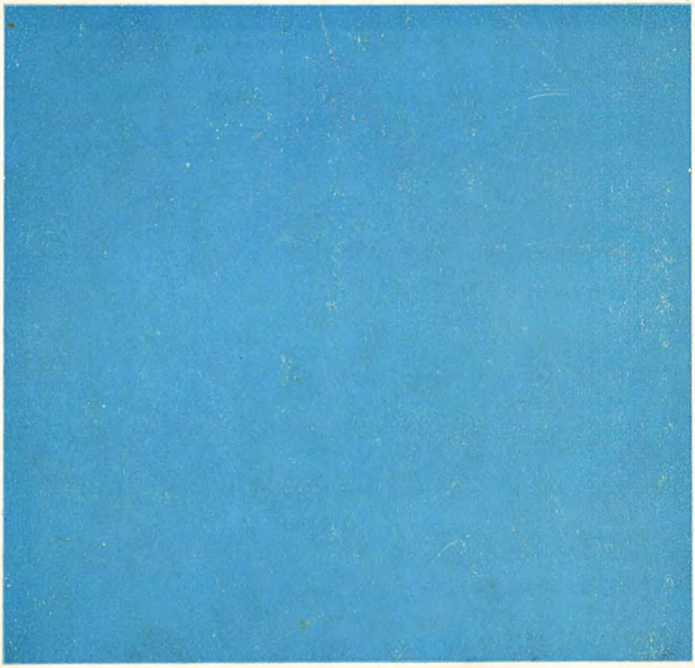
ADASS YESHURUN OF COLOGNE

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF A KEHILLA

Alexander Carlebach



THE BOOK

A *Kehilla* is a Jewish community, the basic cell of Jewish life within which its members find the answer to all their religious and most of their social needs. In 19th century Germany the law established congregations as geographical and administrative units, irrespective of the deep cleavage between Reform and Orthodoxy. This led, in several places, to the separation of the orthodox into relatively small Kehilloth based on the community of belief and practice of the faithful. Such was the Adass Yeshurun in Cologne which had its small beginnings in the 1860s, and this book tells the story of its rise and development to its gradual, final extinction in the Nazi era. Around it grew a cluster of institutions; a Teachers' Training College, primary and secondary schools, Talmud Torahs and all the ancillary societies through which Jewish life pulses. The men who founded, developed and led this group, their characters and ideals, their strength and foibles, their conflicts and antagonisms are fully described, adding flesh and blood to the story. At all stages the history of this small Kehilla is involved with the dominating themes and problems of European Jewish history: Reform versus orthodoxy, assimilation versus nationalism, Judaism of West and East, emerging Zionism and its opponents, World War I and its aftermath, the ugly face of antisemitism and the ultimate nemesis of the Nazi Moloch. Adass Yeshurun, in its life as in its tragic end, was a microcosm of the greater Jewish world in the near-century of its heyday, its destruction and miraculous rebirth.

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ADASS YESHURUN OF COLOGNE

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF A KEHILLA

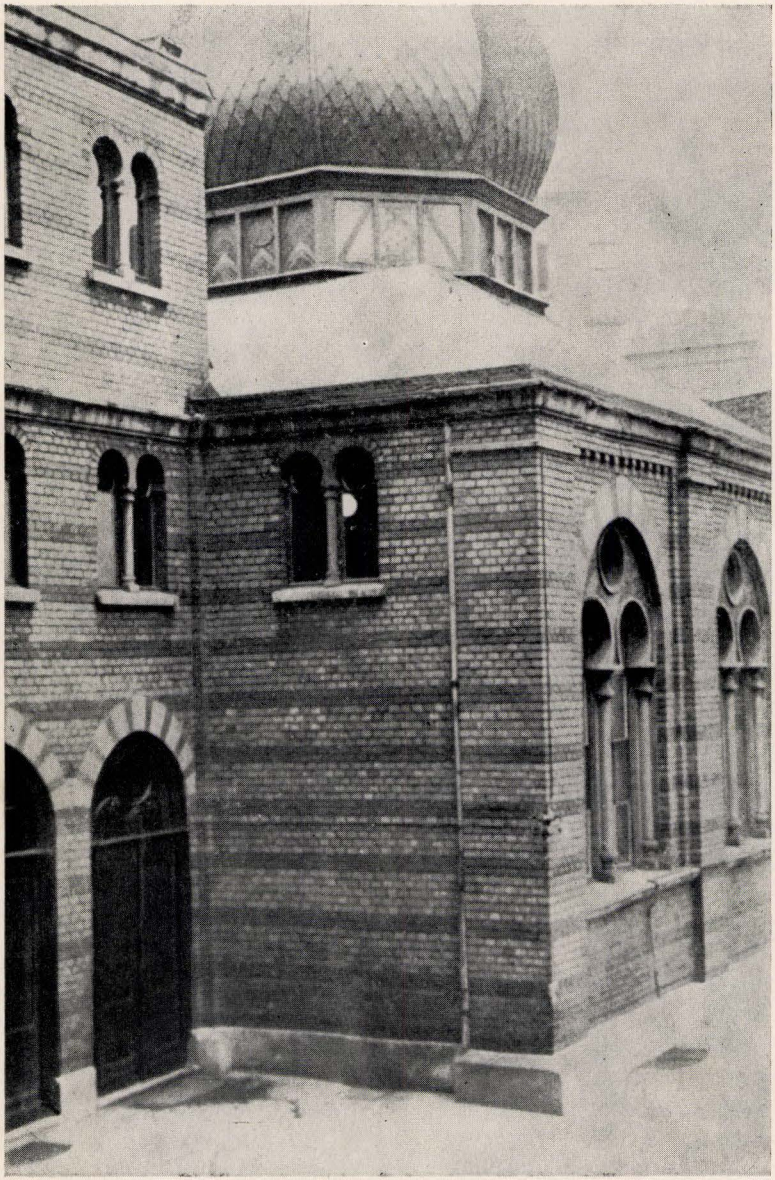
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THE ADASS YESHURUN SYNAGOGUE

PREFACE

IN the beginning there was the suggestion to write a short essay on the subject of this book. Out of an essay grew the present volume, a small chapter of Jewish history which deserved to be recorded. Like all history, it contains many a lesson for the present and the future.

My thanks to those who have helped with the material for the story are expressed in the Bibliographical Note. I owe special gratitude to Mr. Harold Meek, B.A., for reading the manuscript and proofs and for his numerous corrections and suggestions. My daughter Susan too helped with the proof-reading and made some valuable suggestions.

The publication of this book was kindly assisted by the *Kultusministerium des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen* and the *Amt fuer Kunst und Volksbildung* of the City of Cologne. Grants were also given by the Israel Zangwill and Arthur Davies Memorial Funds. For this help I am very grateful indeed.

A.C.

Belfast, Kislev 10th, 5725.
(November 15th, 1964).

לזכר

נשמות בני קהל

עדת ישורון

בקעלן

וחבר העובדים במוסדי החינוך שעל ידו

הם

נשיהם בניהם ובנותיהם

ותלמידיהם

שנהרגו על קידוש ה'

בשנות השואה תרצ"ג - תש"ה

ה' ינקום דמם

ותהי נפשם צרורה

בצרור החיים

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CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS

THE Jewish community in Cologne was one of the oldest in Europe and most probably the oldest in Germany. Founded by the Emperor Claudius in the middle of the first century C.E. as a military colony, it probably counted Jews among its inhabitants not later than the second century, though this cannot be proved. The *Codex Theodosianus* contains two famous regulations from the years 321 and 331 respectively, concerning the duties of the Jews of Cologne, the latter exempting the *hieros et archisynagogos et patros synagogorum et ceteros qui synagogis deserviunt* from all military service. This is the earliest documentary evidence for the existence of an organised Jewish community in Germany.

From the eleventh century onward there is a greater abundance of source material on the Jewish communities on the Rhine amongst whom Cologne occupied a place of honour. We hear of a synagogue being built in 1012. The persecutions of the fateful year 1096 (*Gezerath Tatnu*), the year of the first crusade, demanded hundreds of victims, in fact, the vast majority of the Jews who lived in Cologne and in her daughter-communities of the lower Rhine. Yet in spite of sporadic persecutions and continuous chicanes, leading up to final expulsions from the city in 1424, religious life flourished and great rabbis and Talmudists served and taught in Cologne such as Eliezer ben Joel Halevy (Ravyah), who had succeeded his father, Joel ben Yitzchak Halevy and was the teacher of Yitzchak Or Zaru'a, Asher ben Yechiel (Rosh), Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn and many others*. No wonder that its rabbinate (*Rabbaney Colonia*) enjoyed widespread authority and that the Kehilla was able to establish its own customs and rites. Some famous manuscripts were written and illuminated in Cologne, amongst them one of Maimonides' Mishna Torah dated 1296, now in Budapest.

* On the place of Cologne in the Tosaphist era see the references in E. Urbach, *Ba'ale Hatosaphoth*, Jerusalem, 1955.

While no Jew was allowed to live in Cologne from 1424 to the end of the 18th century, smaller Jewish communities continued to exist in the townlets and villages of the lower and middle Rhine. It is from this hinterland that Jews once more began to settle in the city when, under the impact of the French revolution and particularly the annexation of the Rhineland by France in 1798, the old, medieval restrictions began to give way. A new community established itself in October, 1801, with 17 families, and its representatives took part in the deliberations of the Assembly of Notables (Paris, 1806) and of the Great Sanhedrin (1807). Napoleon's "infamous decree" of 1808 was a severe setback to Jewish hopes for complete emancipation. It imposed on the French Jewish communities, including those of the Rhineland, the consistorial constitution which remained in force, even after Prussia had ousted France from the province, until 1861.

In that year the Prussian government approved a new constitution which established the *Synagogengemeinde Köln* with the rights of a public corporation in accordance with the "Law relating to the Circumstances of the Jews" of 1847. This law, while granting the Jews of Prussia rather less than the emancipation they had hoped and worked for, imposed a constitution on Jewish communities which had many objectionable features. It introduced the notorious *Dreiklassenwahlrecht*, according to which voting power depended on the amount of taxes paid; it placed the administrative power in the hands of the elected layman to the exclusion of the authority of the rabbis, who became mere functionaries, and withal reserved certain powers of supervision and veto to the government. Above all, it made membership of the local congregation compulsory on all Jewish residents on whom it could levy taxes. This was perhaps not a bad thing in itself, but, with religious controversy raging in the communities, it meant the threat of religious constraint of a minority by the majority. It was against this compulsive element in the law that S. R. Hirsch succeeded, in 1876, in obtaining from the Prussian Diet a law permitting secession from the local community without leaving the faith and making it possible for congregations formed by seceders to obtain the status of public corporations.

This Secession Law was, of course, only one phase in the battle for the soul of German Jewry, in the fight for and against what is commonly called Reform. A certain amount of synagogal reform was probably inevitable and even desirable. The social and political emancipation of the Jews in Central and Western Europe had begun its forward march from at least the middle of the 18th century onward, the walls of the Ghetto had been crumbling away and this was bound to be followed by the need and demand for adjustments and improvements in the externals of synagogue services. Such "reforms," as more orderly behaviour, sermons in the vernacular, canonicals for the clergy, choral singing and other improvements were tacitly and often gladly accepted by orthodox rabbis and congregations by the middle of the 19th century. But Reform meant more than that, and those who objected to what in perspective may now be called innocuous or even useful alterations may have had a deeper insight into the ultimate aims and effects of the Reform movement. It advocated the progressive replacement of Hebrew by the vernacular and of Jewish nationhood by a wishy-washy confessionalism and the elimination of all references to and belief in messianic restoration and all that goes with it. It repudiated rabbinic-talmudic tradition in favour of a shadowy ethical prophetism based on the Bible; it called upon Judaism to give way every time when the emancipation or assimilation of Jews in European society or civilization seemed to call for it. In short, by spreading the mantle of Jewish religion over every form and manifestation of defection and disintegration, Reform became synonymous with the spiritual debacle of European Jewry in the 19th century that culminated in mass-baptism, mixed marriages and in the minimalistic religion of the Yom Kippur Jew.

While in most of the larger communities the process of reform and religious dissolution went on apace, with the battle raging to and fro, in Cologne things went on peacefully—at least for a time. During the first half of the century religious authority had been in the hands of Abraham Auerbach and his son Aron, who occupied the position of Chief Rabbi of the Rhine consistory, to which the Cologne community was affiliated. Abraham Auerbach was the scion of an old and famous rabbinic family.

Born in Alsace in 1763, he had been called to the spiritual leadership of the new Strasbourg community by Cerf-Berr, the champion of Jewish emancipation in France. In 1794, under Robespierre's regime of anti-religious terror, he fearlessly carried out circumcisions and was thrown into prison for it. After having occupied the rabbinate in Forbach and Neuwied, he was Chief Rabbi of the Rhine and Moselle consistorium in 1808 with his seat first at Coblenz and then in Bonn, until his retirement in 1837; he died in 1845. He was succeeded by his son Aron (1810-1877) who, like his brother Benjamin Hirsch Auerbach, later well known as the Rav of Halberstadt, had a university education. The two brothers belonged to the first generation of orthodox rabbis who, while combining Jewish learning with a modern, general education, preaching and teaching in High German, took a firm stand against the Reform movement.

This affiliation and, indeed, subordination to the Bonn consistory was considered a most unsatisfactory arrangement by the growing Cologne congregation. The majority felt that its religious and administrative affairs were being neglected owing to this kind of remote control. The rabbis Auerbach, father and son, paid only occasional visits to Cologne, but, when in 1851, the board decided to appoint a preacher, this was vetoed by Aron Auerbach. It was, of course, anomalous that the community which by that time counted nearly 500 members should be treated as a mere appendage of the much smaller Bonn community. The problems, however, went deeper than the administrative arguments would suggest. The Auerbachs stood for a much more rigid and stricter standard of orthodoxy than the majority of the Cologne community, bent on some change and modernisation, wanted to perpetuate. Auerbach would, in fact, have liked to move to Cologne himself. But there the fathers of the community had different ideas. A minority, of course, were on his side and it was the twenty-eight members, "opposed to any change in the existing communal and religious structure," knowing that it could be only in the direction of Reform, who encouraged Auerbach in his obstruction of the wishes of the community. These 28, a mere 5% of the total membership, led by one Nathan Rothschild, were the element from which was later recruited the Adass Yeshurun.

In 1857 Cologne, at last, was able to appoint a rabbi of their own. The choice fell upon Israel Schwarz who came from Bavaria. He was a man of exceptional ability and character, and he entered upon his new office with great enthusiasm and burning zeal. He held strong conservative opinions, but was convinced of the need of some modernisation. Under his influence the Synagogue Regulations of 1864 contained a paragraph (93) giving safeguards against changes in ritual, and this paragraph appeared almost unchanged in the new regulations of 1887. He opposed and prevented the introduction of an organ into the synagogue and its service for which there had been an agitation since 1861. When in June, 1869, the congregation's executive appointed him as their representative to the Synod of Rabbis and Laymen at Leipzig which had been called by the leaders of Reform, Schwarz, in spite of strong pressure, refused to attend. On the other hand, he modernised the synagogue service in many ways: by preaching regular sermons in the vernacular, by introducing a choir and the "confirmation" of boys and girls, and by the recital of prayers in German for the Fatherland and on special occasions. Finally, the Synagogue Regulations of 1864 limited and even abolished* the recital of the traditional *piyutim* on Festivals and special Sabbaths. These *piyutim* were composed in the Middle Ages and had been introduced as additional to the statutory prayers not without opposition from prominent rabbis of the time. On the other hand, Schwarz was opposed to the abolition of the recital of the *Kol Nidre* formula at the beginning of Yom Kippur, against which there had been a prolonged agitation by the enemies of Jewish tradition, both from anti-semites and reformists.† The fact of this abolition in 1863 against the rabbi's opinion shows to what extent his position had lost in authority and influence. (*Kol Nidre* was reintroduced in the conservative synagogue in the Glockengasse in 1920, and in the Reform synagogue in the Roonstrasse in 1935!)

These changes in the ritual, particularly the abolition of the *piyutim* and the *Kol Nidre,* led in 1863 to the formation of a *minyan* consisting of the strictly orthodox members of the community. In July, 1863, the executive agreed to the application

* The former with, the latter against the advice of Schwarz.
† In its place the choir sang the German hymn: *O Tag Gottes*!

of Isaac Ochs to rent a room in which religious services for about 30 adults could be held. These services were held in the Caecilien Kloster, and it was from this *minyan* that eventually grew the Adass Yeshurun, a new and independent orthodox congregation.

The development of such a congregation was, however, greatly helped by the transfer, in 1875, of the *Jüdisches Lehrerseminar*, a training college for Jewish teachers, from Ehrenfeld, a suburb of Cologne, to the centre of the city. This seminary, as such institutions were called in Germany, had been established in Düsseldorf in 1867 by Rabbi Wolf Feilchenfeld, five years after Seligman Baer Bamberger had founded a similar school in Würzburg, Bavaria. As cultural emancipation advanced slowly in the German states in the course of the 19th century and as Jewish communities became increasingly responsible for the general education of their congregants' children, the need for teachers qualified both in Jewish and general subjects grew apace. Reform and conservative communities had already established their teachers' training colleges—the first in the field having been Israel Jacobson in Kassel round 1810. As far as the needs of orthodoxy were concerned, Würzburg mainly provided Southern Germany and Düsseldorf (later Cologne) the North and West. The need for teachers was greatest in the small rural or semi-rural communities where the teacher usually had to be the Shochet and Chazan as well.

According to §1 of the constitution of the *Verein des jüdischen Lehrerseminars in Rheinland zu Cöln*, nine people met in Düsseldorf in the year 1867 "for the purpose of establishing by their own contributions and by collections from their friends, a Jewish Teachers' Training College in which young men, sufficiently qualified and preferably originating in the Rhineland and bordering provinces, should be trained to become by law qualified Jewish elementary teachers and religious officials (*Cultusbeamte*) who in spirit and practice are devoted with equal loyalty and devotion to the law of the country as well as to Jewish religious law *(Shulchan Aruch)*". The nine founder members of the society were:

S. H. Prag, of Düsseldorf.
Israel Frank, of Cologne.
Jacob Simon, of Cologne.
Salom. Benjamin, of München-Gladbach.
Samuel Bürger, of Siegburg.

Mayer Cahen, of Cologne. B. Rothschild, of Grevenbroich.
Isaac Ochs, of Cologne. Michael Simons, of Düsseldorf.

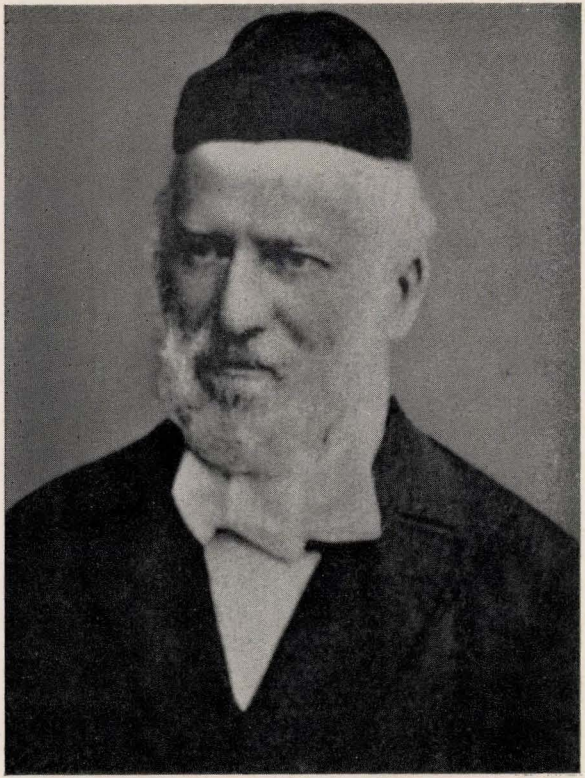
It is surprising that the name of Rabbi Dr. Feilchenfeld is not to be found in this list. He had been in Düsseldorf for 12 years before the Seminary was founded and the initiative was, no doubt, his. The college was officially opened on July 11th, 1867.

In 1872 Wolf Feilchenfeld was called to the chief-rabbinate of Posen, and his successor as head of the Seminary was Hirsch Plato (1822-1910). He was a native of Halberstadt, that small but famous cradle of so many Jewish leaders and scholars, where, in the revolutionary days of 1848, he had fought on the barricades. After acquiring a thorough Jewish and general education at Halberstadt, Brunswick, Berlin, where he studied with S. Eger, author of *Atereth Paz*, and Jena, where he obtained a PH.D., he taught at S. R. Hirsch's newly founded *Realschule*, where Hirsch's daughter Julie was among his pupils; she subsequently became his wife. Later he established a school of his own at Weinheim on the Bergstrasse. Under him the Seminary did not stay in Düsseldorf. In 1874 it moved to Ehrenfeld, a suburb of Cologne, whence it moved in 1876 to Cologne proper. Here it was variously housed in the Caecilienkloster, the Thieboldsgasse and the Mauritiussteinweg until 1884 when it moved into its own and more adequate building in the St. Apernstrasse where it remained for over 50 years—until the end.

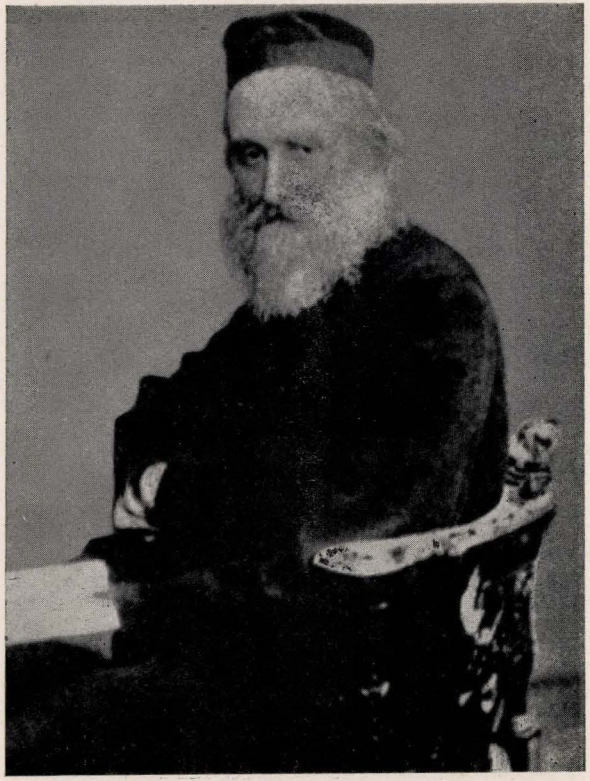
It would be wrong to think of the Seminary in its early days as the fully equipped and properly run teachers' training college which it became later on. Up to 1884 it was housed—in Cologne at least—in very poor and unsuitable quarters. The number of students was relatively small and so was the staff. The head himself was, in fact, the chief teacher of both general and Jewish subjects. But the devotion and enthusiasm of teacher and pupils amply compensated the lack of system and amenities. Hirsch Plato, like so many of that early vintage of rabbis who combined sacred and secular erudition, was not only a great *talmid chacham* and author of a number of *kuntressim* on halachic subjects, but also a good classical scholar and well versed in modern literature and science. He was not always an easy man to deal with. He used to preach overlong sermons, and when he was quite respectfully approached by his honorary officers

with a suggestion for shorter ones, he never set foot in the pulpit again!

When the Seminary moved to Cologne in 1875, those who had so far worshipped in the Caecilienstrasse and in the private house of Nathan Rothschild in the Hahnenstrasse (who refused to consider the payment of contributions by the members of the *minyan*) turned to Dr. Plato whom they chose as their spiritual (and unpaid) leader, and with him founded the Adass Yeshurun Society, of which Philipp Mendel became the first president. The services were soon transferred to a shack in the courtyard of a building in the Thieboldsgasse whereas the lecture room of the Seminary was in a former stable in the same grounds! But soon both Adass and Seminary were to receive worthier quarters. On a spacious site in the winding St. Apernstrasse, well away from the street frontage, building began in 1881 and was completed in 1884. The solemn consecration took place on January 16th, 1884. The Seminary was provided with an impressive structure, four storeys high including the basement, and giving ample accommodation in form of classrooms, dormitories for the students and living quarters for the principal and other members of the staff and their families. One entered from the street through wrought-iron gates—over which late returners had to climb at night after closing time—and passed through a narrow strip of courtyard flanked by the black and blind walls of the two neighbouring houses. As the passage widened into the playground, the synagogue with its Moorish dome rose on the right, and then one would approach the Seminary between two front gardens, indifferently kept but, in summer, alive with the smell of sweet-peas and jasmin. A larger garden alongside the building was reserved for the use of the principal and his family. For the Adass Yeshurun also a sizeable synagogue seating a congregation of over 300 in the men's shool and in the ladies' gallery, meant the emergence from a hole-and-corner existence of the *Stübel* type into that of a congregation which it actually became within the next three decades. The synagogue building which was decent, though without any claim to architectural distinction or beauty, also contained offices and in its basement a small and simple mikveh. For the next generation at least the buildings in the St. Apernstrasse provided amenities that



WOLF FEILCHENFELD
(1827-1913)



HIRSCH PLATO
(1822-1910)



BENEDIKT WOLF
(1875-)

allowed for the natural growth of Seminary and Adass in comfort and dignity. It is typical of the "*minyan* spirit," the strongly centrifugal forces that were always at work in the orthodox camp, that the two *minyanim*—Ochs and Rothschild—continued to function for many a year even after the Adass Yeshurun had their own synagogue.

Prior to the completion of the new building, the Seminary had adopted a constitution (October 22nd, 1882) and on this basis obtained government approval and registration (February 21st, 1883). From §2 of this constitution it can be seen that the respectable sum of 100,000 marks was available for the new venture. §3 gives the 20 names of those who constituted the governing body in 1883, among them five of the founder members of 1867 and the director, Dr. H. Plato:

1. Jacob Simon, Cologne, Chairman.
2. Philipp Mendel, Cologne, Vice-Chairman.
3. S. Mannsbach, Cologne, Treasurer.
4. M. L. Munk, Cologne, Secretary.
5. Joseph Wallach, Cologne, Assistant Secretary.
6. The director, Rabbi Dr. Plato, Cologne.
7. Mayer Cahen, Cologne, now Mülheim a. Rh.
8. W. J. Dünner, Cologne.
9. Max Harff, Cologne.
10. J. M. Marx, Cologne.
11. Isaac Ochs, Cologne.
12. Simon Simon, Cologne.
13. Samuel Bielefeld, Ruhrort.
14. Samuel Bürger, Siegburg.
15. Rabbi Dr. Cahn, Fulda.
16. Jacob Frenkel, Frankfurt-on-Main.
17. Simon Löwenthal, Ronsdorf.
18. George Marx, Elberfeld.
19. Michael Simons, Düsseldorf.
20. Isaac Kounen, Kempen.

The same paragraph stipulates the qualifications which any principal to be appointed must possess. He must be of German nationality and of undoubted patriotic convictions; he must be able to prove his academic education and his pedagogic ability; and he must have obtained a rabbinical diploma from three

recognised orthodox authorities and must be a firm adherent—in theory and practice—of Jewish religious law as laid down in the *Shulchan Aruch*. Pupils, according to §10, must be sixteen years of age for admission to the preparatory class and seventeen for admission into the Seminary proper, and have to pass an examination before the principal and staff. Those unable to pay fees are accepted free with free board and lodging. The rest of the constitution is taken up with the usual administrative rules.

The growth of the Seminary and the type and quality of education it provided is reflected in the reports which were published annually. While in 1877/1878 there was a total of 16 pupils and four had qualified and immediately found positions, the respective figures for the years 1882, 1888, 1889, 1891 were 28, 26 and 27 with ten teachers passing out in 1889 and eight in 1891. There were two students from Palestine at the Seminary in the latter year. Income and expenditure varied betwen 35,000 and 50,000 marks, quite a considerable sum at that time though not enough to allow for further expansion and the admittance of a greater number of pupils.

The report published in 1879 gives interesting details on the teaching programme. Those leaving at the end of their studies were supposed to have studied the major part of the Hebrew Bible, 170 Talmud folios and large sections of the *Shulchan Aruch*. They were expected to be able to cope with any not-over-difficult passage of the Talmud, to find the answer to a problem of observance in the *Shulchan Aruch* and to deliver an address or sermon to their congregations on Sabbath and festivals. All this in addition to a general education which stressed German literature and the fostering of the mind and character in a spirit of (German) patriotism. The report adds, somewhat apologetically, that this Jewish-German dualism only *appears* to impose a double (and perhaps contradictory?) task on the future teachers.

A number of subsidiary societies serving the religious life of the young and growing orthodox congregation made their appearance at an early stage. There was first of all a *Chevra Kadisha*, this indispensable adjunct of every Kehilla. Under the name of *Kotnot Or*, it was founded on January 14th, 1877, at Plato's instigation. Its aims and work embraced all types of *Gemiluth Chesed*, from the last rites and honours to the dead to

financial help for the living—poor. All members had to be *Shomre Shabbat.* In 1927 the *Chevra* celebrated its jubilee and continued its activities for another decade longer right up to the tragic end of the community. Among its functions were the *Limmud Leyl Shavuot ve-Leyl Hoshanah Rabba* which were held annually in the *Aula* of the Seminary with a large participation of old and young and in a lively atmosphere of *Simcha shel Mitzva,* enlivened by *Divrey Torah* from the Rav and interrupted by the serving of *Kaffee und Kuchen* in the early hours of the morning. In accordance with custom in all traditional communities, a *Chevra* Fast was observed annually, followed by the *Chevra* Dinner. There existed too a Ladies' *Chevra,* which had the distinction of serving not only the Adass but the entire community and was led by the *Rebbetzin* of the Adass Yeshurun. So was the *Chevra Bikkur Cholim,* which cared for the sick, and the *Nashim Chochmoth Lev* who looked after the synagogue appurtenances.

Earlier on, in 1861, even before the *minyan* out of which grew the Adass Yeshurun had come into being, and with the patronage of Rabbi Schwarz, a Talmud Torah Society was founded on the initiative of Salomon Rothschild. Its first principal was Joseph Wolf, affectionately called Rebbe Wolf, whose family originated from the Lower Rhine. His whole life was devoted to the spreading of Torah and the strengthening of Jewish life. Just as S. R. Hirsch, when he arrived in Frankfurt-on-Main in 1851, found widespread religious laxity and ignorance, so Wolf found in Cologne a great opportunity for his idealism and missionary zeal. He went about fixing *Mezuzot* to other people's doors, teaching children and adults freely in all branches of Jewish learning. In 1887 the Talmud Torah celebrated a *Siyum* on the whole *Chumash* with Rashi. Joseph Wolf died in 1896 and for the short period of four years was succeeded by Dr. Nehemias Anton Nobel (1871-1922), who later, after holding office in Königsberg, Leipzig and Hamburg, attained fame as a preacher and spiritual leader at the Börneplatz Synagogue at Frankfurt-on-Main. When he left Cologne in 1900, Dr. N. Cohen, later rabbi in Marburg, occupied the position for a short time. Then Joseph Wolf's youngest son, Dr. Benedikt Wolf (1875—) followed in his father's footsteps and guided the Talmud Torah

both as a teaching institute and as a semi-congregational Minyan until his *Aliyah* to Eretz Israel in 1936.

The young rabbi of the Talmud Torah was not satisfied with his local activities. A great number of semi-urban and rural communities with small membership, out of which larger communities in the Rhineland—as elsewhere in Germany—replenished their numbers constantly, were in need of rabbinical care and leadership. These *Landsjuden*, as they were rather contemptuously called by their more refined city-dwelling co-religionists, were in their overwhelming majority strictly orthodox. In 1896 a Society for the Religious Concerns of Jews had been founded for Westphalia to look after the smaller communities, and in 1902 Benedikt Wolf followed this example by founding the Society for the Religious Concerns of the Jews in the Rhineland to which eventually some 50 communities affiliated. It can be easily imagined how important was the pastoral work for these rabbi-less congregations—though Hirsch Plato, who had then been an invalid for many years, opposed the foundation of the new society as an infringement of his own authority. The Society published a journal for its members (*Der Jüdische Volksfreund*) and also a series of religious works such as Bible commentaries or annotations by Joseph Wolf and his son Benedikt which have now begun to appear in Israel in a Hebrew translation; and practical handbooks on the Dietary Laws and Mourning Customs by the latter. There can be little doubt that the work done by the Rhineland Society and its leaders was a great blessing and vital to the maintenance of orthodox Judaism in these communities.

A Hirsch Society had been formed in Cologne in 1896, under the inspiration of Hermann Kahn, in which young people would assemble every Sabbath to study the works and particularly the *Chumash* commentary of S. R. Hirsch. The lectures, which soon extended to other religious subjects as well, were given by Elias Gut and Jonas and Willy Wolf. This society amalgamated with Dr. B. Wolf's Talmud Torah in 1907.

Already in the 90's the first stirrings of Jewish nationalism were felt in Cologne. Several years before Herzl, a young lawyer, Max Bodenheimer, was quite spontaneously fired by the "Zionist" idea but found more opposition than support. Some

thought he had gone off his head. He also consulted Rabbi Plato, but he smilingly told him to leave the problem of redemption in the hands of God Almighty. More sympathy he found with Rabbi Nobel, then teaching at the Talmud Torah, and from there the fire spread to other young men of the orthodox circle such as the brothers Isi and Bernhard Kahn, Heinrich Dülken and Isaac van Cleef, Nobel's brother-in-law who, for many years to come, remained a lonely outpost of Zionism in the Adass Yeshurun.

CHAPTER II

A NEW ERA

THE turn of the century meant more than a formal division for the Adass Yeshurun and the other orthodox institutions in Cologne. A first formative period was coming to an end, a small and somewhat insignificant society was to become an independent state-recognised congregation; the Seminary was to grow into a mature, fully developed, government-supervised and government-recognised college—and the same development and transformation overtook to some degree all the other related societies. Dr. Plato was now a man of eighty (this birthday had been celebrated in 1902 by a special service with Dr. Leo Munk of Marburg as guest-preacher), and already for several years before then had been an invalid and bed-ridden, but was nevertheless unwilling to pass on the chains of office. Only in 1904 could Adass and Seminary persuade him to retire and then proceed to the appointment of a successor. The choice fell on Emanuel Carlebach who, for the next 23 years, guided the destinies of the Cologne orthodox community. A new era had begun.

Emanuel Carlebach was a son of Solomon Carlebach, rabbi of the old Hanse town of Lübeck from 1870 to 1919, and of his wife Esther whose father, Alexander Adler, had preceded his son-in-law in the Lübeck rabbinate as his father-in-law, Ephraim Fischel Joel, before him. Emanuel was the second of twelve children—eight sons and four daughters. Growing up in the strict and frugal and yet high-spirited atmosphere of a home imprinted with the authority and patriarchal personality of the Lübecker Rav, young Emanuel showed at an early age exceptional intellect, character and independence. There was already then an ability to influence and lead his contemporaries, to communicate his own idealism and enthusiasm for Torah and Judaism to others and to speak well and fluently in public of the faith that burned in his heart. Every moment which was not required for school and its work was devoted to Jewish studies with his father and

particularly with Reb Gumpel, the House Rebbe, i.e., the private tutor of the rabbi's children. At the age of 19 he matriculated and enrolled as a student of philosophy in the University of Berlin and of rabbinics in the *Rabbiner Seminar* of the same city. Its founder, Esriel Hildesheimer, was still alive, but no longer teaching and in control of the Seminary. It appears that Emanuel Carlebach was not attracted by the rather dry and academic methods and the spirit prevailing at the time in the famous college, for the next semester finds him as a student at the University of Würzburg in Bavaria where he continues his philosophical studies for nearly three years, at the end of which he obtained his doctorate by a thesis entitled "The Metaphysical Views of Guyau." Guyau was a little known French poet-philosopher who had died in 1888 at the early age of 33, leaving behind a considerable literary output and a monistic, materialistic philosophy of culture which the young CAND. PHIL. described appreciatively while criticising it earnestly from his own religious and idealistic standpoint. It was exceptional for someone preparing for the rabbinate to chose as his thesis for the doctorate a subject outside the obvious semitic or rabbinic field. In fact, the professor who had suggested and supervised the thesis expressed the hope that such a promising student of philosophy should go on to a University career. Emanuel Carlebach, however, had different plans. While in Würzburg he had continued his Jewish and rabbinic studies with Nathan Bamberger, the son and successor of Seligman Baer Bamberger, the famous "Würzburger Rav" (1807-1878) and the community's Dayan Preiss. As in Lübeck, where he had founded a *Chevrath Hashkamah* which, apart from early Sabbath services for pupils, who had to attend school, arranged lectures and debates, he now organised an academic and literary society, mainly for the Jewish students at the University. Würzburg, with its centuries-old tradition of learning and piety, with its *Lehrerseminar* and the Bamberger dynasty, had a Jewish atmosphere all of its own which must have appealed strongly to one who came from the much more formal and reticent North. Here Emanuel Carlebach met on friendly terms that strange figure Baron von Manstein, a convert —with his wife—to Judaism. This saintly *Talmid Chacham* was a relative of one of Hitler's generals; he died in 1944.

After his graduation (February, 1896) Carlebach decided to enrol in the Yeshiva founded but recently by Dr. Solomon Breuer, the Hungarian-born son-in-law of S. R. Hirsch and his successor in the rabbinate of the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft*, the independent orthodox congregation of Frankfurt-on-Main. This new Yeshiva, in the spirit which prevailed then even among orthodox Jews, was a revolutionary innovation or, in the eyes of some, a retrograde undertaking. The last Yeshivot of the old type, as those at Fürth and Altona, had closed down some 30 years before. But Breuer came from a part of the world where Yeshivot were numerous and flourishing. There the spirit of Moses Schreiber, the great *Chatam Sopher*, was still very much alive, even if some of the younger generation, like Breuer, had acquired a general education and a university degree. In fact, in subsequent decades, orthodox communities in Germany often elected rabbis from the Hungarian *Kulturgebiet*. They were reputed for their solid rabbinical learning, their militant orthodoxy and, in addition, for their general culture and ability (not always undisputed) to speak High German. Too often they were unsuited for the spiritual climate of their German congregations. Their rigidity, their lack of the human touch, the enormously high pedestal on which they put themselves and their rabbinical dignity, often created an iron wall between them and their congregants. Their communal dogmatism introduced a quite unnecessary acerbity and hostility into the relationship between the different and differing congregations and their members.

Emanuel Carlebach had been disappointed with the Berlin *Rabbinerseminar*, and he found what he wanted and needed in Breuer's Yeshiva: talmudic and rabbinic studies undiluted and undeflected by secular, scientific methods or interests. Breuer was no doubt a first-class teacher and a monolithic, dominating personality who could not fail to impress the new *Bochur*. Carlebach, in turn, must have found great favour in his teacher's eyes, whose *house-bochur* he became. He soon established friendly relations with many of the high-minded young men of the Hirsch congregation to whom he became a friend and teacher. These few years were a period of rich harvest, of spiritual consolidation, and when in May, 1897, Breuer conferred *Semicha* on

the now 24-year-old Emanuel, later confirmed by Dr. M. Cahn, of Fulda, Dr. M. Lerner, of Altona, Nathan Bamberger, of Würzburg, S. Waeldler, of Schönlanke, and Gabriel Feinberg, of Memel, the young rabbi emerged from his formative years as a well-balanced personality, his mind well stocked, setting out in life with a firm and determined step, fully conscious of the tasks which awaited him.

In March, 1898, he was elected rabbi of the Jewish community of Memel which was then an important trading centre and port on the border of Eastern Prussia and the Lithuanian province of Russia (*Kovner gubernie*). The community, of fairly recent origin, consisted for four-fifths of Russian and Polish Jews, congregating in their own *Batey Midrash*, and of a minority of generally affluent and educated German Jews. This does not mean that the others, particularly the Lithuanian Jews, had no education. Theirs was Jewish-rabbinic and hebraic. The proximity of the great Lithuanian Yeshivot made itself strongly felt. Here that great reformator and saint, Israel Lipkin of Salant, the founder of the Mussar movement, had spent twenty years (1860-1880), and his spirit was abroad for many decades after his death in 1883. While in Memel, he had laboured unceasingly to raise the level of Jewish life in the town. In the 1880's, however, the antisemitic Prussian government practised a policy of expulsions against the "foreign" Jews of Memel and the community suffered grievously in consequence. But there was enough of the "foreign" element and spirit left to make Memel a "Place of Torah" where the whole of *Shass* (Babylonian Talmud) was studied and solemnly terminated by a *Siyum Hagadol* every six years.

The first rabbi of this rather heterogeneous congregation, which had obtained official status and government sanction in 1862, was Dr. Isaac Rülf (1834-1902). He was appointed in 1865, and it was he who put the community on its feet. He organised religious education, founded a Jewish school (*Armenschule*!). a Jewish hospital, and, finally, saw an adequate and dignified synagogue being erected during his incumbency. He was, of course, chiefly the spiritual leader of the German element. The Russian and Polish Jews who, on his own testimony, had completely ignored this "Doktor-Rabbiner" at

first, began to appreciate his golden heart and his organising ability and energy when he turned his attention to the plight of Russian Jewry at large and of the Russian local community in particular. It was in these years of intense philanthropic work that Dr. Rülf acquired something of an international reputation and the admiring nickname of "Dr. Hülf." With all these communal and wider preoccupations and in spite of a poor physique, the rabbi of Memel found time to produce some weighty philosophical tomes, edit the local liberal daily and contribute freely to various Jewish periodicals. Even before Herzl and Pinsker, he had become converted (in 1881) to the idea of national renaissance and a return to Zion. He founded a Society of Jewish Patriots and entered into contact with Leo Pinsker, the author of "Auto-Emancipation." He was deeply impressed by the publication of Herzl's "Judenstaat," but very much hurt that Herzl ignored his offers of help and his Zionist record. This did not prevent him from a vigorous protest again the *Protest-rabbiner* in "Die Welt", Herzl's weekly; from sending greetings to the first Zionist Congress and from attending the second. In religious matters he inclined towards a moderate reform which did not prevent him, when advising his community on the choice of a successor, to recommend the rather orthodox Emanuel Carlebach. He himself retired to Bonn and his philosophical studies.

Soon after his election to the Memel rabbinate, Emanuel Carlebach became engaged to Minna Joel, his second cousin, a grand-daughter of Rabbi Ephraim Fischel Joel of Lübeck, and the youngest child of Dr. David Joel, who was also a considerable rabbinic scholar and had been a teacher at the secondary school (*Realschule*) founded in Frankfurt by S. R. Hirsch, and later head of a Jewish boarding school at Pfungstadt (Hesse) where Minna was born in 1873. After David Joel's death (1885) his widow and children moved to Lübeck where relations between the two families, Joel and Carlebach, were naturally close. Minna was wont to lend a hand in the teeming Carlebach household, and friendship and love sprang up between her and Emanuel. They were practically engaged to each other before the young man had left school. The match met a certain amount of opposition from both families, but they had their way and the marriage took place

on Rosh Chodesh Ellul 5658 (August 18th, 1898). The honeymoon lasted for the rest of their married life.

The young Rebbetzin was a vivacious, high-minded and high-spirited girl and, for the age, remarkably emancipated and modern. She had had a wide general and Jewish education. Not only did she help many less well-equipped boys with their school work—her own prose and poetical style was excellent—but she was asked by the rabbi and future father-in-law to lend a hand in the synagogue religious classes. All this was excellent training for her future life at the side of her husband—and for thirty years she was to him a true helpmate, helping, advising, carrying out the many varied and often heavy duties of a rabbi's wife with a verve and such good humour and ready wit that it made the home of the rabbi of Memel and later of Cologne a fortress in Jewry and the spiritual home of uncounted men and women who were privileged to find assistance and advice, hospitality and friendship under its roof.

The first task of the new rabbi of Memel was to re-organise Jewish education in his community. Eighteen months after his arrival he was able to publish a report which showed a complete transformation. More and new teachers had been appointed (his own young wife was one of them), the number of pupils had risen rapidly, the teaching programme ranged from elementary Jewish subjects to intensive and extensive study of Bible and Talmud which would do honour to any Talmud Torah or Jewish Secondary School, and the teaching methods had been thoroughly modernised. Even looked at from the distance of more than 60 years' progress in the field of Jewish education, this report produced by the 25-year-old rabbi-headmaster is an amazing document of daring and dazzling achievement. It should be pointed out that the high standard of Jewish knowledge prevailing among the "foreign" majority of Memel Jews was eminently favourable to Carlebach's efforts. They soon found out that their prejudice against modern German rabbis was unjustified at least in this particular case. The new rabbi's *Lamdanuth* was a match for that of the local *Lomdim*, and soon enough they fully recognised his rabbinic authority—something to which Rülf had never aspired. Shortly after Carlebach's election to Cologne, the old Lithuanian-type Rav Gabriel Feinberg, who had been an

outstanding *Talmid Chacham*, passed away and, in an attempt to retain Carlebach in Memel, he was offered the fusion of Feinberg's office with his own—a great compliment indeed and a measure of his standing among the Russian and Polish element.

On the other hand, for Carlebach the contact with the Lithuanian type of *Lamdan* and occasionally with the great giants of talmudic learning and piety, meant the opening of an unknown world. It added another dimension to his already broad Jewish personality and enlarged and deepened his outlook and sympathies. Though he never attempted to deny or dilute the basic "western" quality of his own type and outlook and avoided all mimicry, his sympathy for the "eastern" *Rabbanuth* was of immense value to him, first during the war years in Poland and later on in Cologne where there grew a Polish-Galician community alongside his own but looking to him for help and leadership. Proof of the intimacy that grew up in these years in Memel between him and the "Russian" *Beth Hamedrash* is the fact that even after having left Memel for Cologne he at least once (in 1912) undertook the long and tiring journey of over 600 miles to Memel to take part in the septennial *Siyum Hagadol*.

On June 9th, 1904, Emanuel Carlebach was elected to succeed Hirsch Plato as Rav of the Adass Yeshurun and principal of the Seminary. He took up his duties in October of the same year, when he, his wife and his three young sons, David, Joseph and Daniel (born in 1899, 1901 and 1903 respectively) settled in the ground-floor flat of the Seminary building. The *Israelitische Gemeindeblatt* had reported his election with the comment that an enviable reputation as an educationalist, orator and social worker preceded the new rabbi who possessed "conciliatory manners" and a pacific (*versöhnliche*) nature. (The paper changed this "conciliatory" tune considerably in later years.) The induction into office took place at the synagogue on Sabbath, October 20th, where he was welcomed by the president, Joseph Wallach, and on the next day in the Seminary by Gerson Rothschild, chairman of the *Kuratorium*, and Max Schwarzschild on behalf of the teaching staff. No sign of Dr. Plato, who may not have been well enough to attend.

The first problem which faced the new rabbi was that of the relationship of the Adass Yeshurun to the official Cologne congregation. As we have seen, the Adass Yeshurun had come into existence as a private *minyan* with the, however reluctant, permission of the parent body. Its adherents had remained tax-paying members of the congregation in spite of the legal possibility of secession under the law of 1876. In Frankfurt and some other communities secession had been declared a religious duty incumbent upon every orthodox Jew who, by continuing to pay tax to a congregation which countenanced Reform, was lending support to heresy and transgression. In Cologne, however, the inroads of Reform had been very mild, tradition had been shielded by § 83 of the Constitution, and the need for secession had not yet arisen. This changed, however, when the project to install an organ into the new synagogue in the Roonstrasse (opened in 1899) was put into effect early in 1906. The organ had become by then the Shibboleth that divided Reform from orthodoxy in Germany. Its introduction in Cologne had been preceded by over 40 years of agitation, beginning with the erection of the synagogue in the Glockengasse in 1860-61. Rabbi Schwarz had opposed it, but not so his successor, Abraham Frank (1839-1917). And then there was the obstacle of § 83! Resolution after resolution was introduced in the College of Representatives, but to no avail. In 1871, a special committee had decided in favour of an organ by ten votes to five, but the executive tabled the matter. In 1899 a petition, signed by 1,300 members, for the introduction of an organ into the new synagogue was submitted. In 1904 a Liberal (i.e., Reform) Association had been formed, and in the same year the Executive approved the organ project. They had submitted the question to the "arbitration" of three well-known rabbis, one of them orthodox (M. Cahn, Fulda), the other two reformers (Maybaum, Berlin, and Samuel, Essen). Cahn, of course, refused to sit with the other two and *their* answer in favour of the organ was a foregone conclusion. On March 16th, 1904, the College of Representatives decided by 10 votes to 5 to introduce the organ in the Roonstrasse Synagogue. Of the congregation's rabbis, Ludwig Rosenthal had declared against it; Abraham Frank supported the measure. On behalf of the orthodox

minority* Hermann van Cleef registered a solemn protest, followed a week later by a similar declaration signed also by Dr. Anselm Ochs (later a president of the Adass Yeshurun), David Wolfsohn, the friend of Theodor Herzl and his successor in the presidency of the World Zionist Organisation, and a few others. It took two more years before all obstacles were removed (§83!) and Cologne Jewry was granted what appears to have been its most ardent wish. On the Passover of 1906, organ music, for the first time, filled the vast expanse of the temple in the Roonstrasse. On June 17th of the same year a general meeting of members of the Adass Yeshurun decided unanimously to secede from the main congregation.

Already, when the administration had approved the organ, some 30 members of the Adass Yeshurun had decided to leave the congregation. In September, 1904, even before the new rabbi had arrived to take up his post, they had formed themselves into a small conventicle under the name of *Kehillass Yisroel* and held common services in an upstairs flat in the Duffesbach. (The small river, from which this street took its name, fulfilled a religious function by serving as the object of *Tashlich* pilgrimage on *Rosh Hashanah.*) The leading figure in this circle was a certain Dr. Paul Bendix, a laboratory chemist and a considerable rabbinical scholar. Those who worshipped at the Duffesbach remained members of the Adass Yeshurun though they had left the main community. A little over a year after the Adass had resolved on secession, the Kehillass Yisroel *minyan* dissolved and most of its members rejoined the services of the Adass. Some, however, as Bendix himself, would not be reconciled and continued their diehard opposition to the bitter end and under a different flag, as will be seen later.

Carlebach and the majority of his followers wished to make an attempt to reach a compromise first and avoid secession. Conditions in Cologne were different from those in other towns where secession had taken place. It was, he wrote, not only the question of the organ that mattered but it was important to repair

* They were a minority only on the Representative Council and in the Executive. At the 1904 communal elections the conservatives polled 715 votes and the liberals only 410. But due to the reactionary voting system and the fact that most of the more orthodox members voted in the third class, the liberal plutocrats controlled a majority in the administration.

the breach made in the congregation's constitution caused by the tampering with the religious safeguard of §83. In December, 1905, he had addressed enquiries to a number of rabbinic authorities in Germany and beyond to whom he submitted his plans. Most of them approved and only a small minority were for immediate and unconditional secession, amongst them, no doubt, Salomon Breuer of Frankfurt. The issue was fundamentally the same as had divided Hirsch and S. B. Bamberger in 1876. Under the impact of the successful passage of the Secession Law, the Frankfurt congregation suddenly relented from its anti-orthodox fervour and was ready to make concessions to the traditionalists. They would not only provide, out of congregational taxes, the religious facilities required by the orthodox but the latter would not have to contribute to the cost of Reform institutions. Under such conditions, Bamberger maintained, there was no longer any religious duty to secede from the main congregation. This outside intervention of one, who had the reputation of being one of the most orthodox and learned rabbis in Germany, drew upon itself all the sound and fury of Hirsch's brilliant and, indeed, deadly pen, repudiating not only Bamberger's *Halacha* and logic but denying his right to interfere in the affairs of another rabbinate. But the damage, from the secessionist point of view, had been done. The Würzburger Rav's decision had created and legitimated the non-secessionist, so-called "communal" orthodoxy.

It was more or less the same compromise, sanctioned by Bamberger, which Emanuel Carlebach now put forward to avoid secession. The proportion of communal taxes, payable by the members of the Adass, which the congregation spent on the maintenance of the Roonstrasse Reform synagogue and its officials, were either to be paid directly into the coffers of the Adass Yeshurun, to be used for such religious services not supplied by the congregation, or were to be refunded by the congregation for the same purposes. Shechita to the amount it was required by the members of the Adass was to be supervised by their Rav, and the Shochet or Shochetim for that part of the Shechita would require his sanction. In the community's cemetery a section was to be reserved in which funerals were to be carried out in the traditional manner and without innovations;

here the Rav of the Adass Yeshurun was to be entitled to officiate. The "modernisation" of the cemetery by burial according to income and taxation groups, by the permission to lay wreaths and plant flowers in breach of Jewish tradition and sentiment, and by the acceptance for burial of urns containing the ashes of those cremated, was also a kind of reform objectionable to the orthodox.

These conditions seemed to be moderate enough. At an informal meeting between the Executive and Carlebach, who was accompanied by Herman van Cleef, the honorary secretary of the Adass, the leaders of the community, no doubt impressed by the patent sincerity of their opponent, as well as his desire for a peaceful settlement, found his conditions if not fully acceptable at least a fair basis for discussion and subsequent agreement. Somehow the cemetery problem had not been mentioned, but was brought up in subsequent informal conversations and provoked no protests. At a later meeting of the Executive (April 12th) at which Rabbi Dr. Rosenthal was also present, the conditions submitted by the Adass were discussed. While they seemed to prefer a different procedure in the refund of taxes, they were prepared, as far as the Shechita was concerned, to go even beyond what had been proposed and to transfer the entire supervision to the Adass Yeshurun and their Rav. There was apparently no mention of the cemetery arrangements. This favourable reaction of the Executive was officially communicated to the Adass who were asked now to submit a draft for a definite agreement. This was done in a hopeful mood and on May 2nd, after a further talk between Carlebach and Dr. Max Callmann, a member of the Executive, the draft agreement containing the various conditions and their alternatives, together with an explanatory letter, were submitted to the congregation. On May 15th the Executive, in a letter to Carlebach, rejected his proposals partly as too far-reaching, partly as unacceptable(?). The Executive's own concessions would be submitted to an impending meeting of the College of Representatives. At that meeting the case of the orthodox received short shrift, the previous favourable attitude of the Executive was not mentioned, the subsequent correspondence was not read, though this had been requested by some conservative representatives, and a good deal of tendentious play was made with the cemetery conditions. On the other hand, a

rabbinical " opinion " (by Dr. Rosenthal?) condemning the Adass and all it stood for was read and all compromise resolutions, intended to keep the door open for further negotiations, were rejected by the " platform."

Thus all the hopes for a peaceful solution and unity in the community were dashed to the ground. What had happened, what had produced such a change of attitude in the members of the Executive? The answer is to be found in in the person of the conservative rabbi, who has been mentioned before: Dr. Ludwig Rosenthal. He had been a pupil and graduate of the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary, where Emanuel Carlebach had made his acquaintance in the short semester he spent at this college. Carlebach had looked up very much to the older and obviously gifted student and tried to cultivate his friendship. In 1897 he was elected as rabbi to the Cologne congregation alongside Abraham Frank. When the organ was introduced in the " Roonstrasse ", Rosenthal refused to officiate there and was allowed to concentrate on the old synagogue in the Glockengasse. (The Rabbinical Diploma issued by the Hildesheimer Seminary was returnable in case the recipient accepted office in a synagogue with organ.) Rosenthal was a highly cultured man, though he could not lay claim to much talmudic and halachic knowledge and experience. An excellent preacher and orator, with a fine and commanding presence and a somewhat unctuous pastoral manner, he rightly considered himself the spiritual leader of the conservative, traditionalist section of the community, which had to be constantly on the defensive against the growing reform-liberal majority. The existence, on his right wing as it were, of a more militant orthodox group, which looked on him with a certain amount of suspicion and who were led by a young and energetic Rav who alone had their confidence and allegiance, must have been a thorn in his side. Now his own congregation was negotiating with this group and their Rav, ready to accept his conditions and thereby implicitly recognising *him* as the spokesman of orthodoxy and as the rabbinic authority to whom they might wish to entrust important religious functions in the congregation of which this man was not even an official. Where was he, Rosenthal, to be, what was to become of his standing and influence in this situation, where it looked as if he was to be

squeezed out between his Reform-colleague Frank and the orthodox Carlebach? One can sympathize with the unenviable situation in which he saw himself placed. And while it appeared that at the meeting of April 12th he had no objection against the entire Shechita being handed over to the supervision of the Adass, he must have had second thoughts on the whole matter. While Carlebach and his friends, the secessionists of tomorrow, tried their utmost to avoid secession and to remain in the congregation, it was obviously in the interest of Rosenthal to see them secede and not to allow this dangerous competition to gain a foothold in his own domain. It was, no doubt, he who produced the remarkable change in the attitude of his Executive. In the communal magazine (*Israelitische Gemeindeblatt*) of June 22nd there appeared an anonymous article, known to have been written by Rosenthal, in which he mounted a rather unworthy and demagogical attack on the Adass Yeshurun and their policy. It became clear then how and why the attempt to preserve communal unity had failed.

In the pamphlet (*Ein Wort zur Aufklärung*) which Carlebach wrote in defence of his policy and in exposure of the methods used by the other side, his desire to preserve unity in the congregation is uppermost. This in spite of the fact that his Frankfurt training might have made him less desirous of finding a *modus vivendi;* in spite of the fact that a minority element in the Adass were strongly bent on secession and criticised and attacked Carlebach for his hesitations and attempts at compromise. The humiliating conditions under which he had to exercise his supervision of the Shechita sector of the Adass might have been another reason which would have made secession welcome to him. But no: already in his opening sentences he speaks of " the undesirable and unexpected schism "; of the possibility and necessity of preserving peace; in his letter of May 2nd to the congregation he calls their " remaining in the congregation and the maintenance of peace and unity within it " the only but most important equivalent he had to offer in return for any concessions on their (the congregation's) part. Describing the effect of the final rejection of his proposal by the leaders of the congregation, he writes of their " confident hope that they would be spared the pain of having to secede from the old mother-community." In

this attitude to secession as a painful and last resort and not as a laudable end in itself, Carlebach was confirmed by the advice of his predecessor in office, Hirsch Plato, S. R. Hirsch's son-in-law. (His wife and Hirsch's daughter remained to her dying day a bitter and implacable enemy of the Adass Yeshurun and its Rav). No doubt, the advice of his father, the Lübecker Rav, went in the same direction—he had never been a friend of secession at all costs.

It is necessary to stress this basically peaceful and unity-loving attitude in the face both of those who were and are fond of describing all secession as an act of wanton disruption and a crime against the over-riding dogma of Jewish unity; as against those who made of what was, under the circumstances, a regrettable but unavoidable necessity, an article of faith and a *Mitzva* joyously to be fulfilled. Secession, in the history of German Jewry, has saved the idea and practice of a true Jewish Kehilla. It has above all given impetus and strength to those traditionalist and orthodox-minded who decided to stay in the Reform-ravaged congregations—without secession they would never have been able to wring from the hands of the high and mighty reformist rulers of these congregations the concessions which they eventually made to their conservative minorities in the form of traditional services, religious education, Shechita, mikveh, etc.

The hopes and efforts of Carlebach and his friends in Cologne for a last-minute compromise merely reflect the uneasiness which the majority of the orthodox felt towards the idea of secession, however brilliantly and attractively S. R. Hirsch had expounded it to them. The sentiment for unity and the loyalty to the established congregations were too strong in them. Even in those communities, like Cologne, where secessionist congregations came into being, a large part of their membership, sometimes even the majority, continued to belong to the larger congregation shouldering the burden of double taxation and suffering, as in Cologne, the status of constitutional inferiority within the orthodox camp where they found themselves excluded from holding office. When S. R. Hirsch, in 1876, declared secession a religious duty and remaining in the main community an *Issur*, thus investing his decision with all the rabbinic authority

at his disposal, less than one-fifth of his congregation bowed to his dictum. In this failure the intervention of S. B. Bamberger, who threw his authority on the side of the non-secessionists, had its share. But whatever the merits of this historic dispute and of the methods and arguments of the Würzburger Rav, the whole unsightly episode can only be understood against the background of a deep-seated reluctance among the orthodox to secede. It is a most instructive lesson into the limits of rabbinic power and influence amongst even the faithful.

As it was, the deliberate and conciliatory procedure adopted by Carlebach and his friends in the organ dispute assured, at least for the time being, peace and unanimity within the Adass itself. As already stated, the decision to secede was taken unanimously at a general meeting on June 17th, 1906, and a further 40 members seceded from the general congregation. There now follows a period of consolidation and growth which received its official seal of recognition by the conferment, through an administrative order signed on December 1st, 1908, by Wilhelm II as King of Prussia, of the status of *Synagogengemeinde*. At the same time a constitution, dated September 29th, 1908, received official consent and confirmation. This happy event was celebrated in January, 1909, by a special service at the Adass synagogue (which had been consecrated 25 years previously) and by a banquet in the Hotel du Nord. The new congregation, which heretofore had been merely a private association *(Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft)*, had constituted itself in a *Synagogengemeinde*, possessing the status of a public-law corporation, in accordance with the Prussian Secession Law of 1876. Their purpose was (§2) " to maintain for themselves Jewish religious law as handed down in Torah, Talmud and in the rabbinic codices." The congregation was in duty bound " to provide independently for all the religious needs of its members by establishing the required institutions and by employing the necessary officials." In fact, the Adass Yeshurun already possessed all of these (synagogue, religion school, mikveh) except for an independent Shechita, which was established later. Full, ordinary membership (§4) was reserved to those who, for religious scruples, had seceded from the main congregation, by individual declaration before the local court (*Amtsgericht*). Excluded from membership altogether were those

(§5) who were not circumcised or refused to have their sons circumcised and also those who lived in a marriage prohibited by religious law or had failed to follow up a civil marriage by a religious ceremony. Apart from these, any Jew domiciled in Cologne could become an extra-ordinary member (§6). Such had, however, no vote at the general meeting (though they could vote in elections) and were precluded from holding office on the Executive (*Vorstand*), the Council (*Repräsentanz*) and the committee for the election of a rabbi for which §46 provided. We shall see later how this division into first and second class members proved to be a source of weakness and dissension in the Adass quite apart from being questionable on religious and moral grounds.

The organs of the congregation (§16) were the General Meeting, the Council and the Executive. The Council consisted of seven members and two deputies elected by the General Meeting. (These elections were usually supervised by a representative of the district government.) They had to be observant Jews particularly "as far as Sabbath observance and Kashruth was concerned" (§25). This applied, of course, to the members of the Executive as well (§35); it consisted of five members and one deputy who were elected by the Council (§33). The Executive appointed from their midst a chairman, vice-chairman, treasurer and secretary (§37). The rabbi was within the limits of religious law the religious authority of the congregation and had the duty to answer all enquiries which members addressed to him in matters of observance. It was his task to spread the knowledge and observance of Jewish law and to direct the religion school of the congregation (§§44, 45). A new rabbi was appointed by a special commission, consisting of the members of the Executive and the College of Representatives, their deputies and of five additional "ordinary" members specially elected for the purpose by a general meeting (§46). This commission had to choose from a list of three candidates presented by the Executive (§47). The candidate had to possess a solid general and Jewish education with special emphasis on Bible and Talmud, early and late rabbinics. These must be the foundation of his private life and his rabbinical activity and he must possess a rabbinical diploma from a recognised orthodox

authority (§48). To that extent the requirements for the rabbinate of the Adass were less stringent than those for the director of the Seminary.

Synagogue regulations were drawn up about the same time as the constitution and came into force on June 1st, 1908. They are not without interest for those concerned with synagogue *mores* and their history. Several paragraphs deal with the maintenance of proper decorum, prohibiting all talk and noise during the services, relegate coats, sticks and umbrellas to the cloakroom (hats, of course, were not taken off at all). There, too, had to take place the changing into the *Zargeness* or *Kittel*, the white gown worn on High Festivals, and regulation footwear which all were expected to don on the appropriate occasions. Children under four were not admitted, nor the importation of low stools on *Tish'a Be'av* which was a congregational monopoly. *Haphtarot* could be recited only by those able to do so; to correct the reader was the business of the rabbi or the warden alone. We read of detailed regulations for *Simchat Torah*. The Reader had to wear a special cap and regulation *Talith*, meaning no doubt that it had to be of wool and full length. Mourners were not allowed to read the services even on weekday, but those who had *Yahrzeit* and were able to could do so except on well-defined special occasions. Another exception is made for the pupils of the Seminary who had to gain experience in Chazanuth. *Aliyoth* and *Mitzvoth* were for sale, with the exception of those reserved for the rabbi (the *Haphtarah* of *Shabbat Hagadol* is, curiously enough, not among them) and for the Bridegrooms of the Law. There are detailed regulations for *Chiyuvim* (priorities in being called to the Reading of the Law), for the number of *Misheberachs* and the number of names in each of them, for the Bar Mitzva, who could read the *Sidra* but not the *Haphtarah*, for the recital of *Kaddish* by mourners, each *Kaddish* being said by one person at a time, for the procedure of *Duchenen*, etc., etc.

Another religious "institution," if thus it can be called, created by the Rav of the Adass was an *Eyruv* which made it permissible, under Jewish law, to carry on Sabbath within the precincts of the city. Until 1881 the greater part of the city was surrounded by walls which made an *Eyruv* possible. This possibility arose again when, in 1910, a new railway embankment

enclosed the larger part of Cologne. All that remained to be done was to close, somewhat symbolically, the gap in this wall where the two railway bridges crossed over the Rhine. This was done first by the erection of an iron post under the bridges. When it was found that these were being interfered with—requiring constant inspection and, in case of damage, hurried postcard warnings to the community that the *Eyruv* was out of order—the municipality obliged by setting up lamp-posts under the two bridges. The halachic problems of this *Eyruv* were discussed by Emanuel Carlebach in a Hebrew article in the *Festschrift* which was presented as a tribute to Solomon Carlebach by his children and friends on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of his accession to the Lübeck Rabbinate (1910). In this, as in all other matters rabbinical, Carlebach had the assistance of Abraham Gibermann, a talmudical scholar native of Kurland (Latvia) whom he had met in Memel and whom, at his request, he had helped to establish in Cologne as *Mashgiach* (Kashruth Supervisor) of the Adass (1905). In later years he rose to the position of Dayan.

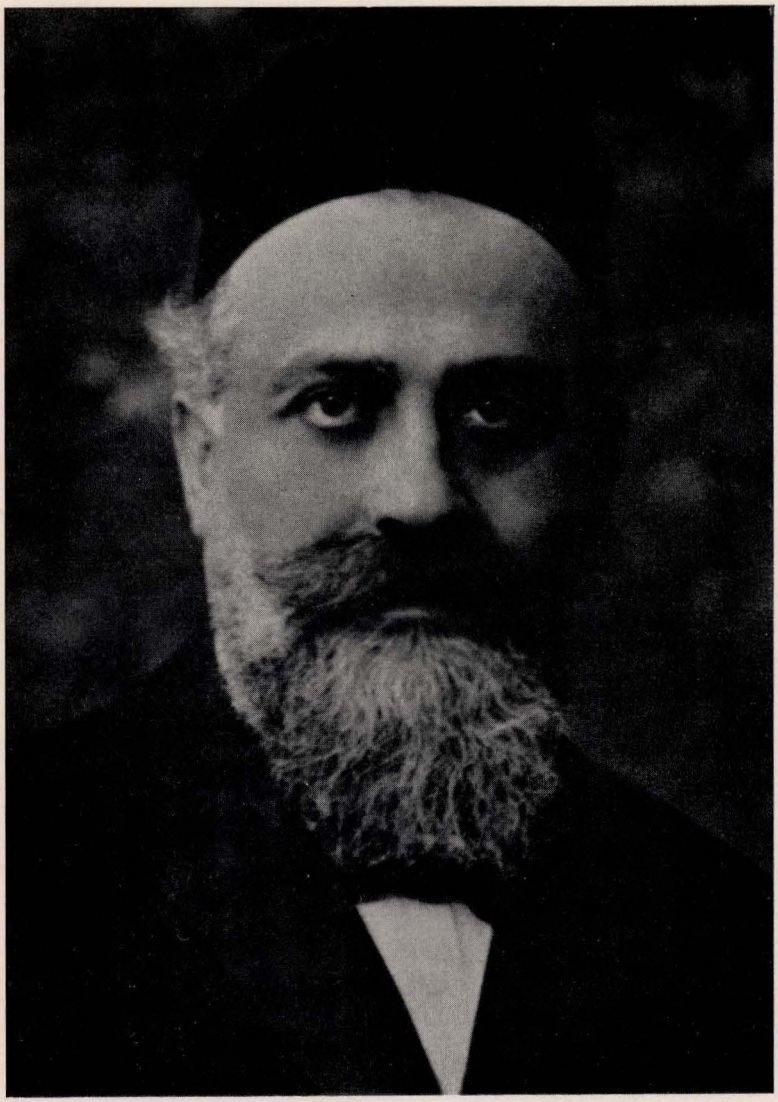
A little later, on April 1st, 1911, Cemetery Regulations came into force which stipulated that the laying out and maintenance of the congregation's cemetery had to be in accordance with religious law. Flowers, wreaths or any other decorations were excluded from the graves. Urns containing the ashes of cremated bodies were not admitted to the cemetery. Prayers (in Hebrew only) were regulated as well as funeral orations. The rabbi was not to wear canonicals at any function in the burial grounds. The responsible body was the congregation's Cemetery Commission, and there is no reference to a *Chevra Kadisha* though there was, as seen before, such a *Chevra* active under the name of *Kothnoth Or*. The cemetery of the Adass Yeshurun was situated at Deckstein, at the western outskirts of Cologne; it was acquired in 1910.

Having thus gained and consolidated its independence, one should have thought that the Adass Yeshurun could go forward in unity and harmony. This was not to be. For decades its development was hampered and its morale overshadowed by internecine strife and dissension. On the one side there was the relatively small group of fanatical secessionists, on the other those rather luke-warm members who had remained within the

Grossgemeinde but were otherwise loyal enough to the orthodox congregation which ministered to all their religious needs. Their dissatisfaction and the problems created by it came to a head at a later stage. But the former group of diehards, though their *minyan* on the Duffesbach had closed down, somewhat maintained their coherence and found themselves a new centre and leadership in the *minyan* organised by Rabbi B. Wolf, in conjunction with his Talmud Torah, at 14 Hohenstaufenring. This grew into a serious cleavage within the Kehilla, between their main synagogue and this conventicle, and created a continuous state of tension and irritation between the two rabbis as their respective heads.

Carlebach and Wolf had known each other since their days in Berlin and remained for ever afterwards at least outwardly on intimate and friendly terms (*Duzfuss*). It was no secret that Wolf had been keen to follow Hirsch Plato as rabbi of the Adass. This by itself was a most legitimate ambition which should have succeeded all the more, as he enjoyed strong family ties as well as those of friendship with leading members of the congregation. It is not easy to understand why he was not chosen, possessing as he did all the necessary qualifications, academic and rabbinical, and also much enthusiasm and ability for this position which, after all, was a minor one considering the size of the community. With his great interest in Jewish education he would probably have made a successful head of the Seminary as well. And yet—the prophet was not without honour, save in his own country. (The same situation returned a generation later when, after the death of Emanuel Carlebach in December, 1927, the candidature of Wolf was put forward once more. But then the odds were much more heavily against him than earlier in the century.) For Wolf to see a stranger in the coveted position must have been a great disappointment and a source of continued bitterness with which one may sympathize.

The growing antagonism between the two men centred on the battle-cry synagogue v. *minyan*. Carlebach, by family tradition, was bitterly opposed to any institution which would draw away worshippers from the central synagogue. A young and relatively small congregation could really ill afford such a dissipation of strength. There was also the feeling that through



EMANUEL CARLEBACH
(1874-1927)



THE SEMINARY IN THE ST. APERNSTRASSE

the *minyan* the Rav of the Adass was denied his contact with and influence on a section of his community. " In the multitude of the people is the king's glory ", an understandable consideration for any rabbi, though its importance can be exaggerated. The presence and activity of a rival rabbi who, though never openly challenging the authority of the Rav of the Adass as the *Mara de Athra*, was willy nilly doing just that, was unavoidably a constant source of irritation. The relatively small circle of the orthodox provided ample opportunity for this irritation to become inflamed, and it cannot be said that Rabbi Wolf missed much of this opportunity.

In his favour it ought to be said that the small conventicle attached to the place of learning has a long and honourable history in Jewish life. After all, his Talmud Torah provided educational facilities for young and old, in which the main body was rather deficient. To pray in the same place where one learns and studies is considered a legitimate and laudable action by rabbinic Judaism, which puts the sanctity of the *Beth Hamedrash* above that of the *Beth Haknesseth*. Apart from this there always have been and will be religious Jews who prefer to *doven* (or *oren* as the German Jews called it) in the more informal atmosphere of the *minyan*, and they are entitled to their opinion and feelings. There was, finally, the more " pedestrian " reason of the greater proximity of the Talmud Torah to the main Jewish neighbourhood. Most families had moved away from the older part of the city into the more modern and salubrious *Neustadt*.

Beyond this clash of synagogal interests there was a great difference in character, temperament and manners between the two rabbis. Carlebach, both by nature and by his origin from the North of Germany, was reticent and aristocratic, refined in speech and fastidious in dress, whereas Wolf was *kölsch* to the core, a true-born son of the Rhineland famous for its forthright speech, its hearty humour and its unceremonious manners. Just as some people, more genteel and refined, may have been repulsed by this " hail fellow, well met " manner, others probably found Carlebach's gentlemanliness and noblesse, which was both natural and consciously cultivated, too much for them. In fact, the division between the followers or antagonists of the two sides was largely social. The more refined and affluent, usually town-

dwellers for several generations, tended towards the Adass and its Rav, whereas the more recent arrivals from the small town or village communities, possessing as yet little polish nor having risen high socially or economically, formed the raw material which went into the making and growth of the Talmud Torah.

It was, of course, inevitable that the antagonism between the two rabbis was exacerbated by their lay-followers and protagonists on both sides. A controversial situation such as this unfortunately always attracts those who delight to fish in troubled waters. Even the more or less well-meaning go-betweens, who tried again and again to " make peace," often did more harm than good though it may have added to their own feeling of self-importance. It needs little imagination to understand how this situation was bound to poison the atmosphere in the community, quite apart from the personal aggravation it caused, perhaps to one man no less than to the other.

By the spring of 1911 matters had reached such a pitch that Emanuel Carlebach decided to tender his resignation as rabbi of the Adass Yeshurun. In a covering letter, with which he circulated the relevant correspondence to his parents, brothers and sisters, he speaks of the " inexplicable attitude of Dr. Wolf," supported of late by his brother-in-law Michel Munk, which imposed on him a fresh battle over and above the continuous attacks he suffered from circles outside the Adass. He refers in particular to the libellous articles published against him week after week in the *Israelitische Gemeindeblatt*. The internecine strife in the orthodox camp was, of course, grist to the mills of their enemies in the general community. The burden of his two offices, each really demanding one man's exclusive labour and attention, was growing too heavy in any event, not leaving him enough time to devote to his family and, in particular, to teaching his sons, now numbering four, the fourth and youngest—Alexander—having been born in 1908. The *Kuratorium* of the Seminary complained, not without justice, that the controversies which involved Carlebach in his rabbinical capacity, were having a harmful effect on the finances of the Seminary which was losing subscribers at an alarming rate. They pressed on Emanuel Carlebach the advisability of resigning from the rabbinate and devoting himself entirely to the Seminary. A draft letter of resigna-

tion setting out these reasons in full was, on the advice of some friends, not sent off in order not to make things too difficult for his eventual successor in the rabbinate. Instead Carlebach wrote on February 2nd a short letter offering his resignation "for reasons of health." Four days later the Executive and Representatives refused to accept the resignation, declared unanimously their complete confidence and unbroken loyalty to their rabbi and gave high praise to his achievements in various fields of communal endeavour. At the same time they offered additional secretarial help to lighten the admittedly heavy burden of work which rested on their rabbi's shoulders.

These sentiments and declarations were, of course, very heartening and a great comfort to Rabbi Carlebach. In the day-to-day battles which he had to wage, these same men did not always translate their sentiments into actions. However, Emanuel Carlebach was prevailed upon to withdraw his resignation. It might have been wiser to stand by it, which would have been better for his health and happiness and would have prolonged his life. As it was, the unpleasant controversy carried on by Wolf and his followers continued unabated to the very end of his incumbency and life. Of this more later.

In some way the affairs of the Adass, the struggle for its independence and its development against opposition from within and without, were secondary to Rabbi Carlebach's main task: the Seminary. This was in urgent need of re-organisation and modernisation. It had to be restaffed and re-equipped, and the syllabus and time-table revised with the aim of obtaining state recognition and permission to hold its own final examinations as, up to now, the pupils were obliged to obtain their teacher's diploma by sitting at other colleges. This was a great strain on staff and students, besides detracting from the dignity and respect which the Seminary should have enjoyed. Teachers' training had been re-organised in Prussia in 1901 and standards had risen considerably. To these exacting problems the new director applied himself with considerable energy. He first of all equipped himself for his task by passing the *Mittelschullehrer* examination in November, 1906, and that of *Rektor* a year later.

Of the old staff, Max Schwarzschild, a brilliant mathematician and a fine Jew, had been pensioned in April, 1905; he died two

years later. He had been with the Seminary since 1870. Other teachers in the 1890's included Dr. Meier Munk, Joseph and Ludwig Feilchenfeld (sons of the founder) and someone called Bergel, later at Marburg. This left only Elias Gut, a pupil of the college, who had been employed as a teacher since 1901. He was also the Chazan of the Adass Yeshurun since 1888 in which office he continued to the middle twenties. His predecessor in that office had been a Kantor Benjamin Goldschmidt, later at Halberstadt. Apart from German, French and History, Gut taught Chazanuth and also Jewish subjects in the lower grades. He was very active in the Rhineland branch of the Association of Orthodox Jewish Teachers and a regular contributor to the educational supplement of the *Israelit*. He was a rotund and jovial man, with a dry sense of humour and very popular with the pupils and the community in general. On various occasions he acted as deputy for the director of the Seminary, particularly during Carlebach's absence in Warsaw from 1916 to 1918 and after the latter's death in 1927. Elias Gut stayed with the Seminary to the end. He left Cologne in 1938 and settled in Basle where he died in 1946.

By the end of 1905 nine teachers were employed at the Seminary in the place of three. Most of them were gentiles, but these were gradually replaced by Jews, in particular by the appointment of Moses Stern and Joseph Harth in 1907. Subjects such as art, music and gymnastics were invariably taught by gentiles who generally became loyal and popular members of the staff. One of them, Wilhelm Bredack, a most gifted musician, even trained the synagogue choir of the Adass.

Much coming and going took place in the department of Jewish studies. Rabbis Frankfurter, Moses Auerbach (1907-9), David Brader (1909-10), Dr. Julius Lorsch (1911—), and Naphtali Silberberg (1911-17) followed each other in quick succession, very much to the detriment of the continuous progress of the pupils in these vital subjects. The director himself, who chiefly taught pedagogics and teaching methods, as well as Elias Gut, had to lend a hand under these circumstances. Auerbach, who had gone to head a school in Petach Tikva, later returned to Cologne to teach at the Talmud Torah, whence he went back once more to his old school in the Holy Land. The building too

underwent considerable changes. Classrooms were re-decorated and hung with suitable pictures; a library was established; a natural science collection acquired and a physics laboratory as well as an art room opened. Apace with these improvements in externals went the revision of the syllabus and time-table which were brought up to date.

On this modernisation followed a considerable increase in the number of students. Forty-six pupils enrolled between 1906 and 1909; the number on the roll grew from 15 in 1905 to 38 in 1911. While 26 qualified as teachers in these six years, the Seminary received 201 enquiries from Jewish communities offering teaching posts! In spite of this, the leader of the non-orthodox association of Jewish teachers, M. Steinhardt, carried on an agitation against the Cologne Seminary on account of "over-production" of teachers. The Report, published in 1911, contains some very interesting details as to the places of origin of the students and the occupations of their fathers. They came mostly from smaller towns in Germany, a few from other European countries and one from as far afield as Jaffa. Of the 46, 17 were sons of businessmen, 8 of cattle merchants or butchers, 17 of rabbis, teachers or other clergy, and one each giving their father's occupation as farmer, furrier and "castellan." For admission pupils had to have attended a *Praeparandenanstalt*, a three-year preparatory course after leaving the compulsory *Volksschule* at the age of 14; the Cologne Seminary itself provided the senior form of this preparatory course for which the minimum age of entry was 15½.

As long as the examinations had to be taken externally, the three years at the Seminary proper were so overburdened with the general studies that too little time was left for Jewish subjects. In 1907, the new director took the revolutionary step of demanding from the students one additional year devoted entirely to Jewish studies. This had to be discontinued (except for a voluntary Shechita course) in 1910 when more time became available for these within the ordinary programme; the need for teachers was, in any case, too great and the finances of the college too precarious. But the attitude to Jewish learning which prevailed is illustrated by the fact that three out of the four students who qualified in 1911 decided to continue their studies

at the Yeshiva of Frankfurt.

Great educational and financial efforts had to be made indeed to satisfy the authorities who carried out a number of searching inspections before they finally agreed—on July 21st, 1910—to permit the Seminary to hold its final examinations internally. The first oral examinations took place in March, 1911, under the chairmanship of a high official of the provincial school administration. All the candidates passed. An examination in Jewish subjects always preceded this event which was the highlight of the scholastic year. Relations of mutual trust and respect were soon established between the authorities and the Seminary and its director. On Chanukah of the same year (1910) the achievement was solemnly celebrated by an academic function at which, apart from local worthies, representatives of several major Jewish organisations spoke, such as the *Freie Vereinigung für das Orthodoxe Judentum*, associations of orthodox rabbis and teachers, etc. Further speeches were made in the evening at one of the famous *Kommers*, amongst others by Solomon Carlebach who had made one of his rare trips from Lübeck to honour and to share in his son's triumph. The entertainment lasted into the early hours.

Whatever sense of achievement may have been felt by the director and the *Kuratorium* was severely damped by the financial difficulties which beset the Seminary now, before and for ever afterwards. The increase in the number of teachers, the longer course, the opening of a preparatory school (see below) and the pensioning off of some teachers had nearly doubled the expenditure. This had already been underlined in a report published in the *Israelit* on January 1st, 1906, and signed "Lebon" (N. A. Nobel?). After describing the great improvements mentioned and rather significantly stressing the need for orthodox public opinion to revise its judgment on the Seminary, he urged orthodox Jewry to give its much needed financial support to this vital institution. When the newly founded *Freie Vereinigung* held a conference in Berlin on December 25th, 1907, a strong delegation representing the Seminary and consisting of the director, Isidor Dülken, the chairman of the *Kuratorium*, and his colleagues H. van Cleef, M. L. Munk and others attended for the express purpose of enlisting the financial support of the organisation and

the circles behind it. The most informative report on the years 1907/10 already mentioned (an earlier one covering the years 1904/7 had appeared in 1908) also ends on the note of financial anxiety, appealing for a generous understanding of the needs of the Seminary. The deficit for the years 1905 and 1906 had been 11,000 marks and 17,600 marks respectively. For the year 1910 the budget amounted to nearly 60,000 marks with a deficit of about 6,000 marks. A new building had, in fact, become a necessity but was financially a most remote prospect. Donations, subscriptions and endowments were obtained from wide circles of German Jewry. The City of Cologne, too, had voted a subsidy, but it was all of little avail, the financial stringency was permanent and grew worse as the years went by.

The Preparatory School *Uebungsschule* just mentioned was one further and necessary step in the development of the Seminary. Until its establishment in 1907 the only opportunity for the students to gain teaching experience was at the Religion School of the Adass. The new elementary school started off with two classes, and a third was added in 1910, but the city educational authority insisted on limiting the number of admissions in order to protect their own Jewish elementary school; this in spite of a growing number of applications and strong representations by the Seminary authorities. Later the *Uebungsschule* developed under the name of *Moriyah* into a full elementary school with an eight years' course. It not only provided the pupils of the Seminary with teaching practice in both general and Jewish subjects on the premises, but also the members of the Adass with a Jewish day school for their children which they preferred to the city's Jewish school in whose religious outlook they had no confidence. It was an excellent school, having the pick of the young teachers leaving the Seminary, and preparing pupils for entry into secondary schools in three years instead of the usual four prevailing in the elementary schools. It provided the basis on which later on a Jewish secondary school was to be built.

It was perhaps unavoidable that the Religion School of the Adass should now lose much of its importance, particularly from the moment (in 1910) when the Jewish lessons in the preparatory school were separated from those in the Religion School. There was, of course, also B. Wolf's Talmud Torah where children could

receive religious instruction; it celebrated its jubilee in February, 1911. An important development was the foundation, in 1905(?) of a society called *Limmud Torah* which organised *Shiurim* (study circles) and also social activities for the young people in the orthodox community. Its inspiration and driving force was Leo Munk, the enthusiastic elder son of M. L. Munk. Michel Munk was the scion of a well-known rabbinic family and, though a businessman himself, a fine *Talmid Chacham*. He had at first been associated with the Kehillass Yisroel venture, but later became a loyal and prominent member of the Adass Yeshurun. For many years he was chairman of its council and he also performed the honorary duties of a *Baal Keriah*. He was, as we have seen, a brother-in-law of B. Wolf. His son, though of a different temperament, followed in his footsteps and managed to create an atmosphere of piety and religious interest among the members of the Limmud Torah of which there were 60 by April 1912. Elias Gut also lectured to this society. It celebrated its first talmudic *Siyum* in June, 1912; in the following year it organised 15 lectures besides the regular *Shiurim* in a variety of subjects.

The Rhineland branch of the Association of Orthodox Jewish Teachers had been founded in 1908 and held many of its meetings and conferences in Cologne, often dealing with important problems which affected Jewish education. In 1910 a *V.J.A.* (Jewish Students' Society) was established and affiliated to the *B.J.A.*, an all-German association of orthodox Jewish students and graduates. This marks an important development in the social and occupational character of the community as the rising generation turned increasingly to the Universities and a professional career. It is significant, too, that such a movement did not necessarily lead away from strict orthodoxy. The heyday of the Cologne *V.J.A.* was to come after World War I with the foundation in 1919 of Cologne University alongside the famous University of Bonn nearby.

The Agudas Yisroel, a world organisation of and for orthodox Jewry, had been founded in Kattowitz in 1912, but it was only two years later (July 6th, 1914) that a local group was formed in Cologne at a meeting over which Emanuel Carlebach presided, and which was addressed by his younger brother Joseph, then a

high school master in Berlin, and by Rabbi Dr. Isaac Auerbach of Halberstadt. Rabbis Rosenthal and Hannover, of the conservative wing of the general community, were present at the meeting. They and others raised the vexed question of the status of those members of the Aguda who did not belong to secessionist congregations, or, even, if they belonged, had not seceded themselves. This problem had bedevilled the organisation from its inception, the Hungarian secessionists and their sympathisers in Frankfurt and elsewhere agitating for a policy of division and discrimination.

About this time (1912) the somewhat quiescent warfare between Orthodoxy and Reform flared up once more as the result of the proclamation by the " Union of Liberal Rabbis " of the *Richtlinien zu einem Programm fuer das liberale Judentum* (Principles of a programme for Liberal Judaism). There ensued a violent press campaign, in which the *Richtlinien* were both attacked and defended, criticism being voiced even by adherents of a moderate Reform. Strong protest against their renewed attempt to deny the validity of tradition and to undermine entire areas of Jewish law and observance came from the two orthodox rabbinical associations (of course, there had to be two). One, the *Traditionell-Gesetzestreue Rabbinerverband*, had been founded by Esriel Hildesheimer in 1897 and comprised the vast majority of the orthodox rabbinate. The other, called the *Verband orthodoxer Rabbiner*, was founded by Solomon Breuer of Frankfurt to exclude those rabbis who held positions in " mixed " communities. The 200 signatories of this protest denied to those who had subscribed to the *Richtlinien* the right to serve as rabbis to Jewish communities—in Cologne one of the rabbis of the general community (I. Caro) had, in fact, signed the offending declaration. In January, 1913, a protest meeting was organised in Cologne at which Emanuel Carlebach, Dr. Pinchas Kohn, rabbi of Ansbach in Bavaria, B. Wolf and M. L. Munk were the main speakers. Another speaker was Jacob Schnelling, not a member of the Adass Yeshurun, who later became one of the spokesmen of the traditionalist-conservative group in the general community.

Thus the 19th century and a great era in general and Jewish history draws to an end. Those on the stage were hardly aware that a world war was imminent which would shake the foundations

of all things established. For German Jewry at least those years and decades before 1914 were wonderful times, spelling peace and growth and prosperity. True enough, Russian Jewry's martyrdom went on apace and its echoes were heard throughout World Jewry. The Zionist movement was growing in importance; for some years it had its headquarters in Cologne. We hear of a memorial and protest meeting in Cologne on the occasion of Russian pogroms in November, 1905. In the same year Emanuel Carlebach forwarded a large sum for the victims to Memel.

Hirsch Plato was gathered unto his fathers on March 5th, 1910, at the age of 88. He was widely mourned, and memorial services were held both by the Adass and the Seminary. In May, 1913, Wolf Feilchenfeld, the founder of the Seminary, passed away in Posen at the age of 86. The institutions and congregations these two had created, and now led by younger men, were growing in size and importance. The Adass Yeshurun had been able to consecrate a new Sepher Torah in July, 1911, but the rabbi had to use the occasion to appeal for unity in the congregation. A new and larger synagogue had become an urgent necessity. A building fund had already been started in 1908, and a site had been acquired in the Lützowstrasse, in the newer part of the town where most Jewish families now resided. The date for the laying of the foundation stone was fixed for September 1st, 1914. One month earlier the war had broken out, and the proposed synagogue was never built.

CHAPTER III

WAR INTERLUDE—1914-1918

THE outbreak of the First World War did not, of course, bring the life of the Adass Yeshurun and of its institutions to a standstill. Normal life and communal activities continued though it was a rather uneasy and somewhat artificial normality, a veneer that wore off as the war increased in intensity and severity. The youth and manhood of the congregation were increasingly drafted into the army (the number of those who served in the armed forces is estimated at 50) and this alone was a heavy drain on the congregation's vitality. Here, too, lay the source of much anxiety and sorrow when the great Moloch claimed his victims, both among the youth of the Adass and among the pupils of the Seminary. Some of the best laid down their lives for the defence of the fatherland and the greater glory of Germany. No debt in history was ever more dishonoured than that incurred by Germany to its 16,000 Jewish war dead.

Yet life went on. The Seminary continued to train a much reduced number of students. Final examinations were held each year from 1915 to 1918, though the programme and the requirements were much reduced due to the " emergency." In 1915 there were 11 successful candidates, of whom nine had volunteered for military service. Rabbi Dr. Silberberg, the lecturer in Jewish subjects, died in April, 1917, at the youthful age of 31, mourned by all for his exceptional human and scholarly qualities. He was succeeded first by Leo Breslauer, later rabbi in Fürth, Bavaria, and now in New York, and then by Eliezer Posen, a son of the Dayan of the *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* of Frankfurt-on-Main, whom he later followed in this office; he is now a Dayan of the Adath Yisroel Synagogue and the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations in London. In June, 1917, Joseph Wallach, the venerable president of the Adass, celebrated his 80th birthday. (His son was Moses Wallach, the famous physician of the Shaare Zedek Hospital at Jerusalem.) In October of the same year

Rabbi Plato's widow passed away. A year later Elias Gut celebrated his 30th anniversary as Chazan and teacher. In the spring of 1916 the Limmud Torah Society was still able to report on an unreduced programme of studies under seven lecturers, and on a membership of nearly 140, of whom 42 were in uniform! Soon, however, this small community was to be drawn, in the person of its Rav, into the whirlpool of events of wider horizons and more dramatic impact.*

Perhaps to no other section of the Jewish people had the 1914 war come as the supreme crisis as it did to the Jewry or Jewries of the Tsarist Russian Empire, and prominent amongst these to the millions of Jews in Poland. Poland was the most important sector of the infamous Russian pale into which the great mass of underprivileged, and politically, economically, culturally and even physically harassed Jews were crowded, being artificially excluded from whatever opportunties there were in the immense areas of Russia proper. Here these teaming myriads had established some kind of precarious *modus vivendi*, in the most literal sense of the term, cowed as they were under the Russian whip and tied to the equally subjugated Polish nation in a relationship of mutual hatred, suspicion and cut-throat competition. Though the dice were thus heavily loaded against them, a strong Jewish proletariat found work in a few industries mainly founded and owned by Jews while most of the basic industries as well as state and municipal employment were closed to them. This, of course, was true for white-collar work as well, and the Jewish bourgeoisie was limited to commerce and the free professions. Entry into the latter, however, was rendered extremely difficult by the widespread denial of secondary and university education to Jewish youth. Between those two classes hovered a great mass of small, underemployed artisans, the occasional, unwanted middlemen and the vast army of *Luftmenschen* living on tomorrow's windfalls which never materialized.

In spite of their tremendous civic and economic handicaps, the Jewish masses lived an intense and creative religious life. On the one hand there was the great mass of strictly orthodox, very religious Chasidim, owing allegiance to one of the numerous

* On the following, see also A. Carlebach, 'A German Rabbi Goes East', in *Leo Baeck Yearbook* VI (1961), p. 62 ff.

Rebbes, of greater or lesser influence, of ancient or recent lineage. Their way of life, hardened and regulated down to the smallest minutiae of dress and diet, was hardly if at all influenced by modern, European thought or manners. Their children received an exclusively rabbinic education in the so-called *Chadorim*, mostly run for profit by pedagogically untrained *Melamdim* (teachers) who usually taught in their own poor and unhealthy tenement flats. Brighter pupils would proceed to higher talmudical studies in a Yeshiva or similar college while the rest went at an early age in the vain pursuit of a livelihood. The chasidic sector constituted about two-thirds of the Jewish population. The other third was, to a greater or lesser degree, in revolt against the particular religious pattern imposed by the chasidic leaders and the rabbinate. They were mostly nationalist, either believing in an autonomous, Yiddishist folk-culture—the so-called Folkists—or were Zionists aiming at the achievement of the Basle programme.

Both clamoured for national minority rights, for Yiddish or Hebrew schools, Yiddish or Hebrew literature, art and press. Even among these Zionist and Folkist elements there was a small religious and observant element, particularly the adherents of the Mizrachi (religious Zionist) movement, but even they were anathema to the Chasidim on account of their modernist tendencies, their European garb and their wish to provide their children with some sort of secular education. The workers, like the bourgeoisie, were divided between a Zionist-Socialist section (Poale Zion) and the Bundists, who rejected every nationalism but aimed at a socialist revolution which would remedy all the Jewish ills as well. There was, lastly, a fringe of wealthy merchants and professional men who were openly in favour of assimilation to the Polish majority, spoke Polish and sent their children to Polish schools. In matters of religion they adhered to a mild degree of Reform. The nationalist groups, whether Folkist or Zionist, middle-class or proletarian, developed their own school system dominated by their own ideology and taught secular subjects as well. Literature, both Yiddish and Hebrew, flourished, Polish Jewry thus making an important contribution to the revival of Hebrew or Jewish letters that had been going on under the name of *Haskalah* since the beginning of the 19th century.

The German-Russian war erupted into the life of this teaming, virile and yet in many ways delicately balanced community with devastating force. After some initial success on various fronts, the Russian armies were slowly driven back, Poland was invaded by the Germans and eventually completely occupied, as were Lithuania and other Western outposts of the Tsarist empire. The retreating Russian soldiery, the Cossacks in particular, vented their ire and their natural cruelty and bloodlust on the Jews. The antisemitic military and civic authorities decreed the wholesale evacuation of Jewish populations under the pretext that they were potential traitors and German sympathisers. Whole communities were uprooted and forcibly driven into the Russian interior. Pogroms, pillage, rape and murder accompanied these measures. The wickedness of the Russians was only matched by the folly of a tottering regime that saw itself beaten on the battlefield, with revolution and insurrection gnawing at its vitals. And yet, at this critical hour, they found it necessary and politic to bear down on the Jews and practice a persecution of which they had become past masters, ignoring the outcry it provoked in the rest of the civilised world. The results in the form of suffering and destruction was enormous. Penniless, starving and in rags, hundreds of thousands of Jews roamed the countryside. Thousands of families had been torn asunder, parents had lost their children, orphans without number were left without care and home, and all civilised life had indeed come to a standstill.

As the Germans advanced into Poland they began to introduce some sort of order out of chaos. It was their declared intention to create an independent Kingdom of Poland which was officially proclaimed on November 5th, 1916. While for the present military government was established in what was named the "General Government of Poland," steps were taken to set up a provisional Council of State to which one Jewish member, belonging to the assimilationist group, was appointed. A Polish government was formed and the elected Council of State came into being in June, 1918. Municipal elections, too, were held throughout Poland in 1916, with the Jews usually presenting a united list.

The German administration was well aware that the problem of the large Jewish population in Poland deserved special con-

sideration and a department for Jewish affairs was formed under Dr. Ludwig Haas, a Jewish member of the Reichstag where he was one of the leaders of the Liberal (later Democratic) faction. Haas was a typical assimilated German Jew, cultured and patriotic, religiously Reform but really indifferent and yet instinctively proud of being a Jew, a German "of the Jewish persuasion." The German government was, of course, bewildered and apprehensive in face of the Jewish problems and welcomed the help of its own Jews in grappling with them. This service German Jews, whether assimilationist, Zionist or orthodox, were eager to render, each group according to their lights. Zionists and assimilationists formed the *Comité für den Osten* on which such men as Professor Dr. M. Sobernheim, Dr. A. Friedmann, Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, Dr. Max Bodenheimer (of Cologne), and Lazarus Barth co-operated in preparing plans for assistance to Polish Jewry and in sending a delegation to Warsaw. In the winter of 1915 the *Freie Vereinigung*, acting on behalf of the orthodox element, also sent an exploratory delegation to Warsaw, consisting of Jacob Rosenheim, Rabbi Dr. Pinchas Kohn, Komerzienrat Sigmund Fraenkel, of Munich, and Dr. Abraham Hirsch, of Halberstadt. They were received by the Governor-General, General Count von Beseler, and, of course, by Ludwig Haas. The delegation was successful in obtaining agreement for the appointment (unpaid—the entire expenses of the delegation were born by the *Freie Vereinigung* or rather by a few generous and public-spirited orthodox German-Jewish patrons) of two German rabbis into Dr. Haas's department. The choice fell on Dr. Pinchas Kohn, who was to advise on religious-communal problems; and on Emanuel Carlebach who was to assist Schulrat Otto and Professor Dr. Herold, of Düsseldorf, who now headed the military government's education department, in dealing with Jewish school problems.

With the memory of Hitler's Germany still fresh in our minds, it is perhaps difficult to visualise the basically humane and sympathetic spirit in which the Germans approached the Jewish problem in Poland and in other parts of the Russian empire that fell into their lap. True enough, these Germans and the Prussians amongst them in particular, were militarists, and arrogant in their mood of world-conquering ambition. But by and large the

higher ranks of officers and administrators were civilised, Christian gentlemen who were appalled by the tragic condition of the Jewish masses, and they tried their best not only to help but also to show understanding for the peculiar susceptibilities of the Jewish population. Voices had not been lacking which advised the Germans to liquidate Chasidism as a primitive and obscurantist way of life and to bring to Polish Jewry the good tidings of European enlightenment in its German form. Let it be recorded to their credit that they never attempted what would, in any case, have been an impossible task. They were, therefore, highly appreciative of the help and advice they received in this task from their German-Jewish advisors who alone were able to act as interpreters for the religious aspirations of Chasidic Jewry. They found sympathy not only in a Jew of the type of Ludwig Haas but also in such cultured Germans as the philosopher-diplomat Gerhard von Mutius, the educationalists Otto and Herold, and, above all, in the Governor-General von Beseler himself, who finally went in person to pay his respects to the Gerrer Rebbe in a memorable visit and interview at Otwock. It was, of course, inevitable that in the rough-and-tumble of war there were many cases where Jews were the subject of chicanery and prejudice on the part of German officers and other ranks as well as government departments. It became one of the major tasks of Carlebach and Kohn to intervene, to intercede and to alleviate whenever this happened.

Carlebach and Kohn arrived in Warsaw during January, 1916, and set up home together. They were a most unequal, disparate pair. Carlebach was very fastidious in his tastes, always immaculately dressed, methodical, almost pedantic in his working habits. Kohn was a confirmed Bohemian, careless and absent-minded, averse to any type of regularity and able to live on coffee and cigarettes. And yet, for nearly three years they lived together in amity and mutual respect and under the most difficult and trying circumstances. Kohn had a brilliant mind and diplomatic gifts of a high order; he was good-hearted, with a dry and sardonic sense of humour, modest and without guile. By their mutual and staunch friendship they helped each other to stand up to the extraordinary strains and stresses of these hectic years. And although they had each their separate responsibilities, in

fact their co-operation was so close that both their names are linked with every facet of the policies and courses of action adopted by them. This, however, did not exclude occasional differences of opinion or of emphasis between the two men.

The first problem which demanded their attention was that of the status and organisation of the Jewish community as a whole and of the individual communities in Poland. By November, 1916, the military government was able to publish an administrative order concerning the organisation of the Jewish religious community (*Jüdische Religionsgesellschaft*). These very words proved to be a bone of contention between the various nationalist groups and the orthodox. Zionists and Folkists considered this "religious" terminology as a betrayal of their aspirations to obtain for the Jews, in the reconstituted Polish state, the rights of a national (in contrast to a purely denominational) minority. Carlebach and Kohn were accused of introducing into Polish Jewry an assimilationist way of thinking and system of organisation under which most West European Jews had learned to forget or to deny the national character of Jewry and its political aspirations. Here was, no doubt, a serious difference of approach. The German rabbis and the circles whom they represented, in spite of their orthodoxy, had become used to thinking in the ideological and organisational terms which, from the beginning of the emancipation era onwards, had led to the status of Jews in western state and society being conceived as purely religious in character. The tacit renunciation of a national status was the price western Jewries had to pay for their inclusion in the pattern of the *Nationalstaat* of the 19th century. While the majority of western Jews, politically assimilationist, religiously liberal or reform, accepted this new position with conviction and enthusiasm, the orthodox minority had retained some mental reservations, and this without too much difficulty, as their national Jewish feelings were felt and expressed in purely religious terms; which is not to say that here and there there did not exist the curious freak of the orthodox super-patriot who would deny the national character of the Jews. But men like Carlebach and Kohn were certainly used not to overemphasize their Jewish national sentiments in contrast to the politicians of the nationalist camp in the East.

One ought to add that there were within the *Freie Vereinigung* and the German Aguda serious misgivings on this point, which came to the fore at a conference in Berlin in November and December, 1918. Not all the participants were prepared to renounce in advance and on principle national-cultural minority rights for Jewish communities in Eastern Europe. While in the end the policies, which Carlebach and Kohn were pursuing in Warsaw, were approved against one dissenting voice, the resolution made it clear that they did not wish to prejudice their liberty of thought and action in dealing with the problem of national minority rights. Criticism, too, as well as guarded approval came from the pen of Dr. Joseph Wohlgemuth, lecturer at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary and the gifted editor of the periodical *Jeschurun* in a series of articles published under the title of *Erziehungsfragn in Ost und West*, and in 1918 under the title of "Zionism, National and Orthodox Judaism."

On the other hand it can be gathered from Carlebach's private letters that he was none too happy about the creation of a state-sponsored communal organisation in Poland to which, after all, the Haas-Kohn constitution amounted. "Its advantages," he wrote, "are too dearly bought at the cost of the old type of *Jüdischkeit* and of the authority of the rabbis . . . something that we all abhor in Germany cannot possibly be desirable in Poland. . . . " The man, who had seen himself forced to fight a "secession" battle as a consequence of the Prussian Jewish Community Law, could not have thought otherwise. He only co-operated reluctantly and, as he writes, "trying to put on the brake" on the new community regulation.

Ideologies apart, the claim for the rights of a national minority was just not practical politics and would have seriously impaired the budding relationship between the Polish majority and the Jewish minority in the newly created kingdom. The nationalists knew this perfectly well, and there was little criticism of the ordinance from the Zionist and Folkist quarters. The Poles, seeing a national state of their own within their grasp at last after centuries of partitions and persecutions, wanted it united and Polish through and through. They would never agree to a national-cultural autonomy within their state. When the acceptance of such minority rights for the Jews was imposed on

them by the Treaty of Versailles (Art. 93) and the subsequent treaty between the Allied Governments and Poland (Art. 10 and 11) these rights proved a constant source of friction and poisoned the relations between Poles and Jews. The German administration who, after all, had the last word at present, was anxious not to create the impression that they were using the Jews as an anti-Polish, germanising element in the new set-up. The temptation to do so was, however, present and had some fervent advocates in high circles just as there were those who considered it in the interest of Germany to encourage the nationalist elements in a policy of " divide and rule " against the Polish minority. In fact, an order issued by Hindenburg in July, 1915, had tried to impose the German language as the teaching medium in all Jewish schools. But by May, 1916, on the advice of Carlebach and Kohn, this order was annulled. Every credit was due, in fact, to the German authorities, Jewish and gentile alike, for scrupulously respecting the individuality of the Jewish population and trying their best at the same time to make the Poles accept them as rightful partners with equal citizenship rights in their new body politic. The Poles themselves readily recognised the loyalty and good faith of the two rabbis whose outlook and activities did not run counter to Polish aspirations. Why on earth should they, if ever Poles and Jews were to live together in mutual toleration if not in friendship. It is noteworthy that the 1916 Community Statute was taken over by the Polish Republic after the war and worked satisfactorily right up to the outbreak of Hitler's War in 1939.

While it had been relatively easy for Haas, Kohn and Carlebach to negotiate and to see adopted this " Basic Law " for the re-organisation of the Jewish community in Poland, their other task of giving the orthodox-chasidic element an organisational framework was much harder. Not only was it that aspect of their work which attracted the most ferocious antagonism of the nationalist circles, but it was here they met their greatest difficulties amongst the very people whom they had come to help and advise: the *Rebbes* and rabbis. These were on the one hand quite pleased to receive their German " colleagues " and were more or less clearly aware of how much they needed them and their help, material and otherwise. On the other hand, they

were somewhat suspicious of their western type of orthodoxy, of these modern rabbis in modern dress—even a frock-coat was no *kaftan*—or in the uniform of a German army chaplain, with their well-trimmed beards and their High German speech. It did not take them long to discover beneath the externals their sound talmudic learning and scrupulous loyalty to rabbinic Judaism, their warm-hearted sympathy with the chasidic view of Jewish life and the disinterestedness and nobility of their motives in undertaking their present mission. But what they were afraid of was that the two men might try to westernize the orthodox masses, to introduce their own system of *Torah-im-Derech-Eretz*, that had proved its worth for three generations already in Germany and other countries. These fears were only too justified, because Carlebach and Kohn were well aware, as were some of the more far-sighted local rabbinic leaders, that a certain modernisation of orthodox life was both desirable and inevitable, particularly in the field of education. It is significant that chasidic leaders wrote to Solomon Carlebach, soon after the arrival of Carlebach and Kohn in Warsaw, to prevail on his son to return to Germany. But a year later, when Carlebach himself, worn and weary from the incessant struggle, threatened to go home, the same people implored him, with both promises and threats, not to leave his post. Abraham Mordechai Alter, the Gerrer Rebbe, who was the most influential of all the chasidic leaders and whose followers numbered hundreds of thousands, became the most loyal supporter of Carlebach and Kohn and their policies, without him their task would have been well-nigh impossible in an atmosphere thick with intrigues, with open and veiled opposition not always over-scrupulous in its choice of means. In the end Carlebach and Kohn carried with them the large majority of the rabbinate and rebbinate in their communal and educational work.

The German military administration was, of course, well aware that they had to work with and through the rabbinical leaders. They themselves ordered and called a number of rabbinical conferences and at some of them high-ranking officers such as General von Glasenapp, the police chief of Warsaw, presided in person! The authorities were interested to obtain rabbinical co-operation in educational reform, particularly in the

training of teachers and rabbis, in hygienic safeguards for circumcision and ritual baths and in combatting social evils such as beggary among children. These conferences, on the other hand, gave the rabbis the opportunity to voice their own wishes and complaints against excesses and chicanery by the military such as the forcible shaving of bearded men, the compulsory shortening of *kaftans*, the prohibition of wearing wigs by married women and compulsory baths on the Sabbath. These conferences also discussed such questions as the organisation and procedure of rabbinical courts and the stipends of rabbis who heretofore had been miserably remunerated. A rabbis' union was formed and was led by an elected executive. This sort of self-emancipation would have been unthinkable without the pressure of events and the initiative and guiding hand of the two German rabbis.

At the conference of December, 1917, some of the inner contradictions in Carlebach's and Kohn's work came into the open. Even in this circle the emphasis on religion was felt by some as being in conflict with the national character and aspirations of the Jewish community. Carlebach defended their attitude primarily on political and juridical grounds, rejecting the charge of an assimilationist ideology. (When the Polish Prime Minister received a delegation from this conference, they did not fail to stress the unitary character of the new Polish State and that it was religion only that united Jews.) Another cleavage showed itself when it came to such questions as training of rabbis and teachers and education in general. One delegate openly advocated "further education" for rabbis and maintained that Judaism in Germany was saved by a modern school system which Polish orthodoxy had manifestly failed to provide. This point of view was openly supported not only by Carlebach and Kohn, which was natural, but also by Rabbi Solomon David Kahane, a senior member of the Warsaw rabbinate. But others opposed this view with great vehemence, speaking of the dangers of "foreign influences." When Carlebach and Kohn felt themselves slighted by these attacks, they were given a spontaneous ovation by the assembly who broke out into the shout, "Thou art our brother, thou art our brother!" Nevertheless, one cannot deny the very serious differences of approach between East and West which becomes apparent when Pinchas Kohn speaks to these Polish

rabbis of "pulpits and pastoral work." The very idea of "further education" to rabbis grown up in the eastern milieu must even today appear as ludicrous in the extreme.

The supremacy of practical work, particularly in the spheres of politics and welfare, helped to smooth over the underlying differences of ideology and mentality. After organising the rabbinate Carlebach and Kohn proceeded to a political framework through which the orthodox could express their views and bring to bear their influence in the realm of politics: both in the new Polish State and the municipalities and in the local Jewish communities. Though the chasidic circles were represented (in 1912) at the Kattowitz Conference, at which the Agudas Yisroel was established, no effort was made in Poland to follow this up by organising a movement or party. Negotiations for the formation of such a political party started within a month of Carlebach and Kohn's arrival in Warsaw (February, 1916). When the German authorities contemplated the compulsory closing of shops on Sundays, 23,000 signatures were collected for a petition against such a measure which was presented to the chief of police. This emergency brought home to the orthodox leaders the necessity of an organisation that could defend their interests. This was a herculean task, given the antagonisms and jealousies between the various chasidic groups. It looked at first as if two parties were to be formed: one by the Gerrer Rebbe, the other by the Radziner. In the end such a division of forces was avoided and at last, on November 14th, 1916, the foundation meeting of the Agudas Ho'orthodoxim (the word itself was, of course, an importation from the West!) took place with the participation of all the leading Rebbes and Rabbonim and communal leaders. P. Kohn presided and the main speakers were S. D. Kahane and Emanuel Carlebach, who made the rather curious assertion that the new organisation was not political, meaning probably that they would not play at politics. He proclaimed as their most immediate aims the publishing of a daily paper, the opening of an orphanage and of a school for girls. Within a short time the new party had enrolled some 17,000 members which was a considerable success amongst people who had never had any political education or experience.

The project of an orthodox daily paper was the first to

materialize. *Dos Yiddishe Vort* ("The Jewish Word") began to appear on February 1st, 1917, under the editorship of the gifted N. L. Weingott. It continued for many years as the organ of religious Jewry in Poland, later changing its name to *Der Yid* ("The Jew"). It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this newspaper for the political education and self-respect of the chasidic sector which without it would have been entirely dependent on a press that was out of sympathy with their aspirations and view of life. By distributing, in the form of prizes, Yiddish translations of some of the writings of S. R. Hirsch, the paper was able to exercise, particularly amongst women and girls, a considerable religious and cultural influence.

Orphanages were, of course, a prime necessity at a time when thousands of war-orphans were roaming the countryside without food, shelter or proper care. In May, 1917, the first orphanage was opened in Warsaw with the assistance of the War-Orphans' Fund of the Agudas Yisroel (and the Agudas Ho'orthodoxim) of which the prime mover was Hermann Schwab of Halberstadt. Other orphanages came into existence at Kalish, Bialystok and Kovno.

Orthodoxy in Poland was in dire need of political coherence and organisation in these years of crises, of reorganisation and elections. The first test came already in July, 1916, with the elections to the Warsaw City Council. Jews won 19 of the 60 seats and the orthodox held three out of the 19. In the preceding election campaign the orthodox had made common cause with the assimilants, a somewhat unnatural alliance that was to become an almost constant feature of orthodox politics in Poland (and elsewhere) and which can only be explained by the relationship of *Sin'ath Haman* with the Zionists; there was no *Ahabath Mordechai* lost between the orthodox and the assimilationists. Orthodoxy had little in common with, but also little to fear, from the "aristocrats." In religious matters the latter often showed a good deal more understanding than the secularist nationalists, while the orthodox did not find it terribly difficult to play down the national element (which for them was identical with and covered by the religious one) which was the main bone of contention between the nationalists and the assimilationists. There was only one Jew in the Provisional Polish State Council and he

was an assimilationist. When the Agudas Ho'orthodoxim submitted a loyal address, a very wise political initiative designed to foster friendly relations between Poles and Jews in the new Poland, the reply stressed the religious character of the Jewish community and strongly repudiated all thought or talk of national minority rights. On this point too there was no quarrel between the orthodox and the assimilationists. The same alignment took place at the elections for the community councils and for the Polish State Council.

Carlebach himself admitted to some uneasiness at this sort of alignment although he is said to have refused to reverse the situation by siding with the Zionists-nationalists against the "aristocracy" at a meeting with Zionist leaders in Berlin in April, 1917. This meeting had been arranged by Jonas Simon, a brother-in-law of Pinchas Kohn, as an attempt to come to an agreement or at least a *modus vivendi* between the Zionists and the orthodox; the former were represented by Arthur Hantke and J. Berger. Correspondence describing the meeting puts most of the blame for its failure on Carlebach's unbending opposition to Zionism, which even Kohn is said to have deplored, but also on Berger's partisanship.

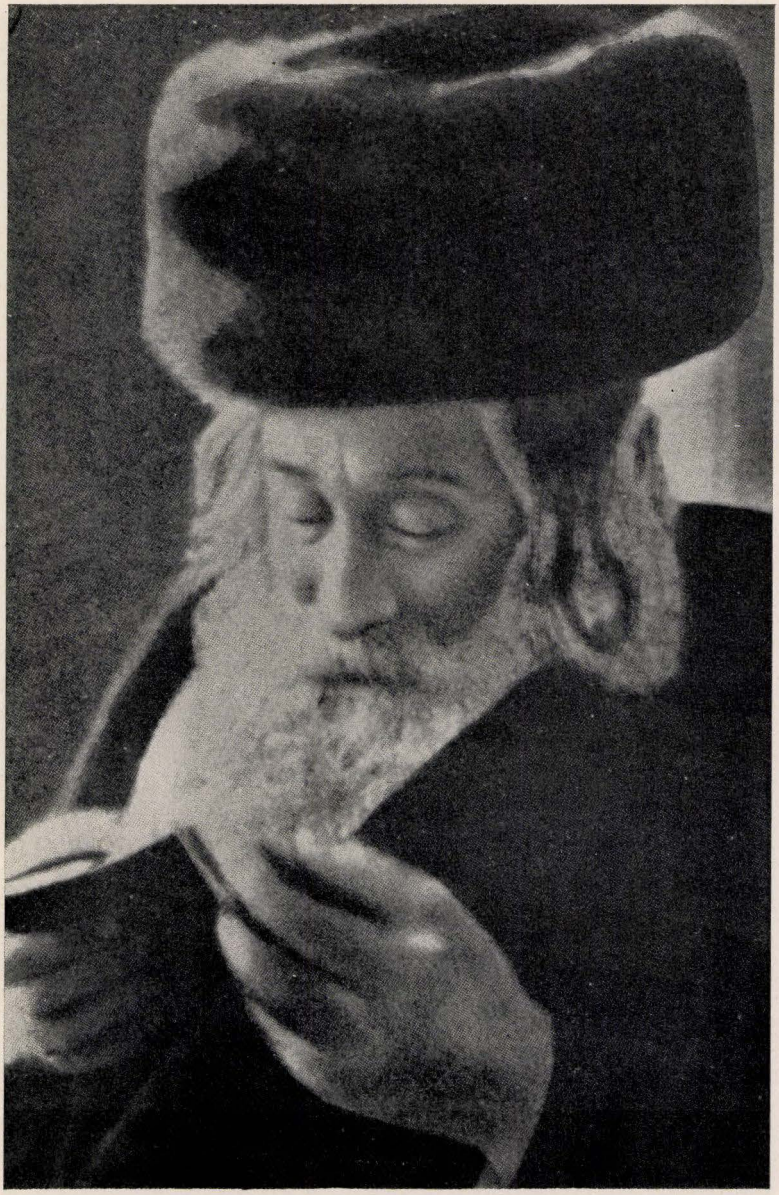
The Zionists and other nationalists were not slow to mount a strong attack on Carlebach and Kohn and their activities. They were accused of infecting the healthy, Jewish-national sentiments of religious Jews in Poland with their own assimilationist and denominational ideology, and the electoral alliance with the assimilationists seemed to prove the point. They were called the tools of German political and cultural expansionism. The press attacks on them grew in virulence from month to month, and Zionist papers in Germany outbid their Polish contemporaries in venom and innuendo. The campaign was not limited to the press and to political meetings but was carried into the street. Urchins would run after Carlebach and Kohn shouting after them "*Nor a Religie, nor a Religie*" ("A religion only, a religion only!") At meetings where they spoke, incidents were provoked which led to physical violence and the intervention of the police. There were, of course, as has been seen, deep-seated ideological and political differences, particularly those that concerned the organisation and future political status of the Jews in Poland. Zionism,



1917 IN WARSAW—FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: PINCHAS KOHN, LUDWIG HAAS, EMANUEL CARLEBACH



EMANUEL CARLEBACH IN UNIFORM (LEFT) WITH THE STAFF OF THE AGUDA ORPHANAGE, AND PINCHAS KOHN (RIGHT)



By courtesy of United Institutions of Chasidey Gur

ABRAHAM MORDECHAI ALTER
(GERRER REBBE)

in the narrow sense of the word, did not enter into this at all. One cannot help feeling that the real motive of Zionist and nationalist anger and venom was the fact that with the help of these German emissaries chasidic Jewry was organising itself; that it would in future be led and represented by men of its own choosing and in sympathy with their particular religious views and practice. No longer would they accept the political tutelage of the " emancipated " secularist spokesmen, who saw one of the chief sources of political power slipping through their fingers. Significantly, nothing provoked such an outburst as the appearance of the *Yiddishe Vort*—now the orthodox would have their own press organ and speak to and for their own masses. In spite of the unscrupulous press campaign of the anti-orthodox, one may believe Pinchas Kohn when he writes in later years that in the three years of the existence of the *Yiddishe Vort*, its tone remained restrained and dignified.

These attacks came as quite a shock to Emanuel Carlebach in particular. Political methods here in Poland were, of course, less gentlemanly than back in Germany. The accusation that he was an assimilationist and lacking in Jewish patriotism, hurt him to the quick, with his conscience assuring him how untrue and unjustified it was. His Jewishness was informed by the love of Israel and of every single Jew and by close identification with Jewry's national past and future. He would not let the secular nationalists dictate to him the contents of his Jewish sentiment nor allow them to deny it to him altogether because he did not want to express it in modern political terms. Carlebach was perhaps too sensitive, too noble and truthful a man for the rough-and-tumble of the political arena of the day and place. This is apparently what one of the bright young men at home in Frankfurt-on-Main meant by referring to Carlebach's *mimosenhafte Empfindlichkeit*, when he had asked the *Freie Vereinigung* to take legal proceedings against some of the more outrageous and slanderous press attacks. In Warsaw itself there was more understanding of the injustice done to the two men, and protest meetings were held to express the loyalty and gratitude of Polish Jewry to the two rabbis. The hatred and the venom of the German Zionists was indeed bitter and deep, as can be gathered from almost every issue of the (Berlin) *Jüdische Rundschau* of

these years. It led to clandestine, behind-the-scenes intervention with the German government, asking for the recall of the two rabbis, who were (these so-called assimilationists!) accused of being obscurantist, " kulturfeindlich." Three times these intrigues came to nothing due to the loyalty of Ludwig Haas and the Governor-General, von Beseler, who declared himself shocked by the methods employed by these Berlin Jewish circles. Their sentiments found expression, too, in a scurrilous caricature which Sammy Gronemann, a Zionist lawyer of some literary pretentions, drew of Carlebach in his humorous novel, *Havdoloh und Zapfenstreich*. The bitterness of this campaign continued well into the after-war period when calumnies of the " terror " regime of Carlebach and Kohn in Warsaw continued to be bandied about in the press and at political meetings. It left a deep scar on the mind of Emanuel Carlebach and blurred in him the picture of Zionism with the true idea and real aims of which he never got to grips.

Pinchas Kohn was probably less affected, being happily more thick-skinned and realising perhaps, as far as he was concerned, the essential justification of the attack if not of the methods employed. Already in February, 1917, there had been some press reports that it was intended to make him Chief Rabbi of Warsaw, which was, of course, strenuously denied by stressing his role of mere adviser to the German administration. His community of Ansbach had given him only two years leave of absence for this purpose. Nevertheless, the work grew on him and, assuming a victorious Germany, he was looking ahead to many years of political activity in Poland. His innermost thoughts were revealed in a memorandum he handed to a Jewish journalist on the occasion of a conference in Stockholm in January, 1918, though he later declared that it had not been intended for publication. Defending himself against the attacks of the Zionist press, he drew his picture of the Jewish situation in Poland. He described the different political groupings and their relative strength. The " conservatives " (meaning the chasidish-orthodox) constituting 75% of the Jewish population—no doubt a mild exaggeration—had received their first political consciousness and training through him and this in a pro-Polish sense. The religious character of this group made it easy for the German administra-

tion to deal with them. Germany must not make the mistake of using the Jews as a germanising factor. In the new *Judaeo-Polonia* Jews and Poles must themselves solve their mutual problems; but the multi-national state and national minority rights were no solution. In any event, the Jews of Poland needed time for their rehabilitation and complete emancipation. The new regime laid down in the "Ordinance concerning the organisation of the Jewish Denomination" (*Religionsgesellschaft*), which he had helped to devise, found its most vocal critics among German Zionists. He had nothing but praise for what the German authorities had done for the Jews in Poland without demanding any return.

In spite of some basic good sense, the publication of this memorandum provoked a great outcry and not without reason. What was most damaging about it was the constant identification of his own work with that of the German administration: "*We* gave the Jews this, *we* did that. . . ." In the light of this candid statement it must have been difficult to deny the charge that Carlebach and Kohn were—and regarded themselves as—agents of Germany's policy. Kohn had also made some unfortunate remarks concerning the influx of Lithuanian Jews into Poland, playing at the same time on the antagonism between Poles and Lithuanians and that between the mainly chasidic Jews of Poland and the *Mithnagdim* of Lithuania. The latter were, on account of their rationalism, considered by the chasidim a dangerous and subversive element. There is not a little unconscious irony in this statement by a German-Jewish rabbi whose modernising tendencies were looked upon by the chasidic leaders with as much if not more apprehension than the influence of the *Litvackes*.

The organising efforts of Carlebach and Kohn did not stop at the measures described above. Within the framework of the Agudas Ho'orthodoxim a religious trade union, an association of Cheder teachers (*Agudas Ha'Melamdim*), a Youth Organisation (*Tevunah*) were all called into being. Alongside went the work which was Emanuel Carlebach's special responsibility: education, particularly the reorganisation of the antiquated and in many respects unhealthy Cheder system. The problem consisted in saving its religious spirit while discarding those features that had made it, not without justification, the butt of universal derision.

The unhealthy classrooms, if such they could be called, the untrained teachers, devoid of all pedagogic knowledge and using old-fashioned and sometimes brutal methods, the impossible "economics" of this type of school and, above all, the complete exclusion of all secular subjects which left its pupils unfit to take their place in the economy of the country: all that was indeed indefensible. There was, of course, a total absence of secondary education apart from Yeshivot, and an equally total absence of adequate religious education for girls which either left them ignorant or abandoned to the mercies of Polish or Jewish-nationalist-secularist schools. While a few, too few, of the chasidic leaders saw the weakness of the system, it took the crises of a World War, the catastrophe that had overtaken Polish Jewry and the providential arrival of the two western rabbis to make a beginning with the end of the old educational regime. Even so, there was a good deal of opposition and obstruction from those who saw nothing amiss and abhorred and dreaded the instrusion of modernity in any form.

Already prior to Carlebach's arrival, preparations for training courses for Cheder teachers had begun, and in January, 1917, a preparatory conference had taken place under the chairmanship of Councillor Otto, the very high-minded and cultured German official in charge of education at the Warsaw military city administration. Leading spokesmen raised the language problem, some defending Yiddish, others advocating Hebrew. Otto spoke reassuringly on this particular question, repudiating any thought of Germanisation and of interfering with the fundamentals of Cheder education. A meeting of teachers took place on February 24th over which Joel Wegmeister, the lay-leader of the Warsaw Chasidim, presided, and which was addressed by Carlebach, probably his first public appearance in the city. In July, the Secretary of State in the Prussian Ministry of Interior Helferich (later a leader of the nationalistic right in the Reichstag of the Weimar Republic) visited a number of Chadorim accompanied by Emanuel Carlebach and other high officials. At the rabbis' conference in September Carlebach, supported by Professor Herold, developed his plans for a reform of the Cheder and underlined the need for some secular instruction. A final syllabus for Chadorim in printed form was submitted by him to and

accepted by the Rabbinical Conference in December, 1917, when he spoke at length of educational problems and girls' education in particular.

The teachers' courses were solemnly opened on November 8th, 1916, in the presence of Ludwig Haas, Professor Herold and Joel Wegmeister. P. Kohn opened the proceedings and Carlebach spoke on the aim and programme of the courses. The syllabus included pedagogics, Hebrew, Polish and ethics(?). Plans for teachers' training colleges at Lodz and Sawierce appear not to have gone beyond the planning stage. Apart from teachers' training or re-training, Carlebach had first of all to win the battle for the preservation of the existing Chadorim which the Germans were only too anxious to close and often for quite good reasons. In 1916 there operated in Warsaw alone 366 Chadorim with 625 teachers providing for some 18,000 pupils, of which a mere 300 were girls! While Carlebach was instrumental in the opening of 80 new schools in provincial towns, he set about to open a few "model" Chadorim in Warsaw in which he could give practical expression to his plans and show that the old and the new could blend successfully. A number of prominent visitors came to admire these model schools, significantly called *Torah-im-Derech-Eretz*. The Prussian Minister of Justice, accompanied by the Governor-General, General von Beseler (whom in a number of interviews Carlebach had found a most charming and sympathetic listener); the Papal Nuncio Ratti, later Pope Pius XI; the Vice-Crown Marshal of Poland, Pomorski; and a group of leading German journalists: they all came to gaze at this educational shop window. Some time in 1918 Franz Rosenzweig, the great German-Jewish thinker and writer, arrived in Poland on an officer's training course and on this occasion fell in love with Polish Jewry and particularly the chasidic elements. Writing to his mother in May, 1918,* he reports on a visit to two Chadorim, one consisting of two classes, with two teachers and one *Behelfer*. One of the teachers, he writes, had attended the courses organised by Carlebach. He would like to go to one of his lectures, as he had heard repeatedly of the work he was doing. As for language, he (Carlebach) had apparently found a compromise between High German and Yiddish. (In fact he

* Franz Rosenzweig, Briefe, p. 321, 323.

found it extremely difficult to speak a reasonable Yiddish, and it was not for want of trying. When his sons, years later, returned from the Lithuanian Yeshiva, he envied them their fluency in Yiddish). Rosenzweig, a highly cultured Westerner, if there ever was one and who at that time was deeply engaged in plans for the reform of Jewish education in Germany, received a most favourable impression of the methods and attainments in the Chadorim which he visited.

Next to teachers' training and Cheder reform the position of religious schools for the heretofore neglected girls had been the declared object of Emanuel Carlebach's mission from the start. In October, 1917, a girls' school with a seven-year course was called into being under the name of *Chavatzelet*. Dr. Moses Auerbach, whom we have met before, accepted the post of head-master which, however, he abandoned all too soon to turn up rather unexpectedly as a member of the staff of B. Wolf's Talmud Torah in Cologne. The new school, which continued to exist until the eve of the Second World War, was a great success. Only in the years after the war, when the Beth Jacob movement began its triumphant career from Cracow, did the ideas planted in this field by Carlebach come to full fruition. Lecture courses for older girls, too, were organised and given by both rabbis. Meanwhile, in September, 1917, a new Education Act had been adopted by the Polish State Council. It made the teaching of elementary secular subjects in Polish obligatory in all Chadorim whose autonomy was otherwise left intact. The law also provided for Jewish-religious elementary state schools with Yiddish as the language of instruction. The terms of this law were due in no small measure to the influence of Carlebach and Kohn. The new ideas slowly took root and in March, 1918, the two most prominent chasidic leaders, the rebbes of Ger and Alexander, appealed for the development of up-to-date orthodox schools.

Politics and education, while being the main task of the two rabbis, were far from being their only concern. In the religious field they had to protect the institution of the mikve, and at one moment Carlebach could report of the re-opening of 30 of them in Warsaw. The provision of matzos in these years of universal shortage presented a difficult problem every year. In 1916 the Germans had the bright idea of demanding payment in gold for

the wheat, believing that the impoverished Jews had been hoarding this precious commodity! Constantly new *gezeroth* arose: Jewish girl orphans had to be rescued from convents; prohibition of Sunday work by bakers averted; Sabbath *eyruvin* protected or arranged; payments to war widows and orphans obtained from the authorities; and the employment of a fair proportion of Jewish workers by the municipalities wrested from the unwilling Poles; once employed they had to have Sabbath off and Kosher meals provided; permission was obtained for correspondence between Polish-Jewish prisoners of war in Germany and their families in Poland. Even the provision of shrouds had become difficult and permission had to be obtained to make them out of paper. Large funds had to be found for distribution to those in need. Carlebach and Kohn collected these themselves, and generous sums were given by some wealthy orthodox Jews in Germany. When on leave to his family and congregation for the festivals, Carlebach would, from the pulpit, paint a harrowing picture of the misery in Poland and appeal with words and tears for every available penny. A good deal of money was distributed, particularly to rabbis and their families who were at the brink of starvation. There was a constant stream of supplicants for all sorts of assistance at Carlebach's and Kohn's apartment. On one evening the police counted a queue of 1,200 people whom they tried to keep in order. It took 2½ days to see them all. For three years this labour of love went on unrelentingly at a hectic pace. The two rabbis worked an 18-20 hour day. They carved their names in letters of gold on the hearts of thousands and thousands of Polish Jews whom they had succoured and put in their debt. Their gratitude somehow compensated for the aggravation caused by the unremitting campaign of vilification by their political opponents. But for Carlebach the physical and mental strain meant the shortening of his life's span by many years. His hair and beard were still black and youthful when he came to Warsaw. When he returned three years later they were grey, and he was a sick and ageing man.

In 1918 the Germans began to call up the 1874 age group and Carlebach was commissioned as chaplain to the Army of Occupation in Poland. This added more work to his already super-human burden: the arranging of services for Jewish officers

and men, their provision with kosher food and the individual attention required from a chaplain. This work also entailed a good deal of travelling around the province and beyond. Polish Cheder boys and Yeshiva Bachurim would look with wonderment at the German rabbi, clad in his smart and resplendent chaplain's uniform, when he visited their schools and was able to examine them without further ado on their programme of *Gemara, Rashi* and *Tosaphoth* and address them rousingly, with brilliant *Divrey Torah,* in his own mixture of Yiddish and German. It was an experience of which they would still talk years and decades later. Emanuel Carlebach paid visits to Kovno, the capital of Lithuania and seat of the German military administration "Ober Ost," where his brother Joseph, a corporal in the army, had founded a Jewish secondary school of which he was the head, and where his brother-in-law, Leo Rosenack, the rabbi of Bremen, was chaplain and doing on his side excellent social and cultural work among the Jews of Lithuania. He also was to pay a short visit to Brest-Litovsk, where the peace negotiations between the Soviet leaders of Russia and Germany were in progress; his advice was required on problems affecting the Jewish population. The rabbi of this town, Chayim Soloveitchik, who was one of the foremost talmudical scholars of his age, had turned up in Minsk, and Carlebach obtained permission for him to come to Warsaw (on his way to the Spa of Otwock) where thousands turned out to welcome the great sage and saint. This was in May, 1918; on July 31st he died at the age of 66.

As 1918 drew to its close, the exhaustion of Germany, in spite of all sorts of victories on both the military and home fronts, became more and more evident. The end came rapidly in November when the Germans withdrew in great haste from the occupied territories, hustled and hated by the Poles, Ukranians, Lithuanians, Letts and Estonians to whom but yesterday they had brought their freedom from the Russian yoke. Simultaneously an unprecedented wave of pogrom-antisemitism rose menacingly all along Russia's old borders. Carlebach and Kohn left at the last minute, as it were, on the tender of a locomotive whose stoker made no secret of his desire to put an end to their lives. They had to leave all their belongings, their files and their books behind. Only years later were they able to recover a fraction of them.

It seemed that all the two rabbis had laboured for with so much devotion and without counting the cost in health and discomfort, had been in vain and was now being swept away by the mighty current of history, of defeat, revolution, fresh wars and the resurgence of new states and nations. Once, however, the immediate post-war years had passed and some sort of stability was established in Eastern Europe, the survival of at least part of their achievements into the new era became evident. The new Polish Republic, as we have seen, took over the Community Statute, of which Haas, Carlebach and Kohn were the principal architects. The same was the case with the law concerning Jewish schools, and, altogether, the Cheder reform could not be reversed. The new model Chadorim and the Chavatzeleth Girls' School continued their beneficent existence up to the outbreak of World War II. as did the orphanages of the War-Orphans' Fund. The most important result, however, of their activities which outlived another war and the years after and continues to bear fruit, was the political emancipation of the orthodox masses in Poland. The role which the Agudas Yisroel Organisation, which was the heir and successor to the Agudas Ho'orthodoxim, played in the political, communal and cultural life of Polish Jewry in the inter-war years, would have been unthinkable without the political inspiration and training they received from the two German rabbis during their Warsaw period. Nor would there have been much substance to the life and work of the World Aguda without its numerically and politically preponderating Polish component. Poland was the only country in Europe in which the Aguda was a political force on a nation-wide scale. It was, indeed, the creation of this autonomous and self-reliant religious party that was Carlebach's and Kohn's unforgivable sin in the eyes of all Zionists and secularists who had taken an inarticulate orthodoxy under their tutelage for granted. The ferocity of their reaction was the true measure of the historic import of Carlebach's and Kohn's performance in the field of Jewish politics.

Even after catastrophe and extermination had overtaken the three and a half millions of Polish Jewry, those who either had wisely emigrated to Eretz Israel (far too few, unfortunately) and other countries or had managed to survive the holocaust, brought

with them their convictions and affiliation. The rise of the Aguda as a political party first in mandatory Palestine and then in the State of Israel under the leadership of Itshe Meir Levin, a son-in-law of the Gerrer Rebbe, who had served his apprenticeship with Carlebach and Kohn, goes to the credit of the latters' work. I. M. Levin's signature on behalf of his party was affixed to the document proclaiming the State of Israel, and he and his party served in several governments under David Ben Gurion. Though the Aguda is still far from being Zionist in the accepted sense of the word, and though it recognises the State of Israel more *de facto* than *de jure*, it has helped in a considerable measure to integrate their chasidic and mithnagdic adherents into the new state and society and to reconcile them to the facts of Jewish renaissance in the Holy Land. Particularly its youth and workers, organised in Poale Agudas Yisroel, begin to shed the ideological relics of their Diaspora past and are already playing a useful, positive part in the life of Israel. The toil and sweat of the Warsaw years has certainly not been in vain.

German orthodoxy at large evinced little understanding for the activities of "their" representatives in Poland and half believed what they read in the Zionist press. The congregations of Ansbach and Cologne were fretting at the prolonged absence of their spiritual leaders. The Adass Yeshurun actually threatened to get someone else unless their rabbi returned to Cologne. This in spite of the fact—already stated—that he came home on leave at least three times a year for all the main festivals. Even while away in Warsaw, he maintained constant touch with affairs at home where his wife kept the fires burning and acted as liaison with Dayan Giberman (administering the rabbinate), Elias Gut and other members of the Seminary's staff. Sure enough these were makeshift arrangements, but quite common everywhere in times of war. Life in Germany had become progressively more austere and was approaching the starvation line as the war drew to its end. Carlebach did all in his power to supplement the rations on his visits out of the plenty in which the Army of Occupation lived in Poland. The influenza epidemic of 1918 added to the general misery and claimed many victims. But on his return to home and office in November, 1918, hostilities had ceased at last. Though several years of privation, of revolution

and inflation lay ahead, hopes for a new and better era in both general and Jewish affairs animated the leaders no less than the rank and file.

CHAPTER IV

RECONSTRUCTION—1919-1927

GERMANY had lost the war. The country was utterly prostrate and exhausted, thrown into a turmoil of political revolution and growing anarchy, of economic and financial ruin. Famine and disease were abroad as the victorious powers continued their war-time blockade. The Weimar Republic was never able to consolidate itself, as one political and financial crisis followed the other, until it was finally swallowed up by the floods of Nazism. When inflation had reached its height in the winter of 1923-24, there followed a few years of financial and economic stability until, from 1929 onwards, the world recession took over.

Cologne, and indeed the entire Rhineland, were somewhat sheltered against the worst effects of the war's aftermath by the allied mititary occupation. In Cologne in particular, Konrad Adenauer, its brilliant and wily chief burgomaster, made the most of the presence of British troops and military administration in the interests of his beloved home-town. This in spite of whatever patriotic declarations appeared politic to a man who had been suspected of nursing separatist ambitions and of preparing for an independent Rhineland state. Who would have thought then that 25 years later the same man would emerge as the leader of another defeated Germany at the end of another world war!

In the Adenauer era the city of Cologne made great strides forward in every field. It rose to become Germany's third largest city with fast-developing industry and commerce. Cologne's medieval university was revived, with some of Germany's leading scholars as its teachers; the arts flourished, opera and theatre were brought to great heights of perfection by men of talent and even genius, not a few of them Jews or of Jewish descent. From November to February every year Cologne's citizens, high and low, devoted themselves with great fervour to the task of celebrating the carnival season, and in this as well as in the more serious and important pursuits the Jews of Cologne of both communities

participated to the full. There was little anti-semitism about, and Jews appeared to be accepted as equals by the general population. Few indeed, even within the orthodox community, frowned upon this light-hearted worldliness, so typical of Cologne and the Rhineland, being shared by the Jews, and denounced it as assimilation incompatible with the beliefs and practices of Torah Judaism.

The Jews of Germany, and of Cologne in particular, were not allowed to forget that they also belonged to that wider unity —the Jewish people. The end of the war saw the collapse of both the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian empires and the emergence out of the shambles of a number of new nation-states. Russia proper was in the throes of a violent revolution and of civil war, apart from wars on a smaller scale continuing between Russia and Poland and Poland and Lithuania. Hungary, too, went through a phase of bolshevik revolution until the establishment of the fascist Horthy regime. The greatest sufferers in all these upheavals and commotions were the Jews. Almost all the nationalities which had now obtained their sovereignty had an ingrained tradition of brutal Jew-hatred and now saw their opportunity to give vent to it. The presence in their midst of a numerous minority, which had its own national and cultural consciousness—quite apart from the religious difference—and was entrenched in irksome and coveted commercial and professional positions, was a thorn in the side of these nations dizzy with the pride of their newly-found national freedom and independence. The next years witness an uninterrupted, heart-rending succession of pogroms and mass-slaughter of hundreds of thousands if not millions of defenceless Jews, men, women and children. (Even in civilised Germany rumblings of pogrom agitation could be heard in 1919.) The battlefield, if it can be called that, stretched from Lithunia in the north to Rumania in the south. Poles, Galicians, Ukrainians (who were probably the most barbarous and vicious of the lot), Slovaks, Hungarians and Rumanians—all these Christian nations—mobs would be a more accurate description—vied with each other in murderous excesses against their Jewish neighbours.

Desperate appeals went forth to the relatively secure and prosperous Jewries of Europe and America for diplomatic and

financial help, which was given willingly enough but could do little to assuage the desperate misery, famine and disease, in which millions were plunged. At one time in 1921 there were reports of 600,000 dying children in the Ukraine alone! Refugees in their thousands poured into Germany and Austria, most of whom trying to reach the hospitable shores of the United States and other American countries. Then, as later at the height of Nazi persecution, the entry into the U.S. was made extremely difficult by immigration quotas and other chicaneries of the government, from the State Department down to the pettyfogging and callous consular officials.

Cologne, Germany's gateway to the west, had to bear a sizeable proportion of the welfare work which this transmigration required. In November, 1920, men and women from both synagogal bodies formed an organisation for assistance to transmigrants. They set up a kosher kitchen at the Deutz railway station; railway tickets to Holland, Belgium or France were issued to applicants; passport problems had to be dealt with, and in many cases shelter had to be provided for individuals and families for one or several nights, and clothing distributed in great quantities. At one time 250-300 migrants were dealt with *daily* at the Cologne-Deutz station. All this required considerable funds, and the importance of the work done in Cologne can be gathered from the fact that a nation-wide appeal was issued by this organisation. This welfare work provided one of those honourable and vital opportunities for the two divided congregations to co-operate in a spirit of true charitableness and all-Jewish solidarity. Of the members of the Adass Yeshurun who distinguished themselves in this task of *Gemiluth Chesed* the names of Nathan Kahn and Mrs. Benno Hirsch, apart from that of the rabbi's wife, should be preserved from oblivion.

Of course, not all the refugees from the East went West, many of them tried—and often succeeded—to settle in Germany itself. These were not the first Eastern Jews to settle in Germany and in German Jewish communities. Many refugees from Russian pogroms had done so from the 1880's onward and particularly after the Kishinev outrages of 1904. But from 1919 onward the trickle became a flood and something like 100,000 Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe are said to have settled

in Germany, forming between one-sixth and one-seventh of the entire Jewish population. (Some of these were prisoners of war or recruited labour press-ganged by the Germans in the course of the war.) Their presence created many a problem, both external and internal, for German Jewry. Antisemitic agitation fastened upon them many of the social evils and economic troubles of the post-war years, at the same time enormously exaggerating their numbers. It was, of course, inevitable that some of these newcomers, emerging from a totally different social and economic milieu, with different standards of commercial usage, and arriving, as they did in general, without capital or a trade, should try to make a living somehow in the crevices, as it were, of the economic system and succumb to the temptations offered in a period of inflation and acute shortages. Immigrant Jews were involved in certain overpublicised financial scandals which came before the courts during these years. It is surely true to say that the majority of them were decent, honest and hardworking folk and many were able to establish flourishing and respected businesses and industries which brought advantage to the German economy and gave work to countless workers and clerks. But the mud stuck, and the agitation against these "dangerous elements" (*die Ostjudengefahr*) became the stock-in-trade of the antisemitic right. In honour of the republican governments of the various *Länder*, and Prussia in particular, let it be said that they resisted continuous pressure clamouring for a policy of expulsion and repressive legislation until the advent of the Nazis engulfed first them and then the indigenous Jewish population as well.

In Cologne, too, the Eastern element in the Jewish community had grown considerably in the twenties, from small beginnings earlier in the century, and estimated at between 3,000 and 4,000 souls constituted between 15% and 20% of the total Jewish population. They congregated in the poorer quarters at the southern side of the Neumarkt: the Thieboldsgasse, the Grosse and Kleine Griechenmarkt, the Agrippastrasse, Sternengasse, etc. (Jacques Offenbach had been born in a house on the Kleine Griechenmarkt in 1819.) The great majority of the newcomers were from Galicia and strictly orthodox in the chasidic manner. While for worship they were satisfied with a number of *Stiblach*, organised in private houses in accordance with the great variety of

local origin and attachment to chasidic dynasties, they turned for almost all other religious requirements to the Adass Yeshurun. Sure enough, few would join as members, leave alone secede from the general community. Being strangers and foreigners, they little understood the issue of secession and, in any event, felt more secure with the majority congregation of which they became members automatically. Their fiscal contribution was in any event inconsiderable. But they felt and indeed saw clearly enough that the Adass Yeshurun was their spiritual home, the Kehilla which provided their religious needs: Jewish education, Kashruth, mikve, cemetery, with the high standards they were used to back home. Emanuel Carlebach, in particular, with his great experience of and sympathy with Eastern, chasidic Jewry, was recognised by them unreservedly as their Rav, their spiritual leader and protector. It was to him that they brought their problems, large and small, their unending *Dine Torah* dealing with their often petty inter-*Stibel*, business or family quarrels which kept Carlebach and his assessors busy into the small hours. This was a considerable strain on his time and strength. But it meant performing an important function and rendering a great service to the good name of the Jewish community as cases dealt with by a rabbinical court were thus kept out of the civil courts. German *Baale Battim*, of course, would not dream of bringing their litigation before their Rav and might even refuse to follow his summons. Eastern Jews had preserved their respect and love for full communal autonomy and naturally resorted to rabbinical courts which understood their problems and mentality.

While their support constituted a welcome gain in moral strength and influence for the Adass Yeshurun, the congregation had to take into consideration their wishes and idiosyncrasies. In matters of Shechita from now on it was they who called the tune. The Shochetim had to be chasidic Galicians, if the Eastern element were to buy from the Adass Shechita and to refrain from setting up their own. Though this was occasionally felt to be irksome and an unwarranted imposition, there was nothing the congregation could do about it. The Shochetim in question were usually extremely quarrelsome and contributed a lion's share to the *Dine Torah* mentioned before.

The children of the immigrants provided the majority of the

school population in the orthodox Jewish schools, both Moriyah and Yavne. (Even in the large primary school controlled by the *Grossgemeinde*, 50% of the pupils came from immigrant homes at this time. In this sphere, again, some of the orthodox parents in the Adass were much less forthcoming.) Part of the additional Jewish instruction was provided in old-type Chadorim, but most of the newcomers made full use of existing facilities. Amongst them were some men of great Jewish learning and piety, but with one or two exceptions they never claimed rabbinical functions or authority. Amongst the exceptions was Shalom Moskowicz, who had been a Dayan in a small Galician town and after it was called the "Shotzer Rebbe." He arrived in Cologne in the early twenties and established himself, his large family and a *Stibel* on one floor of a small house in the Thieboldsgasse. He was a fine and venerable man. Relations between him and Carlebach were soon of the friendliest, and they used to pay each other stately and formal visits. On such occasions Rabbi Moskowicz could be seen walking in procession through the streets of Cologne, surrounded by his many sons and his son-in-law and other retinue, all in their traditional garb and long earlocks, stared at in a not necessarily unfriendly manner by the native population. When the Nazi threat became imminent, the "Shotzer Rebbe" moved to London, where he rose to great eminence and power in the orthodox community. He died at a venerable age in January, 1958. In the same house in the Thieboldsgasse lived Mordechai (Marcus) Sternkuker, a fine Torah scribe and saintly Jew. For many years he served the Adass with his holy and beautiful craft. He, too, fled to London when the Nazis came to power and died there in November, 1942. He had been the successor of Wolf Topilowsky (died 1910) who had also established a Jewish bookshop and publishing house of more than local importance. The firm continued under varying management until 1939.

Though the Eastern Jews had much in common with their orthodox brethren in the Adass Yeshurun, they were not easily assimilable, nor did the latter, like the great majority of German Jews, resist the temptation to look upon them as inferior and something like an embarrassment. Not only were the new arrivals different and less accomplished and fastidious in their social habits

and business methods, not to mention the language difficulty, but the German orthodox Jew often disliked even their religious habits, their lack of order, decorum and punctuality in communal worship, their different pronunciation of Hebrew, and their lack of attention to some religious niceties which he considered particularly important. All these reasons justified and reinforced, rather than created, an instinctive xenophobic prejudice which defaced the otherwise quite fair countenance of German orthodoxy. It is true to say that some prejudices against and dislike of German Jews existed among Eastern Jews as well. There were, of course, the few who recognised how wrong and incompatible with Jewish ethics these attitudes were, and Emanuel Carlebach in particular never tired of castigating from the pulpit—and on other occasions—the divisions and dislikes between Jews and Jews. He was quick to point out to his self-satisfied *Baale Battim* the religious superiority both in knowledge and in practice, of the Eastern element. Not all orthodox rabbis in town shared Carlebach's abhorrence of the anti-Eastern Jew prejudice, which made it even more difficult to combat and eradicate this deeply ingrained moral and mental habit. Within a generation the German Jew, having become a refugee and none-too-welcome immigrant to foreign parts himself, had in turn to learn to eat the bitter bread of prejudice and disdain.

Throughout Jewry these post-war years were aglow with the excitement and expectancy created by the Balfour Declaration and its endorsement—at San Remo—by the newly-born League of Nations. Cologne, which had been the second home of Zionism, as yet in its infancy, in the days of David Wolfson's presidency, shared, of course, this agitation. As this stage the majority of German Jews were assimilationists opposed to political Zionism, indeed any Zionism, and indifferent to its appeal. The orthodox were no exception, though their objections were religious rather than assimilationist, at least openly and consciously. To the challenge of Zionism religious Jewry, particularly in Germany, had reacted by creating a rallying point in the Agudas Yisroel, referred to in the previous chapter. The ideological home of the Aguda was Frankfurt-on-Main where the epigones of S. R. Hirsch had been translating his ideas and policies in the communal

struggle of the 19th century into the language of the national-international Jewish scene of the 20th. Zionism to men like Jacob Rosenheim and Isaac Breuer, was an attempt to secularize the concept of Jewish nationhood and to relegate Torah and *Mitzvoth* to the sphere of the private, individual conscience. It seemed a betrayal of 2,000 years of Jewish separateness and martyrdom under the flag of *Torath Moshe* and talmudic Judaism. Secular democracy, as propagated by Zionists, would at one stroke deprive the rabbis and the chasidic Rebbeim of their supremacy and influence in the life of Jewry. It was not enough to set up, as the Mizrachi did within the Zionist organisation, a religious minority party trying to defend Torah and to influence the majority from within. To the image of a modern, secular nation propagated by Zionism, the Aguda opposed itself as the Torah-nation in being. At the same time it proclaimed as its programme " the solution of all problems of the Jewish people in the spirit of the Torah." Whatever truth or otherwise there was in the Agudist ideology—and some truth there certainly was —the Aguda largely failed in its declared policy of rallying all orthodox Jews. It certainly did not solve " all Jewish problems " in any spirit whatever. It did succeed in creating one more religious political party which, wherever and whenever active, made its contribution towards the defence of Jewish values and institutions. Its main achievements were in the educational sphere, as shown above, in the creation of the *Keren Hatorah* and the Beth Jacob movement, and in the task of emancipating politically the mass of orthodox Jews in Eastern Europe. In the inter-war years, it failed miserably to make a worthwhile contribution to the building of the Jewish National Home in spite of the claims of its much-publicised *Keren Hayishuv*. In any event, the Aguda's true aim and significance lay in its ideological protest against Zionism as a secular nationalist and largely Socialist-Marxist movement. Being therefore essentially defensive and reactionary, it could never hope to compete effectively with the dynamic and revolutionary appeal of Zionism for a Jewish national renaissance. The surest hope for Torah and a truly Jewish spiritual renaissance, the need for which Agudism never recognised, lay with religious Zionism combining the best of both worlds, the old and the new.

Orthodox Jews in Germany, like those of the Adass Yeshurun, were perhaps not too much exercised by the ideological flights of fancy of the Agudist leaders, but they were certainly antagonised by the obvious flaunting, both in public and in private, of Jewish law and tradition by Zionist leaders. Nothing good and Jewish could come from *Posh'im*. The older generation at least had no understanding or sympathy for the Zionist idea. Feeling quite at home in Germany, they saw little need or urgency to solve the Jewish problem (Herzl) or to revive the Jewish nation in its old homeland (practical or cultural Zionism). Little enthusiasm as most of these *Baale Battim* felt for the Aguda, it provided them with a convenient alibi and rationale for their negative attitude to Zionism. Some of the younger element turned genuinely to Agudism. The former society Limmud Torah joined the Agudist youth movement. But for some of the youth, now in real ferment, this was still too staid and stale. The *Esra* movement, while disclaiming Zionist tendencies and officially aligning itself with the Aguda, demanded a more positive and active policy towards Eretz Israel and *Chalutziuth* in the sense of a social and religious revival. The next step would have been towards Mizrachi from the midst of which there sprang the *Bachad* (*Brith Chalutzim Dati'im*), an avowedly religious *and* Zionist chalutzic youth movement. The latter may have claimed few recruits from the youth of the Adass, but it did not remain without influence on the spiritual stirrings in their midst. Youth leaders like Isaiah Leibovitz, Grete Winter and David Intriligator (now Beth Aryeh) were pursuing their studies at this time in Bonn and Cologne. These made their contribution to the ideological debate that went on among orthodox youth. The Cologne branch of Bachad was founded in 1928 by Jacob van Cleef, a son of Isaac van Cleef.

Few indeed were the open supporters of Zionism within the Adass Yeshurun, most of whose members gave at least formal allegiance to the Aguda. The orthodox rabbis were Agudist and anti-Zionist with very few exceptions; and so, of course, was Emanuel Carlebach. The months and years immediately after the war saw some lively political activity in Cologne. Zionists, Mizrachists and Agudists held their political meetings and the questions and debates following the addresses of the main

speakers, who were often prominent politicians from outside Cologne, tended to become excited and noisy. Eastern Jews were, of course, much more keenly interested in Jewish politics, and from their midst came the most doughty and often demagogical hecklers. At Agudist meetings addressed by Carlebach, Menachem Bader, a left-wing Zionist (today a senior official in one of the ministries in Israel) used to stand up and paint lurid pictures of the terror practised by Carlebach in Poland upon the unhappy Jewish population during the war. These heated controversies were continued in sharp exchanges in the *Jüdische Woche* (Jewish Week), a weekly published for a short time by the Zionists. Within the Adass, too, an Agudist weekly called *Der Jüdische Beobachter* (The Jewish Observer) had a short-lived existence.

Emanuel Carlebach had represented Cologne at a conference of the German Aguda in Halberstadt in September, 1919. In the previous May he presided over an Aguda meeting in Cologne at which Moses Auerbach and Max (Mäxchen) Cohen were the main speakers. In March, 1921, he addressed an Aguda meeting in Hamburg, and from the report in the *Agudablätter* much can be gathered on his political outlook. The main task of their generation, he maintained, was to reunite Jewry in body and spirit. The age of emancipation had undermined and weakened the feeling of national unity in Jewry. He called on religion to bridge the gulf which separated Western from Eastern Jews, *Chasidim* from *Mithnagdim*. German Jews should allow Polish and Russian Jews in their midst "to seek salvation according to their own fashion." This stressing of the need for national unity and religious harmony seems significant. When the first *Kenesiah Gedolah* of the Agudas Yisroel met in Vienna in August, 1923, Emanuel Carlebach headed the Cologne delegation. With the help of the Polish delegation, who saw in him the co-founder of the most important and powerful section of the Aguda movement, he was elected chairman of the *Chinuch* Committee and submitted its report to the plenum. The Polish leaders were surprised at the lack of recognition and indeed gratitude shown by the Frankfurt Aguda bosses towards Carlebach. "*Mit vos hot Ir zich gepasselt*?" they asked him. In spite of the bitter disappointment this personal experience had caused him, he gave

on his return an enthusiastic report on the *Kenesiah* to a public meeting.

He had from now onward few illusions about the efficiency and effectiveness of the Aguda as an organisation, but he had been deeply impressed by some of the great rabbinic personalities he had heard and met, in particular by that great orator and enthusiast Rabbi Meir Shapiro, who had conceived the idea, adopted by the *Kenesiah*, of the *Daf Yomi*, the identical double-page of the Talmud to be studied daily in all countries, and who had also founded the *Yeshivath Chachmey Lublin*, which was an entirely new conception in the form and organisation of a Yeshiva (Meir Shapiro died at the age of 46 in 1933, and his Yeshiva became a victim of the *Churban Hitler*, but the *Daf Yomi* has survived and is flourishing). In the years following the *Kenesiah Gedolah* Emanuel Carlebach was no longer active in the Aguda.

Events in the wider Jewish world and the repercussions they had in the Cologne community, did not disturb the even progress of Kehilla life in the Adass Yeshurun too much. In many ways, the post-war years, in spite of their political unrest and economic anarchy, witnessed the hey-day of this small congregation, perhaps in quality more than in numbers. These probably never passed the 250 mark in membership. But the lack of progress in numbers was at least partly due to the smallness of the synagogue and its unsuitable position. Agitation for a new synagogue continued for some time; it was Emanuel Carlebach's fondest hope which he impressed again and again on his unimaginative and somewhat niggardly congregation. Money was easy and plentiful from 1919 onward, but the opportunity was allowed to slip by. Once the mark had been stabilized by the financial wizard Schacht (later to become one of the chief architects of Hitler's power), money was no longer so easy. The more substantial members of the Adass who, not having seceded, were disqualified from holding office, made this their reason or excuse—it was a valid one—for holding back. This was the mainspring of an attempt to change the constitution, an attempt that succeeded only later or rather too late—in 1928.

Meanwhile the need to make synagogue services more

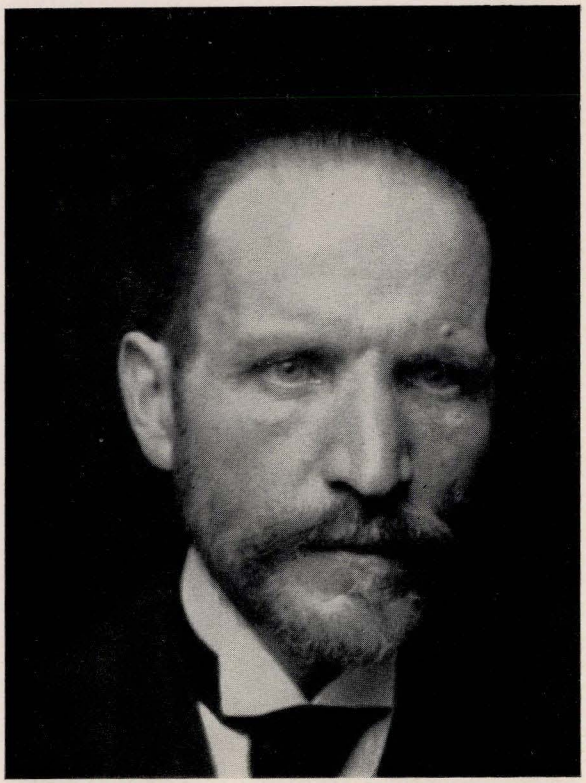
attractive had led—after a good deal of intrigue and small politics —to the appointment in 1925 of Siegfried Soffe as Chazan to the Adass Yeshurun in place of Elias Gut who had been the *Baal Tephillah* since 1888. Soffe was born in Hamburg in 1895, his father being an immigrant from the East, but his mother came from an old Hamburg family. He served as a choirboy under the great Chazan Jossele Rosenblatt. Altogether Hamburg had a fine tradition of Chazanuth, *laining,* etc., and had attracted eminent and creative Chazanim to its beautiful synagogues. Young Soffe enrolled in the Cologne Seminary where he qualified as a general and Jewish teacher. He occupied several positions in smaller communities, all the time developing his voice and repertory. His last position before Cologne had been in Meppel, Holland, and there he had assimilated some of the charming and original Chazanuth and choral music of the long-established Dutch Jewish community. With his rich store of synagogal tunes rendered in a pleasant and ample tenor voice, with his judicious mixture of the Western and Eastern modes which was, so to speak, in his blood, Soffe proved an ideal Chazan for the Adass and gave great pleasure to growing congregations. Soon a choir was formed and trained from boys and young men of the Kehilla, which added beauty and dignity to Shabbos and Yomtov services. Soffe, of course, acted as teacher at the Morijah school and also taught Chazanuth at the Seminary. He left Cologne for England in August, 1938, and is now the Chazan of the Adath Yisroel Synagogue in North London.

An opportunity soon presented itself for the new Chazan and the young choir of enhancing a rare communal celebration. A short *Mishnayoth Shiur* had been learned for 15 years after the daily morning service and a *Siyum* on the entire Mishna took place in December, 1925. The *Siyum* proper took place at the synagogue on the Shabbos morning when Emanuel Carlebach delivered a *Hadran,* and the festivities were held the same evening in the ballroom of the Hotel du Nord before a large throng in high spirits. Emanuel Carlebach had written an allegorical play in which the six orders of the Mishna appeared on the stage as characters, and this was produced by the Rebbetzen. The second half of the evening was given over to a hilarious farce, "Six Persons in Search of an Overcoat," written and produced (after

Pirandello!) by a gifted member of the younger set. This was a skit on the synagogue life of the Adass, and lampooned its lay-readers and officials who were impersonated with great gusto by the gilded youth of the Kehilla. Incidentally, one of the chief promoters of the early Mishna *Shiur* was Dr. Anselm Ochs, president of the Adass for many years and a regular attendant at the morning services in spite of the pressure of a large medical practice. He often conducted the *Shiur* himself and was, on the occasion of his 70th birthday, honoured by the *Moreynu* title. In 1938 he took refuge in England where he died at the age of 83 in 1944 and was laid to rest in the Adath Yisroel cemetery at Enfield.

In the spring of 1922 the Jews of Cologne received a sudden and unexpected reminder of their distant but glorious past. The oldest Jewish cemetery, possibly going back to Roman times, but attested for certain during the middle ages, was situated outside the city boundaries at the Bonntor. It had survived the several persecutions and expulsions that had befallen Germany's most ancient community in the course of the centuries, and was taken in use again after every return and revival, short-lived as these may have been. Even after their final expulsion in 1424, the Jews now settled in the suburb of Deutz, on the right bank of the Rhine, used to cross the mighty river by ferry—Hades-like—to bury their dead at the Bonntor. It served as a cemetery also to other communities on the Rhine. The last burials there took place at the end of the 17th century when these crossings became too difficult and dangerous particularly in winter with the Rhine in full flood. It was then that a new cemetery was opened and taken in use at Deutz (1699). The old cemetery sank gradually into complete oblivion although the names of the streets and footpaths in the neighbourhood had preserved its memory: *Am toten Juden, Judenbüchel, Judenbischofsweg.* Some of the old tombstones were preserved, though they had been misappropriated and been used by an archbishop of Cologne, among others, for the building of a castle in the neighbourhood from the ruins of which they were later recovered; others were used to build a flight of steps in the nearby Severinstor. In 1266 archbishop Engelbert II had granted the Jewish community a special *privilege* assuring the cemetery of full freedom of use and pro-

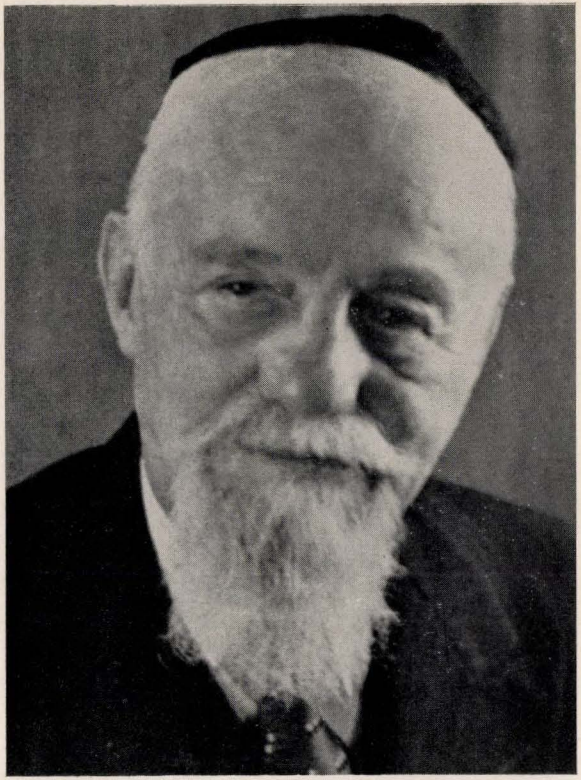




PRESIDENTS OF THE ADASS YESHURUN

JOSEPH WALLACH (1837-1921)

DR. ANSELM OCHS (1861-1944)





PRESIDENTS OF THE ADATH YESHURUN

SOLOMON HECHT (1872-1956)

JONAS WOLF (1876-1945)

tection, and this charter was engraved on stone and can still be seen and read in the walls of the *Dom*.

In 1922 the German Railways planned an extension of their goods station at the Bonntor. They had for this purpose acquired some adjoining land from the city authorities. Excavation had already begun when some passers-by noticed that human remains were thrown up. This, in a round-about way, came to the notice of the two congregations who, from now onward, took action jointly and, by and large, in commendable harmony. The news had come as a considerable surprise—indeed, shock; even the historians had been caught napping. The railway authorities were approached and immediately decided to suspend excavations. Permission was given to search for and collect any remains that could be found and the *Chevroth* of both congregations undertook at once this unusual and somewhat gruesome *Mitzva*. There were many halachic problems involved on which Emanuel Carlebach consulted a number of well-known rabbinic authorities. Dr. Rosenthal, too, asked for an opinion from the Hildesheimer Seminary. The remains lay two metres deep, and the removal of the soil and the collecting of the finds by hand over a considerable area meant great effort and expense. In fact, both congregations publicly appealed to Germany Jewry to share the cost of an act of piety on a plot of ground which as a relic of history belonged to them all. Some of the skulls found had nails driven into them, belonging obviously to some who had died as martyrs *al Kiddush Hashem*. The recovered remains were provisionally re-interred at the Bocklemund Cemetery of the majority congregation though the Adass, which had religious objections against that cemetery, had not been consulted and protested against this high-handed action.

The main problem remained. What could Cologne Jewry do to recover their ancestral burial ground? At the meetings of the representatives of the general community, Dr. Max Bodenheimer, the well-known Zionist leader and chairman of the Law Committee, explained that the congregations possessed no legal claim or title to the plot now the property of either the German Railways or the City of Cologne. Eventually the German Minister of Transport, General Groener, with whom the representatives of Cologne Jewry had obtained an interview, agreed to

sell to the two congregations a small section of the total (5,000 qm.) to which all remains could be transferred. In all these negotiations the latter had the sympathy and active support of the then archbishop of Cologne, Cardinal Dr. Schulte, who maintained very friendly relations with the city's rabbinate and with Emanuel Carlebach in particular. When receiving the rabbis, he used to push his large golden pectoral cross under his soutane in order not to embarrass his visitors. The archbishop's influence in the almost 100% Roman Catholic city of Cologne was, of course, considerable and was always at the disposal of the Jewish community when needed. This same eminent prelate gave proof of his courage and humanity at the onset of the Nazi reign and during the period of street terror, synagogue and cemetery desecrations which preceded it.

As the result of the acquisition of the small cemetery plot at the Bonntor, the remains were once more transferred while new ones were re-interred as they were found during further excavations. Altogether 1,812 skeletons were salvaged more or less intact. (Six months later the Railways apparently lost interest in the whole project of extension, and excavations were suspended.) Both congregations and their *Chevroth*, under Rabbi Dr. Lazar Dünner, took charge of this holy plot round which at a later date a wall was built as well as a small chapel inside. Fitted into the wall were some of the ancient tombstones. Here joint memorial services were held every year on the first *Selichoth* day. No final rest, however, was as yet granted to these remains. In 1926 the city of Cologne needed part of the ceded plot for a road-widening scheme and some further exhumation and re-interment became necessary. When the Nazis showed their prowess by desecrating Jewish cemeteries throughout Germany, this little memorial did not escape their attention—this was in 1932. (Tombstones in the Adass cemetery at Deckstein had been overturned and broken as early as 1927.) And again, in 1936, with the Nazis already in power, the city decided to build central markets in the area and threatened expropriation unless the plot was sold to them. Permission was given for a further search, lasting six weeks, for remains over the entire area. Another exhumation took place as well as re-interment of all the remains in the Bocklemund Cemetery where they now rest, with some of

the old gravestones built into the wall of a small chapel, a memorial to centuries of dead of an ancient and famous community, now after the Nazi holocaust a mere shadow of its former self.

Another matter in which the rabbis and lay-leaders of the two congregations co-operated was the defence of Shechita, and in this sphere too they had the support of the archbishop. Germany, the fatherland of modern antisemitism, was, of course, also the first to produce anti-Shechita agitation. It started in 1864 in the *Land* Baden, but apart from Saxony, always a hot-bed of anti-Jewish prejudice, which prohibited Shechita by law in 1892, it remained without success until the Nazis made Shechita impossible in 1933. There remained, however, a good deal of opportunity for local agitation. In Cologne a rather anomalous situation had developed inasmuch as 75% of all cattle slaughtered in the city's abattoir was killed in the Jewish manner. This was due to the preference of the meat-trade for kosher meat which kept longer and looked better. The lion's share of this Shechita boom was taken by the Adass and their Shochetim; in fact, Shechita fees constituted by far the largest item in the congregation's income. Obviously this unnecessarily high proportion of Shechita provided the animal lovers, of which the director of the Cologne slaughterhouse was one, with excellent propaganda material. The city administration advised both congregations to decide on some voluntary limitation of Shechita more in keeping with the relative number of Jews among the general population. This was the course taken, though it meant the loss of some welcome revenue.

The picture which emerges from this as well as from the Old Cemetery affair reveals, superficially at least, a quite friendly relationship between the larger congregation and the small, orthodox breakaway one. Nor were these the only areas in which this co-operation could be found. This must be credited to a large extent to the restrained and conciliatory attitude of Emanuel Carlebach and the lay-leaders of the Adass Yeshurun which found a favourable echo on the other side as well. In any event, much of the old antagonism had mellowed and subsided. There was, of course, a diehard minority, for ever on the look-out for the weakening of the old *Austritt* mentality and policy.

These in particular must have been thoroughly alarmed when as the result of this ambience of co-operation press feelers were put out for the re-entry of the Adass and its members into the general congregation. (The secessionist congregation of Koenigsberg had, in fact, rejoined the larger one.) Such suggestions were pipe-dreams, far removed from practical politics. Hardly anyone in the Adass would have been ready for such a turning back of the wheels of history. True enough, in the *Grossgemeinde* there was little radicalism left among the liberal (Reform) majority, which showed much more understanding and respect for the wishes of the conservative minority that had grown considerably in numbers and in stature. But the basic religious reasons which had created the need and rationale for the secession had not changed and were not likely to change. The re-unification came only in 1939 when the Nazis imposed it.

All the same—the *Austritt* remained an issue even within the Adass Yeshurun. As has been seen, the majority of the members had never formally seceded and, in consequence, remained ineligible for office in the congregation and had no votes in general meetings. As second-class members they would not pull their full weight in congregational matters—and who would blame them? The continued failure of the plans for a new synagogue were largely ascribed to the unwillingness of the non-secessionist members, who constituted by far the most affluent section of the Kehilla, to contribute the necessary funds. By now even many of the members who had seceded realized that the constitution was less than fair to the majority of members and causing damage to the congregation and its healthy development. Emanuel Carlebach himself had never liked these clauses that went far beyond what obtained even in the original *Austrittsgemeinde* of Frankfurt-on-Main. In 1925 the administration prepared an amendment to the rules which they put before a general meeting and which gave all members the vote and, with certain restrictions, made them eligible for office. These proposals were defeated, thanks to the agitation of the extreme secessionists, many of whom were veterans of the Kehillass Yisroel and the old secession battles, people who were not to be seen in the Adass synagogue from one end of the year to another and contributed little, if anything, to the life of the congregation. But they would

turn up to a man at the general meeting to defeat proposals that the leaders of the congregation—both lay and spiritual—considered vital for its welfare. Only in 1928, at the second or third attempt, could a majority be found for these very moderate amendments. Too little and too late!

The Seminary as well—once the war was over—picked up the threads and returned to its pre-war routine. Students returned from the army after demobilisation to continue their studies and fresh ones were admitted. The ex-servicemen were somewhat in ferment, their heads full of revolutionary ideas, and authority found it difficult to re-establish itself. These young men expected to be rewarded for their services to the fatherland by a quick and easy end to their studies through so-called "Emergency Examinations." Delegations of the students appeared before the astonished director, who was authoritarian by nature and conviction, demanding fresh concessions and privileges. The *Kadavergehorsam* of the Wilhelminian age seemed to have gone for ever. Why, in truth, should war service excuse the future teachers of Jewish children of the qualifications in knowledge and teaching-skill, modest in the best of times? But those were stormy days and one had to hold one's peace "till the wrath had passed." In any event, from March, 1920, onward, final examinations took place again regularly each spring, the government inspector (*Geheimer Oberschulrat*) from the Provincial Education Authority in Coblenz presiding at the orals. The number of pupils and graduates in the years immediately following the war was, however, fairly small. In 1924, for example, the total number of students was 10.

The staff had not changed much. The old trinity of Gut, Harth and Stern were still responsible for most of the general subjects and a few of the Jewish ones. As before, non-Jewish teachers were in charge of subjects as music and gymnastics. The director himself continued to lecture on pedagogics and teaching methods. The crucial post of teacher of the main Jewish subjects, which in the past had seen all-too-frequent changes, was filled in 1919 by Dr. Simon (Siegfried) Schlesinger. Born in Vienna as the 15th of 16 children of Akiba Joseph Schlesinger, the well-known bookseller, publisher and scholar, he had studied and obtained *Semicha* at the famous Yeshiva of Pressburg and

obtained a doctorate in Semitics at the University of Vienna. He was a man of wide, deep and exact learning far beyond his own field of Talmud, Bible, and Hebrew language and grammar. He was an inspired teacher for adult students in whom he was able to kindle some of his own passion for *Torah-li-shemah*, study for study's sake. Though anything but a disciplinarian, this small dapper and highly strung man had a profound influence on his pupils. This was as much due to his learning and teaching ability as to his extraordinary, fascinating personality. Full of wit and often sarcasm he would in his talk be irreverent to the point of frivolity and showed little respect for anybody or anything, unless it concerned the fundamentals of Jewish life and thought. His scepticism and sharp tongue seemed to contradict his very sincere and real piety and fear of God, and in matters of observance he was most punctilious but without fuss and ostentation, though, through his fear of and antagonism to any sort of religious emotionalism, he seemed to be unable to appreciate the emotional and aesthetic value of religion in general and of Jewish practice in particular. His apparent flippancy was, in truth, but a protective crust which he had grown—consciously or not—over a very sensitive nature. He was a very soft-hearted and gentle man, a bundle of nerves and phobias, who could not bear to see others suffer and was capable of parting with his last penny to help. Above all went his intellectual and emotional honesty and integrity; he could not bear things or men that were bogus and pretentious and lost no time in debunking them with his sharp wit.

One can easily understand the attraction such a scintillating personality offered to the young men and women who came within his orbit, some of whom may, of course, have only seen the entertaining and very Viennese side of his nature, the very side which repelled those who either lacked a sense of humour or were unable to appreciate the very real and lovable unity behind a good deal of contradictions. Schlesinger's influence was not limited to the students at the Seminary but soon extended to a large circle of orthodox, mainly academic, youth, both undergraduate and post-graduate. It was a privilege to be allowed to attend his weekly Talmud *Shiur* in which he displayed his exceptional gifts, both in analysis and in methodology, as an

expositor of this intricate field of study. Some of his researches in this field were later published.* He was also entrusted with completing the translation and commentary of the German edition of the Mishnah, begun by A. Sammter, D. Hoffmann, etc., which Canon Danby, the English translator of the Mishnah, has described as the best European edition. On the rare occasions when he spoke in public or lectured to societies, one could look forward to a real feast: Schlesinger was a master of impeccable and fastidious German prose delivered with excellent diction and elocution quite unlike the careless, slovenly man he appeared on the outside.

It seems remarkable that Emanuel Carlebach who, in so many ways, was the very embodiment of good form, decorous speech and respect for all things established, got on well enough for many years with this impulsive and irreverent young teacher-rabbi. He had many occasions for a frown or a gentle reproof, but, it must be added, that Schlesinger stood in sincere respect and admiration before his principal who was outside the range of his usual barbs and quips. No doubt Carlebach recognised the great qualities of mind and heart as well as the great learning of Schlesinger and valued his work and his friendship. Schlesinger remained in Cologne until 1933 when he was appointed rabbi to the Memel community, to the very post which Carlebach had relinquished almost 30 years before. He filled that post with great distinction until the tidal wave of Nazidom swept away his community. He and his family escaped by the last boat that left Gdynia for London before the outbreak of the war, and after a short stay in England he settled in Palestine where he engaged once more in teaching. After a long and severe illness he died on May 23rd, 1959. In his last years he prepared a new, scholarly edition of the *Sepher Hayashar*, the talmudical novellae of Rabbenu Tam (12th century), but he did not live to see its publication. He also prepared a new edition, which will appear shortly, of the novellae on Tractate Gittin by Maharam Schiff (Meir ben Jacob Schiff, 1608-1644), who was always his favourite commentator.

*Beiträge zur talmudischen Methodologie, B.J.A., 1927 (also published in Wohlgemuth's Jeschurun XIV (1926) No. 5/6; 'Eine tannaitische Textdeutung aus vortannaitischer Zeit,' MGWJ LXXXIII (1939), pp. 277f.

The main problem facing the Seminary during the post-war years was, apart from the chronic lack of funds, the reform of teachers' training, in Prussia as well as in the other German *Länder*, envisaged by article 143 of the Weimar Constitution: "The training of teachers is to be uniformly regulated for the whole Reich according to the principle obtaining generally for higher education." While this article was merely mandatory and no unified system was ever created, the *Länder* considered it their duty to act on it. Elementary school teachers had hitherto not enjoyed any higher education, candidates passing straight from the elementary schools, at the age of 14, into special preparatory schools (*Präperandien*) and thence into seminaries. Teachers and their unions had long been claiming for a rise in their status (and salaries) through the requirement of matriculation for candidates and the institution of training colleges of university standards. These demands the Constitution recognised and provided for their fulfilment. Prussia, as always the most progressive of the German *Länder*, proceeded to reform the training of elementary school-teachers. By April, 1926, the existing *Präparandien* and seminaries were to be closed and teachers' training academies were to come into existence, to which only those were to be admitted who had passed the final examination of a secondary school. In the end, three such academies were created: one Protestant, one Catholic and one undenominational (a so-called *Simultanakademie*).

These developments, highly desirable in themselves, created difficult problems for the training of Jewish teachers in general and for the Cologne Seminary in particular. Already in April, 1920, Emanuel Carlebach attended a conference of principals of all Jewish seminaries in Prussia, orthodox or otherwise, which had been called at Cassel and was attended by the heads of the seminaries of Berlin, Hanover, Munster, Cassel and, of course, Cologne. They discussed their common problems: the status of the Jewish teacher, the future of the Jewish elementary school and, above all, the reform of teachers' training envisaged by the Weimar Constitution. There was, at the moment, an acute shortage of young Jews willing to enter the seminaries, and this situation would not be remedied unless the social and financial position of the teacher underwent a drastic change for the better.

In a Germany then ravaged by galloping inflation this was a forlorn task. Without an adequate supply of Jewish teachers, however, the many Jewish elementary schools in small towns and villages would be forced to close. As to teachers' training, there was no hope that the government would provide a Jewish academy, even assuming that the various religious trends could be brought under one roof which was quite out of the question. If three Christian academies were considered sufficient, for the beginning at least, for the 40 million inhabitants of Prussia, Jews, who constituted 1% of the population, could neither ask nor hope for one all to themselves. It was obvious, therefore, that Jewish teachers would have to obtain their secular training at one of the academies, preferably at the undenominational one, and their Jewish-religious knowledge at some exclusively Jewish institution. Such an institution would also have to train teachers of religion, Chazanim and Shochetim for the numerous Jewish communities: large, medium and small.

For several years the debate on these problems continued in public and in private. In articles in the *Israelit* of July, 1923, and again in May, 1925, Emanuel Carlebach made his own attitude abundantly clear. The reform of teachers' training was a blessing in disguise. Jewish seminaries, freed of the shackles of state control and the burden of teaching secular subjects, could devote themselves to their real task of providing an adequate Jewish education for future teachers of Judaism. This would only be done in seminaries which were fitted to teach pedagogics and teaching methods as well, something which neither a Yeshiva nor rabbinical colleges nor private tuition could do. (This argument was addressed to Breuer's Yeshiva in Frankfurt and the Hildesheimer Seminary in Berlin which had entered the lists as potential trainers of teachers.) While admitting the anxiety caused by the drop in the number of entrants, Carlebach would not admit that this was more than a passing phase—events proved him right in this—and he accused the opponents of the seminary of gross exaggeration in this matter. In future, those who had matriculated would hardly go in for elementary teaching and would chose more lucrative professions. The greatest need, 95% of the total, was for teachers of Jewish subjects and they had to instil in orthodox youth the idealism required for taking up this

kind of teaching. The other Jewish seminaries having closed down one after another, Cologne was now the only one left in Prussia. It was for the orthodox community to provide both the funds and the pupils for its continued existence.

These matters came to a head at a conference on teachers' training called by the Union of Orthodox Congregations (*Halberstädter Verband*) at Halberstadt in the summer of 1925. Here Emanuel Carlebach, representing the Seminary, had to withstand the opposition coming from the Breuer Yeshiva (represented by Julius Ehrentreu) and the Berlin Seminary (represented by Moses Auerbach). The conference, however, rallied to the support of the Cologne Seminary. Carlebach had put before them his plans for its re-organisation into a sort of academy. It was to provide a four years' course with 36 hours of Jewish teaching and 16 hours of secular studies every week. Shechita was not included in the curriculum and had to be studied additionally. A Jewish secondary school, of which more later, was to provide the preliminary training and be developed as a boarding school in order to attract pupils from outside Cologne.

In the event, things took care of themselves. The government, which could not really be expected to accord the Seminary academy status, appointed a Jewish lecturer, a man of middle-of-the-road religious views, to the *Simultanakademie* in Frankfurt. At the same time, the right of the Cologne Seminary to train teachers and hold final examinations was extended from year to year, beyond Easter, 1927, which at first had been appointed as the closing date, right up to Easter, 1932. The Yeshivot, of Frankfurt and other towns, as well as the Berlin Seminary, made their contribution and provided a training of sorts for teachers of religion and other synagogue personnel. While from the mid-twenties onward the number of would-be teachers began to increase (16 students graduated in 1927), the financial problems and indeed worries remained acute, and it appears miraculous, in retrospect, that the Seminary could stay open and pay its staff to the very end. Contributions from private subscribers and endowments in return for the reciting of *Kaddish* during the year of mourning and on the *Yahrzeit* days could never cover the budget nor was the continuous *schnorring* it entailed a dignified way to maintain an important institution in the 20th century. Of

this fund-raising task the principal had to take the lion's share. The time, energy and anxiety spent by him in this heart-breaking pursuit could have been better employed in the academic field, and this contributed largely to Carlebach's all too early ageing and death. The financing of the Seminary should have been the responsibility of the Jewish communities and their unions and similar organisations. German orthodoxy, always vociferous in their demands and quick with protest and criticism, failed miserably in the constructive task of putting their main teaching institutions on a sound economic basis—there was enough money about—and thus wasted the time and strength of some of their finest spiritual leaders on matters which were really incumbent on the business and professional men who sat and talked on boards of governors.

Attached to the Seminary, as before, was the elementary school (*Uebungsschule*) now renamed *Moriyah.* It had developed into an excellent school, with relatively small classes, selected pupil material (being fee-paying) and a staff chosen from the best graduates of the Seminary. Apart from being patronised by orthodox parents, both within and without the Adass Yeshurun, it increasingly attracted in the post-war years the children of immigrants from Eastern Europe. The Moriyah, which at first had only six classes, eventually grew into a full elementary school of eight classes for children aged 6-14. It was the object of much antagonism and malicious criticism by the teaching staff and supporters of the city-financed, non-fee-paying Jewish elementary school in the Lützowstrasse. The justified claim of the Moriyah to provide a strictly religious education, given by teachers whose orthodoxy was beyond doubt, was a thorn in their flesh. This did not prevent the city fathers from voting year after year a substantial subsidy to the Moriyah, with the warm support of Rabbi Ludwig Rosenthal who sat on the city's education committee. One cannot commend too highly this generous and objective attitude.

Some of the Moriyah's pupils, of course, left the school after three or four years to enrol in one of Cologne's many secondary schools, leaving behind for the remaining years the less gifted ones or those whose parents could not afford a secondary education for their children. The most important departure from this

state of affairs was the founding, in the spring of 1919, of a Jewish secondary school for boys and girls under the programmatic name *Yavne*. It was a revolutionary development. There existed already, it is true, orthodox secondary schools in Frankfurt, Hamburg, Leipzig and Fürth. S. R. Hirsch had founded his *Realschule* soon after his arrival in Frankfurt in 1853. Such a school formed an integral part of his religious programme, in this way only could the *Torah-im-Derech Eretz* principle be put to the test. In Hamburg, the *Talmud Torah Realschule* had developed out of an elementary school founded in 1805, and there existed a secondary school for girls as well at an early date. In Fürth the *Realschule* grew out of an orphanage founded in 1763. The Leipzig Jewish High School had been founded by Ephraim Carlebach, another brother of Emanuel, in 1912, the money for the school building having largely been donated by their eldest brother Alexander. The idea of a Jewish secondary school, of the need of an integrated Jewish and secular high school education was far from being accepted by the majority of orthodox Jews in Germany. They, too, accepted the assimilationist argument that such Jewish schools meant segregation and that Jewish children, as German citizens of the future, ought to mix at an early age with their gentile comrades.

In Cologne the idea of a Jewish secondary school had already been mooted by Rabbi Schwarz as early as 1859. No wonder that, in the words of the historian Kober, "in this he met with the determined opposition of the executive board." In an article in the *Israelitische Gemeindeblatt* of June, 1901, Ludwig Rosenthal had discussed the question of a Jewish secondary school and declared against it. That such a plan should now be put into operation by Emanuel Carlebach only a few months after his return from the exhausting and tragic mission in Poland, shows that his ideas on Jewish education had undergone a profound transformation. The Warsaw years had shown him the glaring contrast between the thorough rabbinic education received by orthodox youth in Eastern Europe, whatever else its shortcomings, and the patchy and superficial training in Jewish subjects received in even the most orthodox circles in Germany. A change was needed if Jewish youth was to be less ignorant and more deeply and harmoniously Jewish. It could not be done by how-

ever many lessons and *Shiurim* outside the day school, a system that, in addition, led to conflicts and splits in the souls of the young. The answer was *Yavne.*

On a warm spring day in April, 1919, the *Aula* of the Seminary was filled to capacity by a large gathering of invited guests: communal leaders, parents and staff. In the front row sat 12 boys and girls, aged 9 and 10, the foundation pupils of the new school, who had reached the fourth or fifth standard of the Moriyah. Carlebach spoke of the ideas which inspired the new venture and outlined its educational programme. A school board had been formed and Dr. B. Wolf had been appointed as its chairman. It was hoped that this would lead to an improvement of relations between the two rabbis though such hopes were doomed to disappointment; in fact, this created only new opportunities for friction. The board functioned as the management committee of a registered school society whose chairman was Isaac van Cleef.

The aim of the new school was its eventual development into a *Realgymnasium* was a nine years' curriculum, a type of school whose curriculum combined literary and scientific subjects. As soon as the number of pupils—and finance!—permitted, a partial separation of the sexes was intended, making the girls' section a *Lyzeum,* the eight years' girls' high school usual in Germany. This partial separation was achieved already in the second year which began in spring, 1920. Up to then Carlebach had acted provisionally as head of the new school. With the new year a new headmaster had been engaged (not without a little intrigue) in the person of Dr. Maier Cahn, a son of the well-known Fuldaer Rav, who had been a master at the Leipzig Jewish High School. Unfortunately, he died less than two years later, on January 24th, 1922, at a relatively young age. Once more Carlebach shouldered this responsibility in addition to his already far too heavy dual task and remained at the head of the school until his death. He found capable and enthusiastic help in the years that followed from Dr. Leo Rothschild and Dr. Lilly Freimann as heads of the boys' and girls' sections respectively. Of the many other devoted teachers who gave their services to Yavne for longer or shorter periods, the name of Dr. Siegmund Stein as head of the Jewish studies department should be mentioned. His religious

influence on his pupils was most effective and valuable. Speaking of the devotion of the teaching staff is no empty compliment. As in all such ventures, the new school was dogged by financial difficulties from the outset, particularly in the years of growing, nightmarish inflation which ended only in 1924. The income was limited to the paltry school fees paid by the parents and the voluntary subscriptions of members of the *Schulverein*. Under these circumstances the staff had to agree repeatedly to salary reductions, nor could even the reduced salaries be paid either regularly or punctually. But the school carried on without interruption or strikes. Many years had to go by before the school received any subsidies either from Jewish communal or from municipal sources. And meantime the worry gnawed at Carlebach's and the school board's strength as did the drudgery of continuous *schnorring*, as if the cares for the Seminary's existence had not already been more than enough.

The building up of Yavne, stage by stage, year after year, was a slow and laborious process. It was, of course, a great help that the Seminary was ready to provide classrooms, and as the school grew, the pupils of the Seminary had to be boarded out to provide further accommodation. The Seminary's teaching staff, too, was a convenient pool for part-time teachers at Yavne. Only after two years did the local education authority give permission for further expansion. By 1925 the provincial authorities extended official recognition to the school as a *Realprogymnasium und Lyzeum* with the rights of a semi-public institution (whatever that meant). By that year the boys' school had seven forms (from *Sexta* to *Obersekunda*) and so had the girls' school (VII-I). Continuous supervision and inspection by the state authorities meant, of course, that Yavne was not free in the apportionment of secular and Jewish studies, the latter having to be limited to 9-12 periods a week. Somehow these were supplemented by additional *Shiurim* in the afternoons. The results in achieving a satisfactory standard of Jewish knowledge were at least commensurate to the effort made.

The supply of pupils, too, was no easy matter. Parents outside the small orthodox circle of the Adass, apart from Eastern immigrants, would not dream of sending their children to Yavne. But even within this circle there were some who, out of social

snobbery and using the usual assimilationist arguments, refused to enrol their children. This constituted a serious problem as both for financial reasons and in order to obtain government recognition a minimum number of pupils was required. It was little comfort to the sponsors of the school that even S. R. Hirsch, when he started his *Realschule*, had to go round to his *Baale Battim* begging for their children. When we hear that in 1932, on the eve of the Nazi period, Yavne at its full extent had no more than 180 pupils, it is safe to assume that up to 1927 their number did not exceed 100. It ought to be added that there was always a small number of boys from outside Cologne, mainly from the province of Rhineland-Westphalia, whose parents were anxious to see them benefit from this sort of Jewish education and who went to considerable trouble and expense to have them boarded with some Jewish family in Cologne so that they could attend Yavne.

Yavne was not the only result of the re-orientation that took place in German Jewry—orthodox or otherwise—and for which Cologne was only a more or less typical example. The zest for more intensive Jewish education showed itself in the remarkable expansion of the activities in Rabbi Wolf's Talmud Torah. Early in 1918 Moses Auerbach had left his post as head of the Chavatzeleth Girls' School in Warsaw—much to the chagrin of Emanuel Carlebach—to join his brother-in-law Wolf as a teacher at the Talmud Torah, where he remained till 1922. Other teachers in this period included Rabbi Moritz Jakobovits, Dr. Simcha Bamberger (later rabbi in Stuttgart), Dr. A. Jacobs (later rabbi in Kreuznach and now in U.S.A.), a Mr. F. Bayer (now rabbi in Montreal, Canada), and others. At some time this school had as many as 150 pupils, among them 30 girls, and Yeshiva courses for young men provided intensive talmudic training. Hohenstaufenring 14 became, indeed, a teeming centre of Jewish life and study during these hopeful years.

There was, of course, great interest in Jewish studies to be found among the very much reinforced community of immigrants from the East, to which reference has been made before. They soon organised their own Talmud Torah, and in the spring of 1924 one hears of a *Yeshiva Kneseth Yisrael*, conducted by Rabbis Ch. Gerstein and A. Gomer and for which a certain Mr. Chasidoff

provided the initiative and finance. The records do not tell us how long this Yeshiva persisted, which obviously drew its inspiration from the famous Yeshiva of Slobotka of the same name, or what was the number of its pupils.

In the Apernstrasse, too, for those who would or could not avail themselves of the facilities mentioned, Yeshiva courses were organised in the mid-twenties, and the lecturers were Emanuel Carlebach, his son David, then a student at the university, and Dr. Simon Schlesinger. Young men, either pupils of grammar schools in their last years at school or university students, devoted up to four hours in the afternoon and on Sunday mornings to the study of Bible, Talmud and *Dinim*. The Limmud Torah society, now affiliated to the Agudas Yisroel Youth Organisation, carried on and even increased its activities under the indefatigable Leo Munk. The *V.J.A.* had its heyday at that time and the lectures organised by it were of a high quality.

Other societies too maintained a high standard of activity. The *Rheinland Verein*, Dr. Wolf's other field of interest, extended its services to the rural communities, and its annual general meetings were lively and even jolly affairs which brought the Jewish countrymen to town in great numbers. Prominent speakers, among them Emanuel Carlebach, lectured to these annual conventions to the lively applause of people who were starved of such spiritual fare in the seclusion of their townlets and hamlets. These annual get-togethers were merry gatherings, with a rustic flavour all of their own. In 1920 a small orthodox Jewish community was set up under the *Rheinland Verein's* auspices in neighbouring Düsseldorf with Rabbi Joseph Weyl as spiritual head. He was inducted jointly by B. Wolf and E. Carlebach, such small acts of concord mercifully relieving the otherwise strained and intrigue-laden atmosphere between Apernstrasse and Hohenstaufenring.

When Michel Munk passed away in November, 1923, a piece of Adass Yeshurun history seemed to be carried with him to the grave. The congregation had lost one of its finest *Baale Battim*, the *Rheinlandverein*, the Talmud Torah, Seminary and Yavne one of their staunchest and most active supporters. 1925 was the year of the great exhibition in which Cologne celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the Rhineland's incorporation into the

Holy Roman Empire. Under Chief Burgomaster Adenauer's inspiration vast exhibtion halls had been built on the right bank of the Rhine. A Jewish section illustrated the history of the Jewish communities on the Rhine older by at least 600 years than the event to which the exhibition was devoted.

Life was good in the middle twenties for Jew and gentile alike. The miseries of the last war and its aftermath began to be forgotten. The Weimar Republic, in spite of continued unrest in right wing and left wing circles, seemed to get on its feet both politically and economically. The Jew benefited from this period of peace and prosperity. Antisemitism was there, but its raucous voice was relatively muffled and subdued. This might be the proper place to speak of the economic structure of the Adass Yeshurun. Most of its members were engaged in some sort of wholesale trade, particularly in raw materials. Such business made Sabbath closing fairly easy. We find textile merchants, metal dealers and timber merchants, and while some members were the principals, many others were employed by them in both major and minor positions. Probably the most important was the firm of M. Lissauer & Co., metal dealers of international dimensions. Its owners and founders were Meno and Henry Lissauer, originating from Luebeck, with Meno, a merchant and industrialist of genius, taking his place among the captains of industry of republican Germany. Both brothers were members of the Adass, but Meno's communal interest and activities were chiefly devoted to the larger congregation. Their offices were closed on Shabbos and festivals and a considerable number of Adass Yeshurun members were employed there. Already before the conclusion of the Mautzoe Shabbos services the group of Lissauer employees could be seen rushing out of the synagogue, led by their fierce-looking personnel manager, heading for the firm's headquarters in the Elisenstrasse to make up for lost time.

Apart from the industrial undertakings that formed part of the Lissauer combine, there was the paint factory owned by Solomon Hecht (*Selhamin Farbwerke*) which was, however, a relatively minor plant. In 1927 Hecht had succeeded Dr. Anselm Ochs for a short time as chairman of the Adass. In later years he also succeeded Isidor Dülken as chairman of the Seminary's *Kuratorium* and took a prominent share in the affairs of Yavne

as well. Solomon Hecht was in many ways a remarkable man. He originated from Küntzelsau, a very small town in south-west Germany, and had, by dint of hard work and without the benefit of much education either general or Jewish, raised himself to an important, respected position in his community. Forthright and often blunt in speech, energetic and efficient, and of patent integrity, he was a born leader of men. What he lacked in polish and subtlety, he amply made up by strength of will and character, by unyielding adherence to all the minutiae of Jewish law and custom, without counting the cost in sacrifice or inconvenience. To Emanuel Carlebach (and later to his son) he gave unswerving and loyal support and friendship though retaining his not always convenient independence of mind and freedom of speech. The history of the Adass and its institutions cannot be written without a tribute to the valuable and, indeed, indispensable services rendered to them by Solomon Hecht. He died in Jerusalem in 1956 at the age of 85.

To return to the economic pursuits of the members of the Adass Yeshurun. Only a few were shopkeepers such as Benno Hirsch with his large textile store in the Gürzenichstrasse, Manuel Dinkel with his shoe shop on the Heumarkt where one Weissberg owned another small textile store. Both Hirsch and Dinkel were active and worthy members of the congregation, serving many years on the Council, with Dinkel taking a prominent part in the work of the *Chevrah*. There were, of course, the Jewish pattisier, the baker, the butcher, the grocer and the dairyman who provided the congregation's needs in kosher food. Nor could the Adass boast many professional men. For a long time Dr. Anselm Ochs was the only doctor in the congregation, and a son (Julius) of the teacher Max Schwarzschild, the only dental surgeon. By 1914 two brothers Kahn, Isi and Bernard, had established themselves as lawyers. Only from 1919 onward an increasing number of the younger generation turned to the universities and a professional career, and by the middle twenties several more doctors, dentists and lawyers were practising in the community. Others studied economics, chemistry or the humanities to become employed in business or industry or to join the teaching profession. Apart from perhaps a tailor or two, a shoemaker, an upholsterer and a watchmaker, there were

no tradesmen or labourers among the members. As everywhere else in Germany, this congregation was almost entirely middle-class.

In 1924 Emanuel Carlebach had to undergo a severe operation for pneumonia and peritonitis and for a while his life was in serious danger. During these weeks and months of grave anxiety the congregation's love and respect for their Rav found vivid and touching expression. Convalescence was slow, and in the end Carlebach found his working powers greatly reduced and a developing heart condition put a brake on his activities. In spite of frequent short holidays and a week-end retreat in neighbouring Godesberg (of Hitler-Chamberlain ill fame) which he used all too sparingly, it was impossible to limit the amount of work and worry which congregation and schools brought with them. Carlebach's life span might have been prolonged and the interests of these institutions better served, had there been the means and the will to divide the empire and to fill his three jobs by three men. Instead, he continued with his duties paying little attention to the warnings of his wife, children and friends but only too well aware of his own limitations in health and strength.

By December, 1927, the negotiations about the financial fate of Yavne had reached a critical stage. The *Grossgemeinde* was ready to come to the rescue with a generous grant in return for two-thirds of the seats on the board of management (*Schulrat*). This demand Emanuel Carlebach was not prepared to accept. He was ready to co-opt some representatives of the larger community, who were personally observant, and could not really be accused of narrow partisanship in regard to the "communal orthodoxy." Some years earlier he had been seriously considering a proposal to co-opt Nehemia Nobel, the most prominent rabbinical leader of the non-secessionist orthodoxy, on to the *Kuratorium* of the Seminary, but had to shelve the idea due to the violent reaction of the Frankfurt Breuer faction. But to demand a majority on the *Schulrat* was considered a brazen act of power politics, and one must sympathize with Carlebach's refusal to hand over control to those circles who had been opposing him in his communal work all these years. There was also the fear that the religious spirit of the school might suffer and teachers be appointed, whose orthodoxy was dubious, a fear

which subsequent events happily proved to be groundless. But to say, " They shall not pass," was not to solve the financial crisis or balance the budget of Yavne. In the midst of these strains and pressures, Carlebach suffered an attack of coronary thrombosis on Motzae Shabbat Vayetze Kislev 10th, 5687 (December 3rd, 1927). The valiant heart could fight no longer and those " solemn-festive " eyes were closed for ever. Emanuel Carlebach had gone to his eternal rest less than two months before his 54th birthday.

The memorial service in the Adass Yeshurun synagogue and the funeral at Deckstein gave the congregation and to many outside the opportunity to demonstrate their genuine grief and consternation at the loss of their spiritual head. The synagogue, its courtyard and approaches were filled to overflowing. Representatives of the archbishop and of the other churches attended together with those of the city of Cologne, of the provincial government and the educational authorities. The coffin had been placed in front of the Holy Ark and one after another, both friend and foe, came to voice their sorrow and pay their tribute: David, the oldest son and heir-presumptive; his brother Ephraim Carlebach, the orthodox rabbi of Leipzig; Jonas Wolf, the Adass president, and Abraham Gibermann, its Dayan; Benedikt Wolf and Ludwig Rosenthal, speaking for their respective organisations; Joseph Wohlgemuth for the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary; Isidor Dülken on behalf of the Seminary; Elias Gut and Siegmund Stein for the staff of the schools, Chazan Soffe, an ever loyal pupil and colleague, recited the *El Mole Rachamim* controlling his emotions with difficulty. Slowly the horse-drawn hearse, followed by the straggling cortege, wound its way through the city streets to the Deckstein cemetery. By now the procession was largely made up of eastern immigrants who had lost a loyal friend and protector. In the cemetery hall Meir Hildesheimer spoke for the Berlin Adass Yisroel, Jacob Rosenheim for the Frankfurt *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft*, the *Halberstädter Verband*, and the Aguda; and Leo Munk for the youth of the community. During the week of mourning there were more *Hespedim* and at the end of the *Sheloshim* Joseph Carlebach, then chief rabbi of Altona, delivered a memorial address for his brother on the invitation of the congregation. He had also written a brilliant and comprehensive obituary for

the *Israelit*. Other papers as well, both Jewish and non-Jewish, carried notices lamenting the death of a great religious leader.

There was, indeed, among the Cologne community and in orthodox circles in Germany and beyond, a feeling of loss and bereavement. A community had lost a beloved and revered leader, pupils their teacher and example, families and individuals a devoted friend. Emanuel Carlebach truly was one of the finest products of German orthodoxy, of the *Torah-im-Derech-Eretz* ideology and way of life which had taken shape in the 19th century and whose foremost exponent had been S. R. Hirsch. The education which he had received at home was based on the assumption of the essential compatability of European and Jewish religious culture and their synthesis in the *homo judaicus* (*Mensch-Israel*). The dominant element in this marriage of civilisations was Judaism, and loyalty to its laws and institutions was paramount to all other considerations. In practice, compromises were difficult to avoid and in order to create this new type of European Jew a price had to be paid. Perhaps the greatest loss incurred was in the level of Torah learning which was rather low compared with that obtaining in Eastern Europe. Emanuel Carlebach, through his contacts with Lithuanian and Polish Jewry, first in Memel and later in Warsaw, became acutely aware of this deficiency in German orthodxy. The passion for learning and more learning, already implanted in him by his father and early teachers, received fresh impetus from this comparison, and he never tired of impressing on his community, his pupils and his children the need for ever greater efforts in this direction. In Cologne, with the great burden of his multiple offices, he suffered from the old problem of *Torato matai na'asit*, and late at night one could see him standing at his *Schtender* before the open Gemara to make up for lost time.

This love of Torah was allied in Emanuel Carlebach to his love of Israel, of the Jewish people as a whole and of every Jew whatever his origin or station in life. In this respect, too, his experience in Memel and Warsaw had been decisive. Not only did he recognize the eastern Jew as his brother and equal, but he quickly recognised his superiority in many areas of Jewish thought and sensibility. The friendliness, warmth and desire to help with which he met every Jew—and not Jews alone—was an

overwhelming experience to many a stranger, who had expected nothing but cool politeness from a German rabbi. And this warmth and humanity which shone from his eyes did not remain just emotion. It translated itself into practical help to all who called for it. In gifts and loans he parted with a greater portion of his never too ample salary than the men of Usha had thought permissible. Though physically not very strong, he was extremely happy when he found an opportunity—it happened in Warsaw and later on a visit to Paris shortly before his death—to help someone carry a burden. Wasn't it a rare *Mitzva* to be able to fulfil *Azov ta'azov immo*? Just because his brotherly feeling for every Jew and his devotion to all Israel was so strong and natural, he was deeply hurt by the taunts of his nationalist opponents during his years in Warsaw (and after) that he was an assimilationist and lacking in Jewish patriotism.

In many ways he was, of course, the German rabbi: methodical to the point of pedantry, industrious to the point of overwork, self-reliant and even authoritarian. He hated slovenliness and anything that smacked of time-wasting and indolence. He was fastidious in his own dress, indeed one of the best-dressed men in town, and expected those around him to be as neat and tidy as himself; he was easily prejudiced against someone who did not come up to these standards. There is, of course, good rabbinic authority for these "externals" and they were often enough quoted by him. Added to his immaculate dress was his erect and taut bearing which, though he was of only medium stature, impressed all who met him.

He was, indeed, very much a man of the world, and this did not detract, on the contrary it added, to the spiritual impact of his personality. On his mission in Warsaw he easily mixed and treated as an equal with the highest German and Polish aristocracy, with the top rank of the civil and military administration, just as at home he had frequent contacts with high officials both on the municipal and governmental level. This meant little to him, and though he had a high regard for established authority, he never boasted about it. Why should he, as he was convinced that to be a rabbi was the finest and highest of all callings! That had been the spirit which prevailed in his father's house and which had inspired him and his brothers in their choice of a profession

and his sisters in the choice of their rabbinical husbands. And yet, there was no arrogance in this pride in spiritual leadership, and he never lost the common touch treating high and low, poor and rich alike. It is true that Emanuel Carlebach was prone to treat the well-to-do with a good deal of respect and consideration. Social graces, good manners and stylish living appealed to him and he felt at home with the more refined of his flock though they may have been less observant. He was aware of the criticisms which this attitude provoked, and he was wont to reply with the well-known tradition that Rabbi Juda Ha-Nassi had suffered from the same weakness. He himself could do very well without comfort and luxury. How else could he (and his family) have lived in the austere and indeed impossible conditions of an apartment through which ran the school corridor and which lacked all modern conveniences? (This does not excuse those who allowed their rabbi and principal to bear these discomforts for close on 25 years.) But, when away from home, on holiday, he would enjoy the pleasures of good living and his high spirits on these rare occasions communicated themselves to those around him.

His zest for living was indeed great and so was his sense of humour. He himself was no joker though he could tell a story well and was an excellent after-dinner speaker. But he thoroughly enjoyed wit and satire in others and could laugh till he wept on hearing a good joke or story. He was altogether defenceless against the charm of others, and often pupils (or sons) would get away with it by turning on their *Cheyn*. A good and studious pupil might have to bear the brunt of his ire, while a good-for-nothing charmer was able to escape the consequences of his laziness or a misdemeanour by brazening it out with a mischievous smile. He had a very soft heart and many a rogue was able to take advantage of it.

And yet it would be wrong to think of Emanuel Carlebach as a soft man, meek and indulgent. He was all passion and intensity controlled, " the hero who subdues his instincts." Very rarely would he show anger or disgust. He could bear in silence a good deal of pin-pricking and provocation, and in the life of the rabbi of a congregation, which was not short of *Machloketh*, he received many of these. In his own family circle he was

authoritarian and did not easily brook criticism or contradiction. When in his last years his growing sons occasionally questioned such principles or policies as *Austritt* or anti-Zionism, he could leave the room in a temper. It would have been better for them at least had he stayed and argued it out. In his younger years and throughout his life he had shown a good deal of independence and had not hesitated to differ with his father or his teachers. But, though strict in his home as with himself, he was a most loving and considerate husband and father and took great pride in whatever abilities and successes his sons had.

With strangers, on the contrary, he could be very tolerant and many were his friends among men of different views and ways of life. The relationship between him and the leaders—both lay and spiritual—of the opposing congregation was always polite and often cordial. He could be friendly and hospitable to men whose political or religious views he abhorred. But no one could doubt the sincerity with which he held and defended his own. "When a man's ways please God, he makes even his enemies to be at peace with him."

Here then was a man fit to be a leader of men. He was born with many gifts of body, mind and soul. Endowed with a beautiful speaking and singing voice, he was an accomplished *Baal Tephillah* and *Keriah*; and no one who heard him recite *Neilah* or *Selichoth*, has ever forgotten the experience. Much was contributed by the influence of home and community, school, University and Yeshiva. Life itself added further dimensions, experience deepened his insight and sensitivities. But the amalgam of personality was all his own. Great capacity for work and organising ability, nobility, sincerity, religious fervour and idealism, human warmth and personal charm, the magic of the teacher and preacher: all combined to cast their spell over all who met him, knew him and worked with him. No wonder that when he passed away before his time they felt and said: We shall not see the like of him again.

CHAPTER V

THE LULL BEFORE THE STORM

IT was difficult to imagine that the Adass Yeshurun, the Seminary, Yavne and Moriyah could continue without Emanuel Carlebach at their head. But continue they did, partly by their own impetus, partly through other men stepping into the breach.

At the Adass the interregnum lasted nearly two years. Basic rabbinic functions were carried out by the Dayan, Abraham Gibermann, who early in 1930 was able to celebrate his silver jubilee in the service of the congregation. But before appointing a suitable successor to their late Rav it had become imperative to make some overdue changes in the constitution. In two extraordinary general meetings on January 1st and March 11th, 1928, the administration's proposals for changes in the rules and regulations were approved. The majority required was two-thirds of the ordinary members present. It was the last time that the distinction between ordinary and extra-ordinary members had any practical importance; the new rules had done away with it. Members, whether they had seceded from the main congregation or not, now all enjoyed full voting rights and could be elected to the governing bodies. The non-seceding, however, were still subject to certain restrictions. No one who occupied any office, paid or unpaid in the *Grossgemeinde*, was eligible for office in the Adass Yeshurun. The chairmen of the Executive and of the Council as well as the treasurer had to be exclusive members of the Adass. So had to be at least one of the other three members of the Executive and the deputy-members; four out of the other six members of the Council and one of the two deputies; three out of the five members of the committee to select a candidate for the rabbinate. The idea prevailed that unless seceding members of the administration were in a ratio of 3 to 2 to the non-seceding ones, the independence of the congregation was not secure.

Limited as this reform was in scope, it went some way to

redress the long-standing grievance of the disenfranchised two-thirds of the membership, and to restore the morale and coherence of the congregation at a critical moment in its history, faced, as they were, by the important task of choosing a new spiritual leader. As was to be expected, this compromise could not fully satisfy the majority and was looked upon gloomily as the thin end of the wedge by an apprehensive, diehard minority. The government gave its approval to the changes on September 8th, the old administration resigned and new elections according to the new constitution took place on February 3rd, 1929. As a matter of fact, few of the non-secessionist members had allowed their names to go forward for election to the Executive, Council and committee for the election of a rabbi. Their deep-seated resentment was not so easily overcome.

Another feature of the revised Rules was the abolition of the paragraph prohibiting elected officers from being salaried. This was the *lex Jonas Wolf*. Jonas Wolf, a cousin of Rabbi Benedikt Wolf, had been a staunch supporter of the Adass and its rabbi for many years. After serving first on the Council and later on the Executive, he succeeded Solomon Hecht as president in 1928. He had worked as a book-keeper with a Jewish firm, but when it became clear that the Adass and the Seminary were in need of a full-time secretary, he was the obvious choice. The change of rules made it possible for him to accept this office and to remain the congregation's president. Jonas Wolf was a man of strong character and a very devout Jew. In the tradition of the Wolf family and under the guidance of his father and his uncle (Rebbe Joseph Wolf) he had acquired some solid *Lamdanuth*. Already as a young man he had given *Shiurim* to the Hirsch Society and later at the Talmud Torah. He was one of the moving spirits behind the work of the *Chevrath Kothnoth Or*, the Adass Yeshurun's burial society, to which he gave devoted service. He was a good *Baal Keriah* and an exceptional *Baal Tekiah*. His pale ascetic face framed by a raven-black beard and set off still further by the *Tallith* which covered his head, he looked impressive and like an Assyrian of old when standing on the *Bimah* raising the Shophar to his lips in the solemn silence of the Rosh Hashanah service. He was indeed a fine type of a German Jew, his whole life devoted to Torah and, above all, to his beloved Kehilla.

What he may have lacked in subtlety, tolerance and diplomatic tact, he amply made up by his patent sincerity and integrity. His singleness of purpose and rough-and-ready manner were probably what the congregation needed during these difficult years and the still more difficult times ahead. In April, 1936, Jonas Wolf celebrated 25 years as member of the Executive and was honoured by the title of *Morenu Harav.*

The passing away of Emanuel Carlebach put the direction of the Seminary once more into the placid though experienced hands of Elias Gut. He was now almost 60 years of age and had been connected with the Seminary and the Adass for 45 years. From 1885-1888 he had been a student at the Seminary; since then he was the Adass' cantor, since 1892 its Hebrew teacher, and since 1901 teacher at the Seminary itself. No wonder that, as the years passed by, jubilees and anniversaries of one sort or another came to be celebrated in their season. The Seminary was then in spate as far as the number of students was concerned. In the spring of 1928 no less than 20 candidates obtained their Teacher's Diploma and 28 qualified as teachers of religion. The corresponding figures for the subsequent (and last) years were:

1929—22 teachers, 34 teachers of religion.
1930—25 teachers.
1931—13 teachers plus two taking their second (higher) examinations.
1932—No figures available.
1933—12 teachers.

There was a great improvement too in the quality of students who no longer were recruited solely from rural communities and had no other preliminary training than that obtainable in elementary schools and in the so-called *Praeparanden Schule.* Now many of the new entrants came from secondary schools and had even reached matriculation standard. Young men and women from good, orthodox middle-class families living in the pulsating Jewish communities of the larger or very large towns and cities of Germany, felt the idealistic urge to become Jewish teachers. They were the product of the changed atmosphere among Jewish youth, particularly religious youth, in the wake of World War I —a change to which reference has been made before. The spectre of growing antisemitism and the Nazis' electoral successes

contributed to this greater awareness of Jewish identity and responsibility. The growing number of students, especially girls, also changed the character of the Seminary as a residential college, many of these students now living in lodgings. A new feature, too, were some who had prepared privately and presented themselves for the examinations as external students.

These favourable academic developments took place alongside and in spite of the continued uncertainty of the Seminary's future in the framework of teachers' training reform in Prussia and of unabated financial misery. The rich uncle to whom an institution like this had to look for a subsidy was the Prussian Union of Jewish Communities (*Preussischer Landesverband*), which had emerged as the most powerful government-recognised communal organisation in the country. It was dominated by an assimilationist reform-liberal majority, with Zionists and conservatives as junior partners. No help could be expected from the rival orthodox *Halberstädter Verband* whose coffers were as empty as ever. At the Berlin meetings of its "big brother" not a few strings had to be pulled by those who wished to obtain its bounty. Competing with the Cologne Seminary for financial support was that of Würzburg (in Bavaria!), a most unedifying spectacle of one orthodox college trying to oust the other before a non-orthodox body. Würzburg won the race for the 20.000 mark subsidy (a paltry sum by today's standards), and Cologne had to be satisfied with a small grant for bursaries and another one for Yavne, whose importance as a feeder-school for the Seminary was recognised. In the first flush of indignation the Cologne community, whose representatives at the *Landesverband* had fought valiantly for the Seminary, threatened to withhold an amount of 15,000 marks from its contribution and give it direct to the Seminary. Cologne, with its 20,000 Jews, was an important constituent of the *Landesverband*. Such threats are rarely translated into action, but the incident shows the change of attitude which had taken place within the *Grossgemeinde* towards the Seminary which used to be regarded with hostility as a stronghold of the secessionist orthodoxy. Now year after year welcome subsidies, though small in comparison with what was expected from the *Landesverband*, were voted by the main congregation in aid of the Seminary.

Those who opposed financial support for the Seminary made much of the fact that it was not likely to retain the government's recognition for long and that the training it provided was not up to modern standards. Articles and correspondence in the Jewish press reflect these uncertainties which were widely used by those who had always shown hostility to the Cologne college. Apart from the long-standing antagonism of the rival Würzburg institution, Steinhardt, of the *Israelitische Lehrerverband,* in his *Blätter für Erziehung und Unterricht,* carried on a relentless feud against the Seminary. He would not forgive its orthodoxy nor its staff and alumni their refusal to have truck with his teachers' union, which made no demands on the religious standards of its members, and who had, therefore, formed their own orthodox union. Not only did Gut continue Carlebach's effort in defending the Seminary against its detractors in the pages of the *Israelit* and pleading for its preservation and for financial support, but the usually reticent and gentlemanly *Kuratorium* was stung into a public reply to Steinhardt in April, 1929. The government, unmoved by the inner Jewish squabbles, continued to allow the training and qualifying of teachers in Cologne to the very threshold of the Nazi era.

In the affairs of Yavne, on the other hand, the death of Carlebach meant a real turning point. Now the men of the *Grossgemeinde* were handed the control of the school as the price for their financial support. The " ownership " remained with the *Schulverein* (under the chairmanship of Isaac van Cleef) whose membership was almost exclusively recruited from the Adass Yeshurun. Actual power, however, rested (as before) with the Board of Governors, and, under an agreement arrived at on April 27th, 1928, the main congregation now appointed two-thirds of these. Rabbi Ludwig Rosenthal became its chairman, and with him served his liberal colleague, Dr. Adolf Kober; Emil Blumenau, the president of the *Grossgemeinde* and other prominent members of his administration, both liberal and conservative in equal numbers. It speaks in their favour that the leaders, lay and spiritual, of the community thought it important enough to serve in person on the board of this orthodox institution. The interests of the orthodox were represented by Solomon Hecht and three

other members of the Adass. The terms of the agreement between the *Schulverein* provided for the preservation of the religious character of the school. The headmaster to be elected had to be orthodox but also a member of the main community. All teachers of Jewish subjects had to be orthodox, but from Jewish teachers of general subjects only outward conformity with Jewish law was expected. On their side, the *Grossgemeinde* voted a subsidy of 20,000 marks for Yavne. The local authority, too, was now giving an annual grant to the school and the *Preussische Landesverband* another 20,000 marks as Yavne served "as a preparatory school for the training of conservative teachers."

B. Wolf and his friends had apparently withdrawn from the administration. They would not sit with the men of the *Grossgemeinde*. Under the circumstances, one might sympathize with them. Their feelings found expression in the words of the *Israelit's* Cologne reporter, that it would have been better to close Yavne than to sell out to the main congregation. In the same spirit he wrote of the "threat" of the Landesverband subsidising the Seminary. Here we have the old secession-at-all-costs point of view. The 1904 spirit of Kehillass Yisroel was still alive—though in a small minority only. (It is worth noting that the *Israelit* allowed itself throughout to be served by an anonymous reporter holding these extremist and generally anti-Adass Yeshurun and anti-Carlebach views.) Their no doubt genuine fears for the orthodox character of the school were, as events proved, entirely unfounded.

Early in November, 1928, the same reporter was commenting on the impending appointment of a new headmaster for Yavne, who was said to be a "personality from Southern Germany." (In the interval one of the teachers, Dr. Moritz Samuel, had acted as headmaster *pro tem.*) In the event the choice fell upon Erich Klibansky, a native of Frankfurt-on-Main, who was then a master at the Jewish Secondary School of Breslau in Silesia. He was appointed in December, 1928, took up his post on April 1st, 1929, and his formal induction was celebrated on May 28th in an atmosphere of goodwill. The choice was a most fortunate one. Klibansky came from a strictly orthodox family, his father having been the owner-head of a private Jewish boarding school in Frankfurt. The family belonged to the orthodox wing of the

general congregation and was known for its anti-secessionist views. Erich Klibansky was a brisk, ambitious and capable young educationist, hard-working and with a flair for organisation and publicity. While joining, of course, both congregations as a member, he attended regularly at the Adass Yeshurun synagogue and left no doubt in more ways than one that he was as strictly observant as any Adass member. With a good deal of tact and diplomacy he gained popularity and confidence on all sides and succeeded in removing his school from the welter of inter-congregational politics. In this he was supported by a charming wife who, as Meta David of Hamburg, had been a successful teacher in one of the Jewish secondary schools for girls in that city.

The new head's enthusiasm and hard work soon bore fruit. By September, 1929, the government agreed to raise its status to that of a *Privates jüdisches Reformrealgymnasium mit Realschule fur Knaben und Mädchen. Reformrealgymnasium* signified that the school was now recognised as a grammar school, with emphasis on modern languages. *Mit Realschule* meant that those who did not intend to go on to the *Abiturium* (matriculation), a final examination was available on leaving *Untersekunda*—after the sixth year instead of after the ninth. And the school was co-educational, more by necessity than by choice, except in Jewish subjects, music and physical training. It was built up rapidly to the full grammar school size of nine classes, and the first examinations for the *Abiturium* took place in spring, 1932, when 13 pupils obtained their passes. The number of pupils during 1931/32 was 178 (103 boys and 75 girls) and grew in the next year to 224. Some (16) came from outside Cologne and accommodation had to be found for most of them in private or public homes. 50% of the children came from the homes of eastern immigrants, 40% from orthodox or conservative families, and 10% from reform-liberal circles. The latter element is perhaps the most significant, showing a change of attitude among the assimilationist, non-orthodox majority who, with the threat of Nazism looming over the horizon, began to desire for their children a good Jewish education.

There had been, too, a number of changes in the staff, some teachers having left for other posts and new ones having been engaged. There were now 17 teachers, four of whom were non-

Jews. Five were on the staff of the Seminary (Gut, Harth, Stern, Schlesinger, Soffe) which underlined the continued dependence of Yavne on the older institution, which also provided, as heretofore, the classroom accommodation. The secular programme of studies was, of course, according to government standards and included German, Latin, French, English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Science, Art, Music and Physical Training as well as needle-work for girls. Between eight and six periods were devoted to Jewish subjects, which meant an addition of up to six periods over and above the two periods of religious instruction provided for by the state curriculum. Besides the usual disciplines such as *Siddur*, *Chumash*, Bible, Mishnah, Talmud, *Dinim* and Hebrew Grammar, there was now a growing emphasis on modern, spoken Hebrew and, wherever possible, instruction was given *in* Hebrew. The new director also introduced and encouraged a number of extra-curricular activities, which in part at least were meant to raise the standard of Jewish education. He himself conducted a study group on problems of Jewish faith and on current questions in Jewish life. A parents' association elected an advisory committee of eight, which co-operated with the headmaster and staff. The school report for 1930/31 also refers to a ministerial order prohibiting pupils from joining the youth formations of either the Nazi or the Communist parties, aiming, as they were, at the subversion of the constitutional order!

Now it was the turn of the Adass Yeshurun to fill the vacancy left by the death of Emanuel Carlebach. The only serious candidate was David Carlebach, his eldest son whose election, quite apart from his personal qualifications, was regarded by the majority as an obvious tribute to the memory of their late Rav. Perhaps it was not so obvious to all, and once more the Cologne correspondent of the *Israelit* in a report from November, 1928, lets the cat out of the bag by revealing (or suggesting?) that no nominations had been received so far and that it would be nice if a contested election could be avoided. Had not someone at the recent general meeting of the Talmud Torah suggested the amalgamation of the Talmud Torah with the Adass Yeshurun, and should not every internal collision be avoided? The inference was, of course, that under such a plan Benedikt Wolf would succeed Carlebach to the "rabbinical throne" of the Adass



DECKSTEIN CEMETERY
(WITH THE GRAVE OF EMANUEL CARLEBACH IN THE FOREGROUND)



DAVID CARLEBACH
(1899-1952)

Yeshurun. It was true that Jewish law and tradition recognised the prior claim of a son to his father's position—all else being equal. But had not, a short while before, a violent election campaign shaken the Frankfurt *Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft* to its very foundations because the majority steadfastly refused to elect a well-qualified son to the rabbinate fallen vacant by the death of his father? Nevertheless, most people in the Adass thought differently. The February elections had given the congregation a new administration, and when the Executive, Council and the committee of five, specially elected for this purpose, met in joint session in June, 1929, they unanimously elected David Carlebach to be their new rabbi.

David Carlebach had been born in Memel on July 3rd, 1899. He went to school in Cologne where he attended the (Catholic) *Apostelngymnasium* and matriculated in spring, 1917. On leaving school he was immediately recruited into the army and served at first as an anti-aircraft gunner during the last German offensive on the Western Front in April, 1918. Soon afterwards, at the request of Rabbi Dr. Heinrich (Chaim) Cohn of Berlin (now living in London), who was then serving as an Army Chaplain on the southern sector of the German front in France, he was seconded to be Cohn's assistant chaplain, in which capacity he served to the end of the war. In the years following he studied philosophy and oriental languages at the university of Cologne and Bonn, and obtained his doctorate (under Professor Paul Kahle) for a translation of Maimonides' Arabic commentary on Mishna Tractate *Me'ilah* into Hebrew. For a time he had joined a small *kibbutz* of Talmud students who had gathered around Rabbi S. J. Rabinow in Lübeck. Solomon Carlebach had been gathered unto his fathers in March, 1919 (Adar 10th) and his son Joseph, then headmaster of a Hebrew Gymnasium in Kovno, succeeded him in 1920. With him to Lübeck he brought Rabinow, a pupil of the *Chaphetz Chayim* and his Yeshiva in Radun, who was at the time a member of the Kovno *Kollel*. Some German and some Lithuanian students formed this miniature Yeshiva under this outstanding *Lamdan* and saintly Jew. Above it all hovered the generous and universal spirit of Joseph Carlebach.

Studying under Rabinow had no doubt confirmed David

Carlebach in his resolution to obtain his rabbinical training at the fountain-head of talmudical knowledge: in one of the large Lithuanian Yeshivoth. He chose that of Slobotka, a suburb of Kovno, Lithuania's capital. This Yeshiva, counting more than 300 pupils, was then under the direction of Moshe Mordechai Epstein, one of the leading rabbinical scholars of his time. Other teachers under him were Baruch Hurwitz, rabbi of Alexot (another suburb of Kovno), Isaac Scher, Abraham Grodzinsky and others. The spiritual director of the Yeshiva was still the aged Nathan Hirsch Finkel, affectionately called *Der Alte*, who was a pupil's pupil of Israel Salanter. David Carlebach immersed himself with avidity not only in the "academic" atmosphere of the Yeshiva, with its almost round-the-clock "learning," but also in the austere, introvert and somewhat oppressive *Mussar* ambiance which dominated all else in Slobotka. The Mussar idea, in its manifold interpretations, provided the character training, and the religious enthusiasm—a necessary concomitant to the intellectualism of Talmud study. David Carlebach was one of the first among orthodox young men from Germany whom a longing for a deeper and more integral Judaism drove into the Lithuanian Yeshivoth. Among his contemporaries were Dr. Michael Schlesinger of Hamburg, who rose to be considered the best *Bochur* in the Yeshiva and who had studied at Turnau (Slovakia) and Mir (Lithuania) Yeshivot as well. He became Dayan of the Frankfurt orthodox Kehilla and later founded the Yeshiva Kol Torah in Jerusalem, dying unfortunately before his time in 1949. Here, too, was Dr. Moses L. Bamberger, son of the rabbi of Kissingen in Bavaria, great-grandson of Seligman Baer Bamberger. Bamberger served as rabbi of the orthodox congregation of Mainz until he took refuge in England in 1938. After spending the war years in Nottingham, he went to live in Gateshead-on-Tyne where he founded and directed a boarding school for boys, which was really a "small Yeshiva" preparing boys for the main Gateshead Talmudical College. He, too, is no longer with us. These two, together with Dr. Michael Munk, now of New York, had previously studied at the Hildesheimer Seminary in Berlin. These "strangers from the West" were each, in his own way, men of outstanding character, learning and ability, the pride of German Jewry. They acted as pathfinders for the

great number of students from Germany who found their way into the Yeshivoth of the East, which decisively influenced their life and thinking.

In the summer of 1925 David Carlebach had married Sarah, oldest daughter of Isaac van Cleef, of Cologne. Together they set up house in Slobotka where conditions were rather austere and primitive if compared with the villa on the Sachsenring in Cologne where Sarah had been born and bred. Material conditions, however, never mattered much in the life of these two idealists. The spiritual beauties and amenities of Slobotka more than outweighed its discomforts: the *Blotte* (mire) of its unpaved streets, the bugs in its houses, the fleas on its inhabitants. Here their first two children—Esther and Emanuel—were born, to be followed by five more girls—Naomi, Miriam, Lea, Rachel and Ruth—born in Cologne. Being no longer a *Bochur* but a *junger Mann*, David left the Yeshiva proper to join the *Kollel*, a kind of post-graduate college, where young married men deepened and widened their knowledge until they felt fit to accept positions as rabbis or Yeshiva lecturers. These men were the cream of the Yeshiva world. It must be mentioned that Carlebach, like some of the other students from Germany named before, had acquired considerable proficiency in rabbinics and other Jewish subjects before entering Yeshiva or *Kollel*. Jewish study was the keynote of the Carlebach home in Cologne, and David had needed very little prompting to learn all he could from his father, his private tutors and by his own unaided efforts. Occasionally his parents were worried, in spite of all their pride in this son gifted with a first-class brain and an exceptionally retentive memory, by his single-mindedness which made him concentrate on Jewish matters and neglect his secular studies at school. Writing from Warsaw in 1916, Emanuel Carlebach had to admonish David to work hard for school and to set a good example to his brothers. "Learn your Latin assiduously (he writes in another letter), dear Dadi, quite apart from being required by the school, it is the most important subject of the Gymnasium for your career and general education." In his heart of hearts David thought differently; he chose to learn modern Hebrew from a Palestinian student at the Seminary, preferring Gabirol and Juda Halevi to Ovid and Horace any time.

In 1928 David Carlebach left the Kollel and subsequently obtained *Semicha* from Moshe Mordechai Epstein, who had by then established a new Yeshiva at Hebron (destroyed in 1929 by a murderous Arab attack), and from Baruch Hurwitz, the Alexoter Rav. In the summer of 1927 a secondary school for boys had been founded by religious circles in Kowno where the Zionist-secularist elements had up to then an educational monopoly. In Yeshiva circles some continued to frown on any sort of modern school in spite of its obvious and cyring need, and some eyebrows were raised when David Carlebach accepted the headmastership of the new "Yavne" school. It had three elementary and four secondary grades, and by the beginning of 1929 numbered 160 pupils. Twenty-two periods were devoted to Jewish subjects (which should be compared with the maximum of eight in the Cologne Yavne), and the language of instruction was Hebrew for *all* subjects except for Talmud which was taught in Yiddish. The use of Hebrew was a matter of course in the cultural climate of Lithuania, which was dominated by the spirit of *Haskalah* and of the national renaissance. The orthodox leaders were wise enough not to make an issue of the language question and play out Yiddish against Hebrew, as was done elsewhere. Nor were there any difficulties from the side of the Lithuanian government, as Jews possessed a considerable degree of national autonomy under the 1922 constitution, although subsequent governments tried to reduce Jewish rights more and more.

David Carlebach with his rare combination of western and Yeshiva education was, no doubt, eminently suited to head a school such as Yavne. His love for and acquaintance with the Hebrew language—classical, medieval and modern—was now standing him in good stead. There was some irony in the fact that once more a Carlebach was prominently associated with the founding and running of a religious secondary school in Kowno while one of the two Hebrew gymnasia in the same city was still popularly known as the Carlebach Gymnasium. It had been founded by David's uncle Joseph during the war years but what with the teacher and pupil material at his disposal he had never been able, even while he was still at its head, to make it a truly religious school. And after his departure it became more than ever a stronghold of secularist *Haskalah* and nationalism.

David Carlebach was solemnly inducted into his office as Rav of the Adass Yeshurun on Parshat Nitzavim 5689 (September, 1929) on the eve of the New Year, 5690. In his sermon he expressed the hope that "merit of the forefathers" would help him in his sacred task and that he would make love of Israel the main plank of his ministry. There was, he said, the danger of isolation and self-overestimation in the very structure of their community. This he would combat, and together they would have to extend their fraternal love and concern to "the stranger in their midst" and bridge the chasm which divided the native Jew from the immigrant from the East. This message was not entirely new to the ears of Adass worshippers, but the emphasis was, which was hardly surprising in the mouth of their new rabbi who had become *ostjüdisch* with all his heart and all his might. However much his father had entered into the spirit of eastern Jewry while at Memel and even more so at Warsaw, it was nothing like the self-identification of David Carlebach with the world of the Mussar Yeshivah. Not that he in any way denied "the rock whence he was hewn." He was deeply imbued with the teachings of S. R. Hirsch, and when only 17 had whiled away his mother's time—father was in Warsaw—by reading to her from Hirsch's writings. His knowledge of European thought and history, acquired in the university from some of Germany's foremost thinkers, was much more than skin-deep and this culture had been blended harmoniously into his *Weltanschauung*. His soul, thirsting for God, had soon found satisfaction and further inspiration in mystical Judaism and in Chasidism of the *Chabad* school in particular. He indignantly rejected the partisan spirit that then then inspired some *Mithnagdim* in the Yeshivoth leading to petty persecution of those who were open or secret *Chabadnikes*. A copy of the *Tanya*, the textbook of *Chabad*, was his constant companion. Here began the road which was to lead him later on into the *Pardes* of Rabbi A. J. Kuk and his disciples, where the mystical longings of his God-intoxicated soul absorbed all else in his conception of Judaism and Jewish life.

What has been said explains the great differences in character and thinking between David Carlebach and his father. Emanuel Carlebach's Judaism had been rational, though no less deeply religious for that, pragmatic and chary of extremes. David was,

as we have seen, a born mystic, a dreamer, a perfectionist and, in his aversion to compromise, not free from a certain fanaticism. He lacked his father's energy and organising ability, the magnetic power of authority and leadership which emanated from him. But there was about David an aura of childlike innocence and saintliness; one sensed in him a purity of purpose and idealism somehow not of this world. He really did not want to be a rabbi to the extent that this meant conscious dignity, representation and organisation. He disliked having to be something of a diplomat and politician and having to make himself socially agreeable. He wanted to be a teacher, to influence young people, to inspire them with some of his own love of God, of Torah and of Israel. The more remote from Judaism the disciple was, the more he lacked religious background and education, the more desirable he was in David's eyes as an object of his attention and influence. Already in his student days one would find him in the company of one or two pupils of the Seminary on whom he lavished all his affection and enthusiasm. So it remained throughout his career, and it must be added that occasionally his discernment failed him in the choice and character of a disciple. But his influence on those who had the true spark in them was always considerable. In this he certainly scored on his father who was too shy and reticent for the direct approach to another man's sanctum and whose influence was largely indirect, by way of example and precept. David was an ideal youth leader, and in expending his missionary zeal he found the happiness of fulfilment and a great measure of success. The sombre years ahead proved him to be the right man for the job.

Meanwhile, it was inescapable that his first steps in his new office were beset by a good deal of difficulty. It could never be easy for a young man to assert his authority in a congregation of which most members had known him as a child, and had seen him grow up at close quarters. For them he was, and largely remained, "Dadi Carlebach." On the other hand, he never had been on terms of familiarity with the rank and file of the congregation. Now, after years of absence in the East, it was not easy for him and his newly-found flock to find a common language. The *Baale Battim* of the Adass in their great majority were not, or not yet, ready for their rabbi's religious mood and

the message he had for them. There was besides the difficulty of fitting into some sort of administrative routine, of attending synagogue services and the like regularly and punctually. David Carlebach never had a strong sense of terrestrial time, he would talk or read or study into the small hours and find early rising extremely hard and irksome. It was a good thing that there was a taxi stand at the bottom of the Beethovenstrasse, where the rabbi's apartment was located, and for a taxi to be available to rush him on many a morning to the St. Apernstrasse and the synagogue, which he would enter rather late and panting. When emerging on a Sabbath from the synagogue he would get hold of one of his favourite youngsters and engage with him in deep conversation while having no thought or greeting to spare for the "prominent" members of his congregation whom he hardly recognised when passing them in the street. His mother who, in her widowhood, continued to stand high in the congregation's estimation and was still giving fine service to it, tried her best to smooth things over and to impress on her son the importance of those matters that were much less important in his eyes. He would listen to her with a sweet and humble smile on his handsome face and nod consent while his thoughts were far away and on matters much less mundane. As time went by, however, the new rabbi acquired a good deal of experience and also greater self-assurance in the conduct of affairs.

On the purely personal side he was able to work in friendship and harmony with the leaders of the congregation, such men as Jonas Wolf, Solomon Hecht and, of course, his father-in-law Isaac van Cleef. Less easy and cordial were relations with the Dayan, Abraham Gibermann, who now had to serve once more under an academically trained and German-speaking rabbi, who moreover as a boy had been his pupil. Gibermann, who otherwise was a modest and reasonable man, seemed to have nourished some illusions as to his ability to fill Emanuel Carlebach's position and his chances of seeing them gratified. He probably thought he had played second fiddle long enough. Another grievance of his was that his share, whatever it was, in the preparation of the memorandum on the Cologne *Eyruv* published by Emanuel Carlebach in the *Festschrift* for his father, had not been acknowledged. Most probably his family egged him on as well.

In any event, his frustrated ambition did not make for smooth co-operation with David Carlebach. There was also the inherited antagonism with B. Wolf and his circles. Though David Carlebach would have been the last to engage willingly in controversy and was by disposition and conscious self-control modest and self-effacing, there was a limit to his meekness and he knew what he owed to his position and his congregation. In any event, in a letter to his uncle Joseph in 1933 he complains that the Talmud Torah's activities were harmful to the Kehilla. A longstanding grievance of the Adass rabbinate against Dr. Wolf was that, in his capacity as rabbi of the *Rheinlandverein*, he sanctioned Shechita somewhere in the Rhenish countryside, from which some homes, in order to save a few pfennig or marks, purchased their meat. Quite apart from the quality of this Shechita and the rabbinic ordinance against *Shechitath Chutz*, this caused financial harm to the Adass Shechita which was one of the congregation's chief sources of income.

Nevertheless, the new rabbinical era began on a wave of optimism and goodwill. David Carlebach concentrated on teaching within his congregation. In his own home he gave a Talmud *Shiur* for young men every day, twice a week to *Baale Battim* and once to the women's Aguda. He also gave a *Shiur* for young girls as part of the programme of Dr. Wolf's Talmud Torah. His contacts with and influence on the Ezra youth and the student's society *V.J.A.* were close and strong. These were not limited to the local sphere, and he was invited to address the national conventions of these organisations. He now held no official position with either the Seminary or with Yavne, though this changed within a few years. Nevertheless, he was able to exercise a certain influence on the spirit prevailing in the colleges, in particular through contact with individual teachers, students and pupils. In spite of the changed "political" circumstances, the rabbi of the Adass would not allow the public to forget that both Seminary and Yavne had grown inseparable from the congregation and needed its moral and material support. When the first *Abiturium* took place with such conspicuous success at Yavne, David Carlebach devoted his sermon on the following Shabbos to this happy event and spoke in praise of the school, its staff and its pupils. The young Rav, as his father

before him, lost no opportunity of reminding his congregation that they were merely a small part of the larger *Kneseth Yisrael*, as when he delivered a *Hesped* on the passing of the *Chaphetz Chayim* in 1933. Kashruth matters he left largely in the hands of his Dayan, but *Diney Torah* still claimed a good deal of the rabbi's time.

The Adass could claim an indirect moral success when, in July, 1930, the main congregation decided to separate the committees for the liberal and the conservative cults, relieving the conservatives of the responsibility for the reformed services in the Roonstrasse Synagogue. They also decided against the introduction of the so-called "United Prayerbook" and of a *Sonntagsweihestunde*, a Sunday service which was meant as a substitute for the Sabbath service. Financially, these were difficult times when the great economic depression hit the world from 1929 onwards, and the Adass Yeshurun felt the pinch as well. It was then that they decided to sell the plot in the Lützowstrasse where they had hoped to build a new synagogue. What in 1929 may have appeared as a premature act of pessimism turned out, less than four years later, to have been the acme of wisdom and foresight.

The work of the Talmud Torah, the *Rheinlandverein* and the local Agudas Yisroel too grew both in volume and in importance in these years. The formation of an Aguda Employees' Association marks an important social trend away from the former independent business man or shopkeeper to the employee of medium or large business combines. The Talmud Torah could celebrate a *Siyum Hatorah* in May, 1930, setting the seal on many years of Sidra lectures given by Rabbi Wolf on Shabbos morning. David Carlebach was among the speakers and congratulants. But financial difficulties threatened the school with closure by the spring of 1932. There were then 170 pupils receiving instruction from a staff of six. By the end of 1932 the number of pupils, excluding adults, was given as 125 in 12 groups, and two senior pupils had been admitted to the Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin. The *Grossgemeinde* was by then making a small grant to the school and no one apparently objected to accepting it! But somehow the Talmud Torah managed to muddle along for some years until its complete fusion with the Adass in 1936. The

Rheinlandverein, too, did not rest on its laurels and, apart from its day-to-day activities, held its well-attended conventions year after year. In 1930 the main speakers were Rabbi Dr. Raphael Breuer, of Aschaffenburg, and Rabbi Dr. A. Altmann, of Trier; in 1931 it was Hans Goslar, a leading religious Zionist and a high official in the Prussian Ministry of the Interior; and in 1932 Rabbi Dr. J. Ansbacher, of Wiesbaden. In 1933 Joseph Carlebach, who was then still Chief Rabbi of Altona, spoke on "Religion and Economics." The Nazis' threat had already made the Jewish community acutely conscious of their precarious economic position.

CHAPTER VI

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

DURING all these years the flood of Nazism had been rising in Germany. Whatever else Hitler's crude, half-baked or just crazy ideology contained, antisemitism and, indeed, " death to the Jews " and everything even remotely connected with them, was one of its chief planks from the beginning. This, of course, had its appeal to the traditional and deeply ingrained Jew-hatred of the German people, the Jew serving once more as the scapegoat for whatever grievances, real or imaginary, they had and nursed in those post-war years. It is true that in spite of their incessant and unscrupulous propaganda the Nazi party, under the democratic voting system of the Weimar Republic, was never able to obtain a majority, though they came very near it. Not all who voted for them were necessarily in agreement with its anti-Jewish programme, though they cannot have cared very much either way. The Nazis were eventually helped into power by other parties of the right that were also antisemitic in a perhaps somewhat more " civilised " way.

German Jewry watched these developments with obvious apprehension. Though numerically no more than one per cent. of the population, their real proportion of the cultural and economic life of Germany was much greater. Politically, they counted for very little in spite of the prominent part they played in the newspaper world. Their dream of complete political and civic equality, that seemed to have come true under the Weimar Republic, had been shortlived. All their alignment with the democratic parties, all their display of patriotism, all the publicity given to the sacrifices in life and limb made by German Jews in the world war, were of no avail. The failure of the Socialist, Democratic and Centre (Catholic) parties and trade unions to defend the Republic was, at the same time, a betrayal of German Jewry. The great majority of German Jews, who were more German than Jewish, had very little spiritual

reserves for the cruel times ahead. They nourished the illusion that, in the end and in power, the Nazis' bark would prove to have been worse than their bite, and that somehow Jews would find a niche and a bearable existence in the Third Reich.

It was pathetic to watch German Jewry, in this hour of their doom, assert their rights and duties as patriotic Germans. The *Centralverein* (Gentral Union of German Jews), the Association of Jewish Ex-Service men, the *K.C.* (Federation of German-Jewish students): they all proclaimed, not without dignity and a note of foregone resignation, their undying devotion to the Fatherland, to the "sacred soil of Germany" rejecting any suggestion that their loyalties could lie elsewhere. There were not a few who, had they but been allowed, would have joined the Hitler movement to share in the glorious tasks ahead.

For the Zionists, then still a minority, the developments in Germany appeared as a confirmation of their—Herzl's—diagnosis of the Jewish problem. Now the Jewish National Home beckoned as a haven for German Jewry whom the Nazis tried to squeeze out of the German economy and out of every aspect of life in that country. Jews, so the Zionist leaders and their press proclaimed, must fall back on their Jewishness, their own national and cultural consciousness. Jewish youth should be brought back to the pride and knowledge of their heritage, should be filled with the pioneering idealism of the *Chalutzim* and link their future with that of Eretz Israel. It is easy to imagine the impact of this appeal on the mass of German Jewry, whom Reform and liberalism had left spiritually defenceless, and on their youth in particular. The anti-Zionist feeling, so prevalent among them until now, turned gradually and even quickly into sympathy and support for the Zionist programme.

How did the orthodox community react to the threat of Nazidom? The religious Jew, it goes without saying, was much more deeply rooted in his past, his faith in the providence and justice of the God of Israel was more secure, his life in the shadow of the law was better protected against the buffetings of fate, which to him appeared as almost natural, God-given aspects of Jewish existence. He was also immune against the veritable epidemic of suicides which the Nazi persecution provoked right from the start among German Jews who felt the ground giving

way under their feet. Among the orthodox there were very few who had to fear being accused of *Rassenschande*, this crime newly invented by the Nazis and which even before the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 caused much petty persecution, torture and suicides. That under these laws Jews could no longer employ "Aryan" domestics, of course, inconvenienced religious Jews only a little more (no more *Shabbos Goy*!) than the others.

The attitude of orthodox Jewry to the catastrophic events which the seizure of power by the Nazis meant for Germany and her Jews, is expressed with tragic clarity in a memorandum submitted to Hitler as the new Chancellor in October, 1933, by the *Halberstädter Verband* (over the signatures of Rabbis Dr. M. Schlesinger and Dr. Esra Munk), the *Freie Vereinigung* (Dr. S. Ehrmann and Rabbi Dr. Joseph Breuer) and the German Aguda (Dr. Moses Auerbach and Jacob Rosenheim). This is by and large a courageous and dignified document in spite of a certain amount of double-talk and apparent sycophancy which can be understood and judged only by those who have lived in the suffocating, nauseating atmosphere that pervaded Germany in the Nazi era. The writers *had* to pretend that a "national revolution" had taken place aiming at a patriotic and moral renewal of the German people. They *had* to feign agreement with the Nazis' raucous maligning of all progressive cultural, social, internationalistic movements in the Weimar Republic and in which Jews played a prominent part. These movements and the men active in them were indeed an element of "decomposition" in a society which deserved no better, and one is reminded of Mommsen's identical compliments to the Jews who rendered (according to him) the same service to the moribund Roman Empire. The writers of the memorandum were perhaps a little too eager in their denunciation of those who had admittedly and generally broken with Judaism as a religion and community; but what had this to do with their moral character, social conscience and cultural creativity? Again, the writers' emphatic endorsement of the Nazis' hatred of Marxism, Socialism and Communism may have been dictated by considerations of diplomacy. Marxism, atheistic, materialistic philosophy is a deadly enemy of all religion, including our own, and Communism in Russia had revealed itself as an arch enemy not only of Judaism but also

of the Jewish people as such. Yet, the leaders of orthodoxy in Germany must have known that morally Socialism and Communism were worlds apart from the brutal, amoral and nihilistic "creed" preached by Hitler and his henchmen. Was it really necessary for the writers of the memorandum to go out of their way to identify Socialism with "decay and immorality, corruption and treason, atheism and moral degradation, destructive of the national spirit"?

The memorandum begins with the quite legitimate refutation of the slander that Judaism was identical with Marxism and Communism, which on the contrary was their enemy and opponent. It goes on to speak of the strong spiritual bonds between the Germans and the Jewish people, created by the Bible (including the New Testament written and inspired by Jews). Jews and Germans are, therefore, no strangers, not aliens to each other. The churches are recognised as powerful and indispensible. Whatever individual Jews, children of a nationalistic age, may say and do as Europeans: the true Jew is the religious Jew, and only religion can lead to a national renaissance. And if one speaks of a Jewish people or nation, it is the primacy of religion which determines the national character, it is no "community of blood."

Then follows a repudiation of *Greuelpropaganda*, of the publicity given to the Nazis' antisemitic measures and excesses in countries outside Germany. German Jews had to make these protests being Hitler's hostages, though in their hearts they knew well enough that this publicity was hardly adequate and prayed that the nations of the world would come to their rescue. But in carefully chosen words the blame was put where it belonged; at the door of the rulers of the Third Reich. Jews all over the world, the writers said, were understandably insulted by the Nazis' anti-Jewish propaganda. Why should German Jews be made to suffer for the protests of their foreign co-religionists? Much of the *Greuelpropaganda* was carried out by the Socialist "internationals" which were not really interested in Jews or Judaism. An orthodox delegation was ready to go abroad and to dissuade the world from trying to interfere in the affairs of Germany. The German Jews want to fight their own battles!

And, after a reference to the " blood sacrifice " German Jewry had made for the fatherland in the last war, the memorandum comes to its main point. The new regime appears to aim not only at the defamation of the Jews but also at their economic strangulation. This will make even purely religious life impossible, and some protest is made here against the anti-Shechita law. Let the government come into the open and declare its policy: is it intended to allow Jews some sort of restricted, hole-and-corner existence, or is destruction and extermination the final aim? German Jews were entitled to know. And the document closes with a moving re-affirmation of the love and devotion the Jews of Germany feel for their country, its people and its culture, and with a pathetic request for *Lebensraum*, for the right to live an undefamed and unendangered life devoted to their God and their religion. Thus Jews would be able to make their loyal contribution to the national revival.

Whether this document ever reached Hitler and, if so, what his reaction or anyone's reaction to it was, is unknown*. The final request for an interview was certainly not granted. To the extent that this memorandum was truthful and outspoken, it certainly involved a certain danger to its signatories. It expressed, hoping against all hope, the forlorn dream of most German Jews that somehow sometime a *modus vivendi* would be found for them within Hitler's so-called " national revolution." But deep down the dreadful truth took shape that the Nazis were bent on annihilation and nothing was left to the Jews but to trust the God of their fathers.

No wonder, then, that the Zionist appeal did not remain without response among the orthodox either. Those among them, who had always been Zionist-Mizrachists, needed no such appeal. But the majority who up till now had adhered to their Agudist and anti-Zionist principles realised how right the Zionists had been and how vital their work in Palestine had now become for the survival of at least part of German Jewry. Their youth flocked into the Mizrachi youth movement (Bachad) or those of the Aguda (Ezra and Aguda Youth) which turned, if not to Zionism as a movement or organisation, at least to its ideas and

* It has been recently discovered in the archives of the former Reichs-Chancellery together with a great number of similar petitions.

aims. They, too, set up *Hachsharoth* (training centres) where boys and girls prepared themselves for emigration to Eretz Israel. The Ezra, whose ideological and organisational loyalty to the Aguda had always been rather tenuous and whose national executive now had its seat in Cologne, was obliged to expel some groups including that of Cologne. on account of their flirtations with the Mizrachi. Surely a sign of the times.

In Cologne power passed into the hands of the Nazis in the spring of 1933 no less smoothly than elsewhere in Germany. The Party here was, as in the whole of the Rhineland with its Roman Catholic population supporting the Centre party, numerically much weaker than in other parts of the Reich. That made little difference when the new regime took over at all levels, effecting *Gleichschaltung* as it was called in their barbarous and infamous jargon. Already long before 1933 the young thugs of the *S.A.* had made themselves seen and heard in the streets of Cologne, and there were many clashes and brawls. Abusing the democratic freedoms of the constitution and the foolish indulgence of the parties of the left and centre, the Nazis held their mass meetings and were given ample scope for their poisonous propaganda. Readers will recall that already in 1927 they had desecrated the cemetery of the Adass Yeshurun in Deckstein, and in 1932 the small plot which the Cologne congregations had acquired as a memorial for the medieval Jewish cemetery at the Bonntor. In August, 1932, immediately after the Nazi election success, members of the Adass were attacked and manhandled on their way to morning service at the synagogue. David Carlebach and members of the Executive intervened with the Chief of Police who promised protection. On their side, the congregation made certain arrangements for the daily service which would minimize the danger of future attacks. In the events of March and April, 1933, the members of the Adass did not escape the common Jewish fate. Their shops suffered as much as all the others from the officially imposed boycott; judges and lawyers belonging to the orthodox community were driven through the town on refuse vans together with their many other Jewish colleagues.

These were, however, mere pinpricks, a few of a thousand and one chicanes, compared with the inexorable pressure that was

meant to strangle German Jewry. One after another the means of gaining a livelihood were stolen from them. Those who were in government or municipal employment offered the easiest target: civil servants, judges, professors and lecturers in universities; teachers in state schools; musicians, singers and actors in the state and municipal theatres and operas or orchestras: they were all robbed of their jobs overnight, however prominent or indispensable they were or were believed to be. Only very few managed to hang on, due to some loophole in the law or to protection by someone of influence. So did members of the so-called free professions: lawyers and doctors above all were able to practice within an ever narrowing area until the loop closed round their necks as well. Commerce and industry soon followed the official example by dismissing their Jewish employees. Jewish firms, retailers above all, were slowly strangled by the boycott. Many shops now even refused to serve Jews, and in smaller places they were unable to buy essential commodities. The use of public transport became an embarrassment and even dangerous. The Jew walking the street could no longer be sure of the protection of the law against molestation or assault. They were outlaws. And the effects in suffering, impoverishment and destitution, the spiritual bewilderment, the mental anguish and the worry about the dark, uncertain future can be easily imagined. Once more the curses of the *Tochacha* had become literally true.

By and large, the Christian population stood by and watched. There were, no doubt, many acts of individual kindness, expressions of disgust and sympathy, as long as no one was in sight. But no finger was raised, no voice of protest was heard either in the law courts or in the universities or anywhere else when all this legalised crime was committed against men who but yesterday were respected colleagues or even friends. Germans, so proud of their military prowess and traditions and their devotion to duty, lacked above all courage and the strength of character to obey the voice of conscience, their famous Kantian imperative. In their anguish the Jews, those of Cologne in particular, turned for help to the Roman Catholic church, perhaps the only power which could dare to oppose openly the forces of barbarism. There were a few cases in which the hierarchy spoke out, more or less openly, against the persecution of the Jews, such as

Cardinal Faulhaber in Munich in his famous sermons on the Old Testament. In Cologne, too, Archbishop Schulte expressed his indignation and sympathy when approached by the leader of the Jewish community. In 1934 he received David Carlebach who had come to express apprehension at the ritual murder agitation of Streicher's unspeakable *Stürmer*. But what could these men do, who by now had reason to fear the persecution of their own church as well?

No, the Jews had no one but themselves and the God of their fathers to turn to. The common fate and danger drew them together and revealed the hidden sources of their strength and resilience. This was true not only of the more assimilated and less religious elements but of the orthodox as well. Jewish life within the Adass intensified, services and *Shiurim* were better attended, and the youth in particular threw themselves vigorously and enthusiastically into the discovery and deeper understanding of the sources of Judaism. Now also the process of emigration began, at first slowly, much too slowly.* There were obvious difficulties confronting every would-be emigrant. But, at least in the early stages of the persecution, the strongest limiting factor was the attachment of the individual to his business and property, the fear of the unknown and the illusions one had as to the future at home. Those who emigrated first, when emigration was still relatively easy, were not only those who had little or nothing to lose in Germany but people with foresight, imagination and daring. It was they, too, who quickly established themselves in their new homelands. Some of those who stayed behind to the last moment and beyond were not only those too timid and tied to their earthly possessions but, it must be stressed, had amongst them men and women of great courage and heroism who considered it their duty to stay and help others to re-arrange their lives and to find new homes abroad. No praise could be too high for their spirit of responsibility and self-sacrifice.

All the same, Jewish communities suffered, from 1933 onward, a steady loss in numbers. The Jewish population in Cologne had decreased from just under 20,000 to 17,000 in 1935. By May, 1939, one half of those were left, and it must be

* David Carlebach's files show a growing number of testimonials given to intending emigrants from his congregation.

assumed that in the months which followed up to the outbreak of war, many more managed to escape. To some extent the loss of membership, in both communities, was made good by an influx from the countryside where the economic and social pressure of the new regime made life very quickly unbearable. These newcomers, however, added to the financial burdens of the community whose welfare organisations and funds were stretched to the utmost by the rising tide of destitution. For the time being the congregations retained their status as public corporations, of which they were deprived only in March, 1938. They were, therefore, still able by law to levy taxes from almost every Jew in the city who automatically became a member of the main congregation unless he chose to secede either completely or in order to join the Adass Yeshurun. This tax amounted to between 10% and 15% of what the members paid in income tax. In the good old times this assured congregations of a high and steady income. But what with progressive pauperisation of the Jewish population and growing emigration, finances became strained, and successive appeals were made—and answered—to help the needy. There were surprisingly few secessions from the main community in this period. The few dozen who did secede were the rats who tried to leave the sinking ship. Now people would hardly have a mind for seceding on religious grounds. (The number of those who sought safety in baptism must not be underestimated, though statistics are hard to come by.) Equally few were those whose conscience made them rejoin the Jewish fold and thus identify themselves with their persecuted kith and kin. For the Adass, in any event, the right to levy taxes had always been a dead letter, and the congregation had relied on voluntary contributions. But these, too, were now decreasing rapidly.

One measure, however, of the new regime hit the orthodox congregation harder, both religiously and financially, than the larger community. To show that they were in dead earnest in their anti-semitism and great humanitarians at the same time, the Nazis had promulgated early in 1933 a law virtually prohibiting Shechita by making stunning prior to killing compulsory. The orthodox rabbinate in Germany, supported and advised by leading authorities in Eastern Europe led by Chaim Ozer

Grodzensky, of Vilna, had found it impossible to sanction electrical stunning which rendered the beast virtually or actually *treypha* or *neveyla* even before Shechita was performed. It is true that all over Germany Shechita after stunning continued in the general communities with the open or implied approval of conservative and liberal rabbis; and that section of the Jewish population in these communities which practised Kashruth bought this meat, now styled "new-kosher." It is also true that then and later isolated orthodox rabbinic authority could be obtained for the permissibility of Shechita after stunning. The orthodox, however, such as members of the Adass and similar congregations, implicity accepted the ruling of their rabbis and rejected the "new-kosher" idea. Clandestine (so-called "black") Shechita, though carried out in smaller places in the country, could not solve the problem of larger communities. This did not only involve the question of the supply of kosher meat to Jewish homes but also the livelihood of Shochetim, *Menakrim* and other ancillary staff employed for Shechita as well as that of the kosher butchers. A solution was found by the setting up of Shechita facilities in neighbouring countries such as Denmark or Holland where the Shochetim of the Adass—among others—were able to perform their duties. The Shechita in Denmark had been organised by Joseph Carlebach, then chief rabbi of Altona. These arrangements were made in the face of all sorts of difficulties on both sides of the German border, nor was the importation of the kosher meat into Germany an easy matter. All this needed a good deal of co-operation and mutual trust between different congregations and their rabbis which could not always be achieved without friction.

For the Seminary, too, the beginning of the Nazi era heralded a tremendous change. The last final examinations according to the old system took place in the spring of 1933 with 12 candidates, seven men and five women. The government inspector, Oberschulrat Dr. Müller, who presided on April 3rd over the oral examinations, opened the proceedings with the following words: "You are facing difficult times, but the Jewish people has survived more difficult times. You will survive these as well. Now let us proceed to the examinations." Dr. Müller was a member of the Social-Democratic party and was soon afterwards

relieved of his post. But the government was not prepared to extend still further the right of the Seminary to train and qualify elementary teachers. This had propably nothing to do do with the change of regime in Prussia where the Nazi Rust was now Minister of Education. The new teachers' training academies were by then well established and in comparison with them the Seminary was really out of date. Jewish candidates for the teaching profession could now obtain an up-to-date training at the Frankfurt Academy, where an orthodox rabbi was in charge of the Jewish department. Würzburg, too, continued to function under the Bavarian system and offered a teachers' training even for those who had not reached matriculation standards. The Prussian government's decision must have been influenced by all these considerations and also by the refusal of the *Landesverband* to subsidise the Seminary and by the agitation of Steinhardt's *Lehrerverband*.

Short of closing the 70 year old college, the only solution was its continued existence as an "academy" for the training of teachers of Jewish religion and cognate subjects alone. This was the plan which Emanuel Carlebach had put forward already in 1925. It had the advantage of allowing all time and energy to be devoted to sacred subjects to equip the teacher with a much wider and deeper knowledge of Judaism than heretofore. In spite of Steinhardt's clamour to the contrary, there was still more than a sufficient demand for teachers of religion, Chazanim, etc., which the Seminary could supply. The *Kuratorium* invited David Carlebach to assume the direction of the reorganised college. He accepted this additional charge with all the more alacrity as here he would find an outlet for what he felt best qualified to do and was most worth while doing. Dr. Schlesinger had now left to take up his post in Memel. In addition to the longstanding members of the staff (Gut, Harth, Stern, Soffe) some fresh and younger blood was introduced as well. From the initial three full-time students, the numbers grew gradually to over 20. They were expected to have *Obersekundareife* (six years at a secondary school) on admission. The first finals took place in July, 1934. But it soon became evident that the students, who wanted to become teachers of religion, were unsatisfactory both in numbers and in quality; at the same time a certain number of

young people asked for admission who had no intention of becoming teachers. Some of them were actual or potential youth leaders for whom there was now a crying need in the youth movements of all the various trends. There was also a goodly number of those who just wanted to acquire or deepen their Jewish knowledge. This required some adjustments in the teaching programme, particularly increased emphasis on Modern Hebrew, for which a special teacher had to be found. It is significant that the memorandum setting out these changes refers to the new type of *Gasthörer* (part-time student) whose background was not orthodox and for whose sake the existing rules of admission concerning religious standards had to be applied with sympathy and tolerance. It was now 50 years since the Seminary building had been in use, and it was heart-warming and heart-breaking at the same time to see "the old lady" enjoying a sort of Indian summer before the final closing of the gates.

Moriyah, too, the Seminary's first-born child, had an important function at a time when Jews were seeking refuge and finding strength in these fortresses of the spirit. It continued to serve its dual purpose as an orthodox elementary school and as a training ground for the students of the Seminary. Under Dr. Joseph Harth as headmaster, it numbered about 200 pupils in eight forms. In 1933 Modern Hebrew and English were introduced into the eighth form in order to equip school-leavers for emigration. In 1936 it was found necessary to add a ninth year course for those who wished to stay on for another year until, at 15, they could take up some training, again with a view to emigration. After an interview, which S. Hecht and J. Wolf had with the Ministry of Education, the (Nazi!) Government agreed to recognize Moriyah as the parochial elementary school of the Adass (and no longer merely as an appendix of the Seminary) to be administered by a specially formed *Schulverein*. They even gave it an annual grant, and the city of Cologne followed suit with a subsidy of theirs, in spite of the fact that they were already maintaining a large Jewish elementary school of their own. Moriyah maintained to the last its high standards and reputation with the help of a youthful, competent and devoted staff. In spite of the serious and, indeed, tragic times, they found the spirit to celebrate



THE STAFF AND STUDENTS OF THE SEMINARY (1928)

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT (FRONT ROW SITTING): S. KANTHAL, S. SOFFE, E. GUT, DR. J. HARTH, O. SIMON, DR. S. SCHLESINGER, MR. HERMANN

SECOND ROW (FROM L. TO R.): ANNY AXELROD, A. BOCHNER, H. KAHN, HANSI ROOS, ADA CAHEN (KOBER), M. MODDEL, HARRIET DUENNER (LOEWENBERG), MR. MILOSLAWER, HALLERBACH (ART MASTER), B. GROSSMANN, FRIEDA SCHENKOLEWSKI (SCHREIBER), KLARA KOENIGSHOEFER, RUTH KAHN (SONN), J. LANGE, LOTTE WEISSBERG, GUSTI GOLDMANN, MINNA WEIL (ROSENBERG), HANNA KURZWEIL, KAETHE EMANUEL, ELSE HECHT (WOLF)

THIRD ROW (FROM L. TO R.): F. DAVID, A. WAHLER, I. WEICHSELBAUM, S. VON DER WALDE, R. LEWIN, M. WALLACH, G. SPRINGER



THE STAFF OF YAVNE (1933)

FROM LEFT TO RIGHT (SITTING): MRS. K. LUETHGEN-STEINER, MRS. RAHEL CAHN-FALK, MRS. B. SONN-ROSENTHAL, DR. ESTHER FRANK, MISS HANNAH COHN

(STANDING): DR. S. STEIN, DR. O. HECHT, S. SOFFE, DR. J. HARTH, DR. E. KLIBANSKY, DR. F. OPPENHEIMER, DR. M. SAMUEL, DR. M. STERN, P. HALLERBACH

the 30th anniversary of Moriyah's foundation in the hall of the *Rheinlandloge* with song, play and solemn speeches. David Carlebach spoke in honour of the occasion and conferred the *Chaver* title on Harth, Stern, Klibansky and Dr. Julius Ochs, son of Dr. Anselm Ochs, who had succeeded his father as the school's medical officer.* Other speakers were Jonas Wolf for the Adass and Isaac van Cleef for the *Schulverein.*

But it was Yavne more than any other institution which bore witness to the providential wisdom of those who had advocated and organised a Jewish high school in face of scepticism and opposition on all sides. The atmosphere in the state schools very soon made life for Jewish pupils impossible and unbearable. From spring, 1934, onwards they were, in fact, no longer admitted to these schools. While in that year 407 pupils were still receiving Jewish religious instruction in the state schools, the number had fallen to 47 in 1937. Jewish parents of all shades of religious opinion and practice now turned to Yavne. By 1935 the number of pupils had grown to over 400 and in April of that year they filled the Adass synagogue to overflowing for the formal opening of the new school year. The highest peak was reached with 450 boys and girls in the school year 1938/39. These numbers remained constant in spite of the considerable loss of pupils (120 in 1934) through emigration. On the other hand, it must be born in mind that the school now served not only Cologne but the entire Rhineland and Westphalia (in 1937 there were 80 pupils from outside Cologne). There was even talk, in 1935, of setting up another secondary school, but nothing came of it. This tremendous increase, of course, set the school many problems. A fifth floor was added to the old building. The majority of pupils now came from non-orthodox homes. This made no difference to the spirit of the school, the staff being almost without exception strictly and enthusiastically orthodox. Since 1933 David Carlebach had joined the staff (and was now also a member of the *Kuratorium*); so had Dr. Seligsohn, the rabbi of Bonn, and Joseph Heinemann, a young rabbi of great promise. The teachers of secular subjects, too, were mostly young and sincere men and women from religious homes. No wonder then

* About the same time the *Chaver* title was conferred on Solomon Hecht and Manuel Dinkel on the occasion of their 70th birthday.

that children from non-religious homes caught the spirit of the school and of their masters and in turn inspired their parents, who discovered in the truths and beauties of Torah-life the courage and comfort which the times required. For many of these new pupils tutorial classes had to be formed to bring them up to the required standards of Jewish knowledge. Things were not made easier when, in 1935, in order to avoid incidents, the school was no longer open on Sundays, so that the programme had to be compressed into a five-day teaching week. On the other hand, the *Abiturium* (matriculation) examination was abandoned as probably of little value to pupils about to emigrate, and they were prepared instead for the Cambridge Certificate of Education. Two teachers from England were engaged for this purpose, and their free time was more than fully occupied by teaching the host of adults, professional people in particular, who wished to prepare themselves for emigration to English-speaking countries. In 1938, twelve pupils of Yavne passed the Cambridge examination.

The headmaster, Erich Klibansky, rose splendidly to the occasion which presented so many difficulties but opportunities as well. He was largely responsible for the formation, in 1933, of an association of orthodox schools, and he took a leading part in several meetings and conferences of headmasters and teachers which discussed their common tasks and problems. Klibansky's finest hour was yet to come. The government interfered relatively little with the running of the school. Inspectors would still call and try to make themselves agreeable. But one of them remarked candidly that the government was not really interested in the education of Jewish children. The same man came along specially to administer the oath of loyalty to Hitler to the entire Jewish staff, who were not government officials at all! When the Nazis put through a school reform in 1938, Yavne had to fall in and now became a *Deutsche Oberschule*, whatever that may have meant.

The Talmud Torah, too, as can be well imagined, enjoyed during this period a large but short-lived increase in students and activity. In January, 1936, Benedikt Wolf left for Eretz Israel. He was given a resounding farewell at a reception at which the main speakers were David Carlebach, Adolf Kober (on behalf of the *Jüdisches Lehrhaus*) and Nathan Kahn, chairman of the

Talmud Torah. Wolf settled in Petach Tikva and now enjoys a well-deserved retirement from a life in the service of Torah. He founded a congregation (*Mekor Chayim*) chiefly of immigrants from Germany, which he led and developed into a flourishing Kehilla. After the death of his first wife, a worthy scion of the Auerbach family, he married his niece, Rahel Engel, a daughter of Michel Munk. In Cologne his place was first taken by Siegmund Stein. When sometime later the building at the Hohenstaufenring was due for demolition, the Talmud Torah amalgamated with the Adass. Its activities were transferred—undiminished—to the St. Apernstrasse and David Carlebach assumed the direction of its Hebrew classes. The old hatchet was buried at last. In the same year (1936) negotiations for another amalgamation took place between the new committee of the Talmud Torah and that of the eastern Jews. The chief difficulties were financial and the fate of two immigrant teachers who were unable to teach in German (instead of in Yiddish) and whom the Adass school could not employ. The main congregation, which had already been subsidising both Talmud Torahs, was approached for further help.

The growing thirst for knowledge was, as we have seen, not limited to children at school: young and old, adolescents as much as adults of all ages, were eager to learn, to study, to know. The young rabbi of the Adass Yeshurun was now fully engaged, as was his father before him, by work in the congregation, the Seminary and the schools. Aguda Youth, Ezra and Bachad: all looked to him for leadership and instruction. He gave it without stint. He taught and lectured, discussed with them their ideological problems, visited their *Hachsharah* centres and training farms. As mentioned before, the Cologne group of Bachad had been founded in 1928 by Jacob van Cleef, son of Isaac van Cleef. Since 1930 the national executive had had its seat in Cologne under Isaiah Leibowitz (now professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem) and his wife (née Grete Winter), Heinz van Cleef, another son of Isaac van Cleef, and others. (A *Beth Bachad* was inaugurated in Cologne in 1936.) David Carlebach, who still called himself an Agudist, though with many reservations, was not a man who would consent to wear party blinkers: the Torah was given to all Israel. Since 1928 there existed in Cologne a

Jüdisches Lehrhaus, a kind of Jewish Adult Education Institute, chiefly serving the general community. When the Nazis seized power, the *Lehrhaus* soon had to enlarge its activities both in the range of subjects taught and in the numbers who attended the lectures. From 1934 onward David Carlebach was one of the lecturers thus reaching, for the first time, beyond the confines of the Adass, a wider and, if anything, more enthusiastic and grateful public.

Similarly, when the newly formed *Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden* (Central Organisation of German Jews) took a hand in providing courses for adults in form of summer or week-end schools, he accepted an invitation to be one of the lecturers. This was frowned upon by some of his more hide-bound colleagues, not so much because it meant teaching beyond the frontiers of orthodoxy, but alongside such men as Martin Buber, who had inspired this new venture in Jewish education, and who, like some of the other lecturers, were far from traditional Judaism in theory and in practice. In letters written at this time to fellow rabbis, Carlebach strongly defended his attitude though he was well aware how it could be misunderstood or misconstrued. At a conference of orthodox rabbis in Leipzig in December, 1934, at which he was the last speaker, he proclaimed the *Talmid Chacham* as the aim and ideal of adult education and the orthodox rabbi's duty to put himself at the disposal of the general movement towards more and deeper Jewish knowledge. This is what Ernst Simon writes about him in his article on "Jewish Adult Education in Nazi Germany" (LEO BAECK *Yearbook* I (1956), p. 80):

> Only very few strictly orthodox people were broadminded enough to take part in the work of the *Mittelstelle* even if they could only do it with an inner reservation, which would assure them of their autonomy. Dr. David Carlebach, who worked in close touch with the important heart specialist Dr. Bruno Kisch (now in New York) and was the Rabbi of the Cologne Adass Community, stood closest to the world of the East European Yeshivot. Carlebach had succeeded in his native city in gathering around him and Torah-true Judaism a circle of inquiring men. Even if they did not always stay permanently, he was able to infect them positively with his Chassidic enthusiasm. He was a true West-East Jew, son of an old German rabbinic family, largely assimilated to Eastern Europe but without

having given up his German culture. He was a particularly good-looking young man, embodying the ideal of the Jewish type, and his presence was a living contradiction of the caricatures in the *Stürmer*. He was a teacher of teachers until his untimely death in Jerusalem a few years ago.

The letters mentioned were not the only example of polemical correspondence which David Carlebach conducted at that time, and on more than one front. To his left he crossed swords with Ernst Simon to make clear where he parted ways with those who at the time could only flirt with the orthodox ways of thought and life; with Moshe Unna, now the leader of the left-wing of Hapoel Hamizrachi in Israel, on the vexed problem of milking on Shabbos in Kibbutz Rodges. On his right he had to meet strong criticism from the protagonists of the newly formed S. R. Hirsch Society who complained that the person and teachings of Hirsch were not being treated with the necessary respect by the teachers of the Seminary, by Simon Schlesinger in particular. Apart from taking up a spirited defence of the latter, as a *Talmid Chacham* and *Yerey Shammayim*, he put the importance of Hirsch and his teachings, especially as a Bible commentator, into proper perspective. His father, too, had been unwilling to be a blind worshipper of the *Austrittsprinzip* and had treated Hirsch, in all recognition of his greatness and originality, as one among the several great commentators of the *Chumash* whose views had to be considered in private study and in the classroom. Schlesinger may be a little too flippant and lacking in reverence, and not only of Hirsch, but of his basic seriousness and conscientiousness as a teacher of Torah and guide of his pupils there could be no doubt. Of course, the suspicion with which the Seminary was regarded in the strongholds of secessionist orthodoxy was not of recent growth.

In 1935 David Carlebach paid his first visit to Eretz Israel and there was tremendously impressed by the personality of Chief Rabbi A. I. Kuk and equally influenced by his positive attitude to Zionism, the Jewish National Home and all that went with it. Kuk's mystical love of Israel and its land found an instantaneous echo in Carlebach's soul. When he returned in 1937 he became more than ever determined to settle in the Holy Land. Kuk had passed into eternity in 1936, but David

Carlebach took up the thread with his foremost friend and pupil, Rabbi J. M. Charlap, who, like Rav Kuk, was equally at home in the open and hidden realms of Torah, in the lower and in the upper worlds. It was understandable and obvious that the young rabbi, with a large family to consider, could not be expected to stay with his congregation but was entitled to find a refuge and a new sphere of activity abroad. In 1936* he had received a call from another Adass Yeshurun which had been formed in Johannesburg, South Africa, among whose founders were some of his former *Baale Battim*. In the end, and after a long wait, the South African government refused the immigration permit, officially on account of David Carlebach's large family, in reality through some backdoor intrigue of Jewish circles who were not interested in the growth of an orthodox congregation of immigrants from Germany. Hard to believe, but true.

Meanwhile, on his return from Eretz Israel in 1937, the Gestapo demanded the immediate emigration of David Carlebach in view of his two visits abroad. This may have been a blessing in disguise, and immediately after the *Yamim Noraim* of that year he left for Jerusalem never to return.

Soon after, the *Grossgemeinde* seriously considered giving a "call" to David Carlebach to return to Cologne as the congregation's orthodox rabbi as neither the ageing Dr. Rosenthal nor the second rabbi, Dr. L. Dünner (owing to illness), were able to carry out their rabbinical functions. The post was therefore advertised. (Ludwig Rosenthal passed away in June, 1938.) For more than one reason Carlebach would not entertain this offer. But that it could have been made at all shows how distant and unreal those fighting years of 1904-6 had become. It was inevitable that at the same time the question of the re-entry of the Adass Yeshurun into the main congregation, or rather that of its members who had seceded (of whom there were a mere 52), should come up for serious consideration. Some members of the Executive were in favour, so were many of the rank and file. But there was, as usual, some strong opposition as well. Even now some felt that they had to keep faith with their secessionist past.

* In the same year he went to Leipzig on the invitation of the local community to deliver a *Hesped* for his uncle and their former rabbi, Ephraim Carlebach, who had passed away in Eretz Israel where he had been enjoying his all-too-short retirement.

On Pesach, 5698 (April, 1938) members of the Adass Yeshurun received the following circular letter from their former Rav:

To all dear friends, men, women and children of the Adass Yeshurun in Cologne.

My dear friends,

When, six months ago, on Shabbat Noach, I took leave of my congregation, I could not foresee that this was already good-bye for ever; that a step which I believed I could take freely had become a matter of force and fate before which I have . . . to incline myself though it solved many a great inner conflict for me. God has willed it that I shall not see and meet again my congregation which is 'mine' in more than the usual sense. My hope of spending at least one more *Yomtov* in your midst was not realised. This fate weighs heavily on me, it is the painful reverse of the happiness of now being able to live on holy ground that I am for ever separated from the congregation of my childhood and youth, and the sphere of activity of my late father.

Now that the separation has been willed and become a fact, *min hashamayim*, let me express my thanks to you. Thanks first of all for the confidence with which you have laid on my weak shoulders the heritage of a great man in Israel, of my late father whom God had called as a leader of souls, as an educator and teacher; thus you have, through me, proved your loyalty to him beyond the grave. Thanks also for all the indulgence and every appreciation with which you have treated my modest efforts and endeavours, above all to those who were ready to learn from me and to receive out of my mouth the Word of God and who thus gave encouragement to the only power which I believe I have within me and have inherited from my forebears: the passion to communicate and to teach, to hand on what is recognised as truth, acquired as knowledge. Thanks, therefore, above all to the youth, to you, the big and small, to you in whom I loved the great possibilities, the forces, full of future promise, of our community, and whose love returned I so often and so gratifyingly experienced. Now, in the daily battle for the conquest of a new world, of a new and very different sphere of activity, I feel all the more how much your confidence and loyalty had hitherto borne my life along and had paved the way for my word and work to the heart of my congregation and of my pupils. In difficult hours I shall find strength and support remembering you and what you have meant to me.

Thanks again, and preserve the faith and affection, with which you followed me as your Rav, to your now distant brother and friend. Do I not leave in your hands everything that is dear and precious

to me, and the object of my most holy memories: the House of God in which I learned to pray and where I received the first great and unforgettable impressions of the Jewish year in word and melody and with which the shining figure of my father and the sound of his oratory remain for ever associated; the four cubits of holy ground which shelter his remains, for me but the goal of deep longing, and which I know to be faithfully guarded and honoured by you? Spare a thought for me when visiting this holy plot, just as I shall remember our Kehal Adass Yeshurun, all of you, my dear friends, whenever I visit the *Kothel Ma'aravi*: let us be close to each other in the great hours of our lives!

Is not the hour, in which you receive this letter, such a great hour, that of our liberation from Egypt? Let us join in the Seder Nights in sure confidence of the redemption, of which I was able to speak to you so often during the Pesach days. According to a teaching of our finest thinkers, the Seder Night, with its deep symbolism and its words so pregnant of meaning, is destined to awaken year after year the dormant forces of the first redemption. In the strength of this confidence remain strong and loyal in the study and practice of the Word of God; for the sake of this assurance hold fast together in the sincere fraternal feeling which has given our Kehilla its distincive character, and thus face the storms of our time and know 'for it is a time of trouble for Jacob—and out of its salvation will come. . . . '

Remain confident of God and his eternal promise which will never be proved false! Wait, in strength and certainty, for the hour which will come, of the *Goel Tzedek* from whose portents we may be suffering already! 'For he is sure to come, he will not delay, and the righteous will live by his faith.' In this confidence *live*, dear brothers and sisters, and let your children live in it and in it I shall live with you, 'next year in Jerusalem rebuilt,' in indissoluble friendship.

David Carlebach.

To the reader living in different and quieter times, distant from the turmoil of those years, the sentiments expressed in this letter might appear exaggerated, its style overlaid, its tone too shrill. But one must not forget that it was written at a tragic moment, full of anguish and foreboding for the fate not only of German Jewry but that of Europe. Every word here is sincere, written from the heart, and perhaps it was just as well that neither the writer's temperament nor the German language lent themselves to the fine art of understatement. To keep up their courage in the dark spring of 1938 Jews had to whistle rather loud. At all events, this moving letter is a remarkable document,

remarkable for what a rabbi could feel and say in relation to his congregation, remarkable, too, for its frank and deep messianism which for David Carlebach was anything but a pious peroration to a sermon. He certainly believed that he heard the footsteps of the Messiah, and the longer he lived in Eretz Israel and witnessed the progress of events to war and independence, the stronger this belief grew.

Nor was he exaggerating when he wrote of " the daily battle for the conquest of a new world." For him it was certainly an uphill fight. Only after a long and hard struggle did he find an adequate sphere of activity and some recognition of his work and ability. The official rabbinate was closed to men such as he with European education and degrees. The monopoly held by the Yeshivot was and largely is still unrelenting, and it made no difference that he had been a pupil of Slobotka. His relations with what goes in Eretz Israel and in Jerusalem in particular as the rabbinic and Yeshiva world were cool and tenuous. They could only look with suspicion on the enthusiasm with which he regarded the national renaissance, both spiritual and material, and the messianic portents which he detected in them. These circles saw in the Jewish National Home and later in the Jewish state nothing but a continuation of the *Galuth* by other means, and considered Ben Gurion's or any other Jewish government little better than that of Pilsudsky in Poland or of Roosevelt in the U.S.A. He had broken off all connections with the Aguda, but was too sensitive and critical to identify himself with the Mizrachi without reservations. He would never have made a good party man which was and is a great handicap in Eretz Israel. Only among the disciples of the late Rav Kuk did he find kindred spirits and they in him. At first he taught at various schools. Teaching younger children was not congenial to him, particularly in a country where those were rather averse to discipline. At that time teachers were paid more or less starvation wages and even these with regular irregularity. This meant looking for additional work and sources of income, congenial or not, and these made greater demands on time and strength than was healthy. And all of it added up to very little, and there was a large family to feed, clothe and house; and in spite of poverty and a standard of living that bore no comparison with

even the simple life he and his family had known in Cologne, educational, moral and religious standards in the home were as high as ever and have borne ample fruit.

Gradually, very gradually, things improved financially and professionally. David Carlebach was now teaching at the Mizrachi's Women Teachers' Training College, later to become a state institution under the name of *Ephratha*. An additional storey in the Seminary's building was recently erected in his name and memory. At the death of the late Dr. Isaac Unna, formerly the orthodox rabbi in Mannheim, he was asked to become the spiritual leader of the small congregation *Binyan Zion* which Unna had founded and built up chiefly with immigrants from Germany. The post involved little income or work, but it had its compensations for someone who had been used to call a congregation his own. He was now in demand as a lecturer, whether in the *Beth Ha'am* in Jerusalem, in the Yeshurun Synagogue, Yavne, the society of religious students at the Hebrew University, or at his *shool 'Beth Rivkah'* in Kiryath Shemuel; he also broadcast over *Kol Yisrael*. He paid week-end visits to Kibbutzim, religious and irreligious ones, and took part in summer schools and special training courses. All in all, it was a full and satisfying life and as much as he could manage, when first heart trouble and then leukaemia severely limited his working power. He was radiantly happy, in spite of all the vicissitudes of his life, to be able to live in Eretz Israel and in Jerusalem in particular—he had become and was by those who knew him admired as a true *Ish Yerushalayim*. But one might ask whether, from the start, those in charge of the religious life of the country should not have made better use of a man who possessed a rare combination of sacred and secular knowledge and a truly catholic width of Jewish sympathies: orthodox and Zionist, western and eastern, Lithuanian and yet chasidic, as much at home in medieval as in modern Hebrew literature, a man who was uniquely fitted to speak for Judaism to those who had lost faith or contact with it. He, and those few others with similar backgrounds, should have been assigned this task for which 99% of the rabbinate had neither equipment nor inclination. David Carlebach felt and knew that his abilities were not used to the fullest advantage of a country that was crying out for

men of his calibre. He was not the man to blow his own trumpet and to elbow himself into the position that was his by right. Only at his graveside some may have realised what an opportunity had been missed.

Perhaps his most lasting, though unfortunately uncompleted contribution to Jewish life and education, was the work *Halichoth Bakodesh,* a compendium of religious laws and customs. As a teacher of *Dinim* and religious practice in Eretz Israel, he became aware of the need for a textbook on this subject. The only compendia, such as the *Chayey Adam* and the *Kitzur Shulchan Aruch,* that had done good service in the 19th and early 20th centuries, were no longer suitable both for linguistic reasons and those of subject matter. So David Carlebach decided to try his hand at an undertaking that might have daunted many a bigger man. With calm and yet modest confidence he sets out his plan in a masterly introduction, which betrays in style and thought the inspiration of Rav Kuk. He surveys the history of rabbinic compendia from the *Halachoth Gedoloth* of Rabbi Yehudai Gaon in the 8th century to Joseph Karo's *Shulchan Aruch* in the 16th and the opposition and controversy to which these gave rise regularly—and legitimately. Both these phenomena, codification and the resistance to it from the point of view of a fluid, open and unbound study of the primary rabbinic texts and of the literature to which they gave birth, have to be understood as the peculiar, vital dialectics of Torah life and development which they are. He pointed out that the works in vogue and in use hitherto were composed with the need of particular historical and geographical circumstances in view. And as, he writes, "the character and conditions of the spiritual and material life of Jewish society, in Eretz Israel and the *Golah,* have changed decisively compared with the times of the author of the *Kitzur Shulchan Aruch,* a need makes itself felt today for a Book of Laws for school and home which can make its contribution to the education of our generation, a generation of destruction *and* renaissance, for a full life of Torah and *Mitzvah.*" It was an ambitious plan. In arrangement and style he would generally follow Maimonides' classic code. The treatment of each particular subject-*Mitzva* would reveal its underlying meaning, purpose and development, and would no longer reflect a particular rite only

Ashkenazi or Sephardi, the various divisions in the European or Oriental rites—as it befitted the time of the Ingathering of the Exiles. The author explicity rejects the role of a *Posek* and would only in the rarest cases take sides in a particular halachic controversy. Now, too, he writes, the time has come, happily, once more to include the *Mitzvoth* which apply only on the soil of Eretz Israel to guide those who, as Jewish farmers in religious Kibbutzim and other settlements, were ready to revive these old and perforce neglected elements of our Torah. *Halichoth Bakodesh*, he had called this work from the verse Psalms 68, 25. "At an hour of God" 'hiding His face' that has no equal in history, when from the mouth of tens of thousands, who are being killed, slaughtered, burned and strangled for the sanctification of His holy name and that of Israel, the people near unto Him, the eternal cry arise, 'Where are His mighty deeds, where His fearful ones?'—at that very hour we have been granted to see eye to eye His ways in Holiness, when His strong hand protected the remnant of Israel and the residue of His scholars in the Holy Land when "the flame of the turning sword" in the hand of the wicked of the world threatened our *Yishuv* as well. But the destroyer passed over the Holy Land to let it be known by all that God has chosen Zion, "for it is a time to show favour unto her for the appointed time has come." This was written early in 1946, on Shevat 28th, 5706.

Halichot Bakodesh remained unfinished and, in its author's lifetime, unpublished. Only recently have friends and pupils undertaken the task of preparing the manuscript for publication, and a first, small volume has appeared covering roughly the same *Mitzvoth* as those in the first book of the *Mishne Torah Sepher Hammadda* of Maimonides. It is a beautifully produced little book with a clear pointed type, a great credit to its editor Joseph Valk, now principal of the *Ephratha* Seminary and to the Religious Section of the Youth and Hechalutz Department of the Zionist Organisation who published it. A second volume is planned to follow, containing the laws of Prayer, *Shema, Tzitzith, Tephillin* and Table Customs. Perhaps someone will one day finish the work in the spirit and footsteps of the one who "had begun the *Mitzva.*"

"Walks in holy paths" would be a faithful description of

David Carlebach's life. The body undermined by sickness would no longer serve the mind and soul which had used it up in the service of God. The fire had at last consumed the bush, and in the night of Tammuz 9th, 5712 (July 2nd, 1952) within sight of his 53rd birthday, he gave up the struggle and with serene, almost happy, resignation, passed into eternity.

"Now I go to my eternal home," were his last words. Jerusalem, Israel, all Jewry, had lost one of their finest sons.

CHAPTER VII

THE END

IN the autumn of 1937 Siegmund Stein succeeded David Carlebach as spiritual leader of the Adass Yeshurun. Stein had now been in Cologne for many years and had married one of his pupils, Hannah Cahen, the younger daughter of Dr. Heinrich and Else Cahen, the latter a woman of great character and nobility who had found her own way to orthodox Judaism. In November of that year Stein gave the address at a memorial meeting on the occasion of Emanuel Carlebach's 10th *Yahrzeit*. During 1938 the process of emigration gathered momentum. Member after member of the Adass found refuge abroad, as did some of the officials: first, Chazan Soffe, who settled in England, and then Dayan Gibermann who emigrated to U.S.A. But the congregation and the schools carried on though the ground was shrinking under their feet. Services were held as usual, or rather more than usual. On the second day of Rosh Hashanah a Gestapo official appeared at the service "to watch what went on." This kind of supervision by not always ill-intentioned officials had become quite usual, though the Adass received in general less attention than the larger synagogues in town.

In October the word "deportation" made its ominous appearance for the first time. All Jews of Polish origin, no matter how long they had lived in Germany—where most of their children had been born—were deported, at less than six hours' notice, to the German-Polish border at Bentschen. Here they were dumped into no-man's land, as the Poles refused to let them in. Few only, who had secretly received advance notice of what was afoot, could go into hiding; some even managed to drift back after a while. Later, in July, 1939, the Jewish welfare authorities had to appeal for funds to help with the "return" of Jews to Poland. They did not realise what fate awaited them there.

November 9th, 1938. The great pogrom had been well and truly organised. The police had been given advance warning and

instructions to save archives and valuables, to prevent looting and excesses but "not to interfere otherwise with the progress of events." Whether seriously and stupidly or in bitter irony the circular added that stern measures were to be taken against Jews found in the possession of arms. (A similar order for the surrender of all arms was addressed to the Jewish community by the *Gauleitung*.) Following this order, a Gestapo commando called at the St. Apernstrasse in the middle of the night and after an official had been hauled out of bed—it was Minna Weil, Emanuel Carlebach's, the Adass' and the schools' faithful secretary—the files, the books, all cash and the *Siphrey Torah* had to be handed over, an inventory was drawn up and duly signed, and off they went with their booty and locked the heavy wrought iron gates, which gave access to the synagogue and Seminary precincts, behind them. By that time the synagogues in the Roonstrasse and Glockengasse, as well as some smaller ones in the suburbs, were already in flames. Was it possible that only the Adass should escape the holocaust? It did, to a certain extent. To put fire to the synagogue and the Seminary would have involved great risks to the adjoining buildings, some of which housed important government and municipal offices as well as a large girls' school. But in the morning a gang of Nazi hooligans managed to climb over the walls of these buildings and began to destroy, in the synagogue and the school, whatever came to their hands: furniture, fittings, books, remaining files—even a heavy safe they succeeded in throwing out of the window of the office. By midday the police appeared and bade the young heroes to desist—they had served their country and party well. The scene was one of gruesome desolation, but at least the ordeal of fire had been avoided.

There was a ten days' pause. The faithful non-Jewish caretaker tried, in the dead of night, to save what he could from the desecrated synagogue and its benches: *Siddurim, Machzorim, Chumoshim, Tallesim* and the like. When finally observed in his surreptitious work, he was reprimanded and ordered to leave things alone. Then Jonas Wolf received a phone call from the Gestapo. They could now go back and hold their services and reopen the schools. Courses for adults as well? Yes, certainly, the answer came back a few days later, the problem having been

referred to higher quarters. And so daily and Sabbath services were resumed in the *Aula* of the Seminary and the teachers and pupils resumed their classes. The synagogue, now an empty shell, and having been duly inspected by a Gestapo official, was boarded up. (Both buildings were destroyed by allied bombs in the night of June 29th, 1943.) The money, too, which had been taken in "protective custody" was returned. Not so the files, and the synagogue silver was only lent for use on special occasions. The *Siphrey Torah* were recovered as well.

The "fury of the population" was not directed against synagogues only. The 10th November saw large-scale vandalism against Jewish shops and businesses, many apartments were wrecked, particularly the surgeries of doctors and dentists, and Jews were manhandled and beaten up in the streets. Among 800 Cologne Jews deported to Dachau were a number of members of the Adass and of the staff of its institutions. The prisons were filled with Jews. Most of those interned or imprisoned were released gradually, as and if it could be proved that their early emigration could be arranged or that their services were required for the functioning of a communal institution.

The Christian population was, it is true to say, deeply shocked by the events of November 9th. They realised, rather late, too late, the folly of the German people in following the Nazis and their rabble-rousing leader. In Cologne, at least, many went out of their way to express to their Jewish neighbours their distress and sympathy. Even the Nazis were aware of the unrest and disgust the state-organised pogroms had caused among the Catholic population, and one of their big men, the notorious Streicher, was brought to Cologne "to explain." Addressing a mass meeting, he expatiated on the "race problem" and Hitler's promise to solve the Jewish question. They had not treated the Jews too badly—they were still alive. He poured scorn on those who prated of humanity and Christian love of neighbour. If they did not like what they had done, let them go elsewhere. He finished by an attack on the Catholic Church and the Pope who had Jewish blood in his veins himself. The churches were, of course, to pay their price in persecution and suffering, though this bore little comparison with what was done to the Jews. As the agony of Jewry grew to ever greater depths of misery, priests

and members of churches tried to help and had not infrequently to suffer torture and death for their kindness. One hesitates to add that these acts of humanity were too few and too isolated to absolve the German people from their general guilt both of commission and omission in the terrible crimes perpetrated by them or in their name.

No wonder that emigration rose to a flood, though by now it had become extremely difficult to obtain entry into outside countries. The Nazis, apart from imposing a penal tax of a billion marks (£50m. at their then value) on German Jewry collectively, fleeced every emigrant by blatantly confiscatory imposts. All gold, silver and valuables had to be handed over. But the Jews realized that their lives were at stake. Those who had emigrated in earlier years were now usually able to help relatives and friends to escape to liberty. Some countries such as Britain showed greater sympathy in admitting Jews for transit on collective guarantees, and many thousands of children and youth were saved from destruction. Some managed to get smuggled out of Germany (" to steal the frontier ") as was once the practice of the Jews of Russia. In England, the Chief Rabbi's Emergency Council, under the tireless and courageous leadership of Dr. Solomon Schonfeld, obtained visas for many German rabbis, teachers and other religious personnel. Under this scheme such men as Jonas and Willy Wolf and Leo Munk obtained visas into the U.K. It can be assumed that by August, 1939, four-fifths of the Adass members had left Germany.

The remainder fought on. By decree, the two congregations were forcibly amalgamated, but their respective services continued as before. The last examinations of teachers of religion was taken in the spring of 1939—in 1938 the Seminary still counted 15 students—and soon it closed down altogether. The municipal Jewish school had been expelled from their fine building in the Lutzowstrasse and transferred to an older building in the Loewengasse. In the summer of 1939 they had to move again, this time to amalgamate with what was left of the Moriyah in the St. Apernstrasse with Klibansky as head of all the Jewish schools. Another two protagonists had found unity and peace in the iron embrace of the Nazi era.

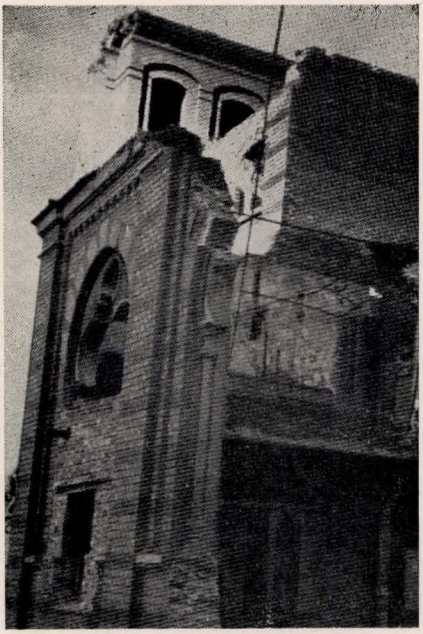
As to Yavne, Dr. Klibansky had made heroic efforts, since

the November events, to transfer his school, both staff and pupils, to England. He was allowed to make several trips there, up to August, 1939, and succeeded in obtaining hostel accommodation with the help of the Central British Council for Refugees, whose president, Sir Herbert (later Lord) Samuel, had been personally interested in the scheme. Pupils of Jewish schools of other German cities were allowed to benefit from this rescue operation. The outbreak of war tragically cut short Klibansky's efforts, and he and his family with the remainder of his staff and pupils were trapped in Germany. By then, Yavne had been closed down officially and factually. What teaching went on was done privately for the small groups of children who were left.

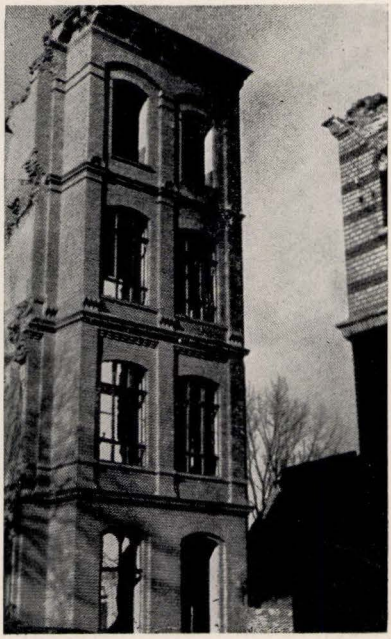
When Nazi Germany started the long planned World War II in September, 1939, the iron trap door came down on what was left of German Jewry. Few, very few, had the good luck to be able to get away even in the middle of the war, such as Minna Weil, who left from Berlin on June 9th, 1941, in a sealed " Jews' coach " through Belgium and France to Spain—and from there to U.S.A. There were still several thousand Jews left in Cologne, their numbers, no doubt, swelled by many who had moved in from other smaller towns and cities from the countryside. Somehow the idea was abroad that Cologne was a better and safer place than the rest of Germany. With the country at war, one might have thought that the Nazis would have no mind to harass the miserable remnant of German Jewry. But not at all. Right through the war years a succession of chicanes and regulations hailed down on them to humiliate and crush them still further. Or were they really and secretly afraid of them? One after another the Nazis promulgated these orders in their nauseating bureaucratic jargon, which bore little resemblance to the language of Lessing, Goethe and Schiller, and the Jewish communal leaders had to chew it all over again in passing it on to their unhappy charges. They were now subject to a curfew between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. Special identity cards with the big " J " were issued to them which also made it possible to give them smaller food rations. After having been forbidden to sit in public transport vehicles, they were soon denied their use altogether. Later they could no longer ride on bicycles which were confiscated from them. Some hypocritical exemptions were



ARON HAKODESH AND PULPIT IN ADASS YESHURUN SYNAGOGUE



LEFT: ADASS YESHURUN SYNAGOGUE IN RUINS—1945



RIGHT: THE SEMINARY IN RUINS—1945

made for *Krankenbehandler* (Jews were not allowed to use the term doctor or *Arzt*) and for schoolchildren. In August, 1942, came a complete prohibition of railway travel. In September, 1941, the wearing of the infamous *Judenstern* (Jewish Star) was made obligatory, and in April, 1942, a similar sign had to be exhibited by every Jewish house or apartment. They were forbidden (May, 1942) to keep pets and to go to non-Jewish barbershops. A month later they had to surrender all electrical appliances, typewriters, duplicating machines, cameras. Earlier on these had to be " registered " with the filling in of a good deal of forms, to feed the paper-hungry Moloch of scribbling and scrawling officialdom. In August, 1942, it was the turn of all types of furs which were confiscated, no doubt to protect the German soldiery against the rigours of the coming Russian winter campaign. Jews were forbidden to address any requests to the authorities and, in the exceptional cases, professional people were not to use their titles or qualifications. Since 1935 the employment of " Aryan " domestics in Jewish homes had been forbidden, but the Nuremberg Laws had stipulated some exceptions in cases of hardship. It is hard to believe that in August, 1942, any such domestics should still have been found working for Jews. But a special regulation had to do away with all the exemptions—perhaps someone was just crazy or had to prove that he was doing a useful job and was not available for military service.

The worst feature of this oppressive regime was housing. Already in March, 1939, the Jewish Community appealed to all Jews to move voluntarily out of houses belonging to Aryans before they were forced to do so, and at the same time to Jewish house owners to help those in search of " Jewish " accommodation. The community now had to go into the house and apartment agency business and laid down stringent rules as to the type and amount of rooms and space which should be taken up by families or individuals. Not long after the legal machine began to move as foreseen. In the spring of 1940 Jews had to move out of all " Aryan " houses. Elderly couples or individuals were now housed in old age homes of a kind in the *Neustadt* and some of the communal buildings, such as the building adjacent to the Roonstrasse Synagogue; the *Rheinlandloge* and the Home for Apprentices were used for the same purpose. The Seminary

building, too, was turned into a *Wohn-und Kinderheim*. By then property owned by Jews was necessarily scarce and the right given by the same law to non-Jewish tenants to break their tenancy agreements with Jewish landlords can have provided but little accommodation in return. There was great overcrowding, and often up to ten people belonging to different families had to share one room. Furniture had to be sold at give-away prices, but was often rather stored away in places later destroyed by allied bombs.

This was not enough. A year later, in May, 1941, even Jewish-owned houses in the better-class suburbs of the city had to be evacuated and the Ghetto was now limited to the *Altstadt, Neustadt* and the northern suburbs. The results in still severer overcrowding and the ensuing physical and psychological degradation and humiliation can easily be imagined. But the end was not yet. In the winter of 1941/2 all Jews, who did not live in the communal buildings mentioned before and who had not yet been deported (the former had to do forced labour), were transferred to the vaults of the disused pre-1914 fortifications in the Müngersdorf suburb. The winter was severe, the subterranean vaults were damp and cold, with the water running down the walls, and between 10 and 20 people had to share a "room." Those housed in some near-by barracks were not much better off. They had not been allowed to take along more furniture than one bed and one chair per person. Only one who has known the comfort in which the great majority of Cologne Jews had lived in their heyday, ranging from *gut-bürgerlich* ease to luxurious elegance of usually high artistic standards, can imagine the depths of misery to which they had now fallen. Nothing was left to them except their eyes to weep with. And yet, as with most of the inmates of Ann Frank's attic, the Nazis could rob these people of everything but their human dignity and courage. This dignity and courage they preserved even during the next and last act of the tragedy.

Deportations. The ominous word had been heard before. Jews of Polish origin had been deported before the outbreak of war. Now the turn of their "German" brethren had come, when the Final Solution had been decided upon and planned with all the thoroughness and inhumanity of which Germans are capable. The first "transport" took place in October 21st, 1941. By a

refinement of cruelty and degradation, it was left to the Jewish communal administration to choose those to be deported, prepare the lists, inform those listed, and make all other necessary preparations. They were merely told how many Jews, usually about one thousand, were to be delivered at the assembly point, the fair and exhibition halls on the right bank of the Rhine, adjoining some railway sidings from which the deportations took place. Here, in days gone by, they had participated in and visited trade fairs and exhibitions or had listened happily and intently to concerts, often with Jewish artists as performers. Each person was allowed 25 kg. of luggage, 100 marks (of which 50 were taken away at once for fares!), provisions for four days, and a mattress; no valuables, no medicines. Everybody was thoroughly examined and searched and some of the officials took pleasure in throwing the carefully packed belongings into disarray. No one knew the destination for sure, though it had been rumoured that it was Poland. The deportees were not particularly despondent and somehow pleased to get away from Cologne which had become a frequent target for allied bombers. Jews were not allowed to use public air-raid shelters, not even those built under their own synagogue. When on May 31st, 1942, one thousand allied bombers rained fire and destruction on Cologne, the Nazis, in their impotent fury, evicted the Jews from their own highly reputed hospital, the pride of Cologne Jewry, and had all the Jewish patients transferred to the Müngersdorf camp, many of them dying in the process.

A second deportation followed the first on October 29th, and a third on December 8th. The first two were to Lodz, in which most of the remaining Adass people were included, the next to Riga. Conditions deteriorated from transport to transport. Already for the second there was a two days' delay in the cold and filthy exhibition halls. S.S. men took away all watches and fountain pens. Everyone had to sign a form "agreeing freely to be accommodated in a well-appointed old age home and to renounce all his possessions to the State." In June, 1942, there was a further deportation of about a thousand to Theresienstadt. This time they were loaded into cattle trucks, the journey took three days and three nights, and many died on the way or on arrival. With them went one of the main congregation's rabbis.

Dr. Isidore Caro, and his wife, and also Karl Kaiserbluth, who had been for many years chairman of the congregation's Welfare Board. Also in June 800 Jews were deported to an unknown destination and are said to have been gassed in railway trucks near Halle. During 1942 four more deportations took place of about a thousand souls each, two again to Theresienstadt, one to Lublin and one to Minsk. Those with the last two and those deported to Riga were either at once or a short time after cruelly done to death together with tens of thousands from other German Jewish communities. The loathsome tale of these murder-convoys continues right through 1943 and 1944 and had now reached the " privileged " Jews, who lived or had lived in mixed marriages, many of whom had non-Jewish offspring serving and dying in Hitler's war. The only way to avoid deportation, the purpose of which had now become clear to everyone, was to end one's life and many chose this desperate path. Jewish doctors wondered whether it was any longer right to struggle for the preservation and prolongation of Jewish lives. The sufferings and death pangs of German Jewry now united them with their Polish, Lithuanian, Russian and other European brethren who were perishing by their millions in the German murder camps.

From the journey to Poland or Russia there was indeed no return. Even in Theresienstadt, the very " best " of the concentration camps, few only survived and were able to come back. Of the members of the Adass Yeshurun only four people returned to tell the tale. At first some severely censored post-cards with few words and little information could be sent from such places as Lodz or Theresienstadt to relatives or friends still in Germany. One can imagine the life of misery and starvation, of slow and painful death in the Ghettos of Poland, even before the process of systematic murder and extermination began. Though human imagination shrinks from such colossal brutality and degradation, the effort ought to be made, and it can be done by thinking of X or Y, of men or women whom we have known and loved, and in our thoughts watch and accompany them on the road to martyrdom. Lest we forget.

Cologne, the Nazis boasted, was now *judenrein*. It really never was. A small number had managed to survive, mostly by living underground, not only Nazi persecution but allied bombing

as well. When, at last, Germany lay defeated and her cities destroyed, they crawled out from the ruins of what was once the pride of Germany, the two thousand year old *Domstadt* on the Rhine, blinking their eyes in the dawn of a new age. Thus ends, for the time being, the history of the Jews of Cologne and the history of the Adass Yeshurun and its institutions.

CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE

IN the summer of 1959, together with my two children, I entered once more, through the well-known, well-worn entrance from the St. Apernstrasse, the precincts of what had been the Adass Yeshurun, the Seminary and the other schools. Twenty-three years had past since I last trod on this holy ground. On two previous visits to Cologne I had not been able to enter. In 1946, because the St. Apernstrasse was still covered several feet deep with rubble and ruins; in 1956 because the gates were closed. The grounds were now, suitably enough, a breaker's yard. In the background nothing was left of the Seminary building but the ruins of the basement. In front of it, over more ruins, a jungle of weeds was growing wild. Of the synagogue, only the back part of the outer walls stood gaunt and desolate with the staircase leading up to a gallery which was no longer there. Gingerly we scrambled down the stairs to the old mikveh, untouched and unused for so many years, the notices 1. *Klasse* and 2. *Klasse* betraying even here some class-consciousness of a bygone age. At a little distance stood the old chestnut tree, untouched by human fury and folly, speaking of the sanity of dumb and inanimate nature. Under this tree, so father threatened year by year, we were to spend our summer holidays; but in the end we went to visit some less familiar parts.

I was telling my children about my own youth spent in these grounds *beyn ha'ulam velamizbe'ach,* sheltered by home, synagogue and school, knowing hardly any other life outside these sacred courts. And soon, to mind's and memory's eye, the ghosts of the past filled what was now a scene of utter desolation, a plot which from the spaciousness of life had shrunk to the insignificance of decay and death. Three generations, even four, of Jews had built here a fortress for Torah and *Mitzvoth,* a stronghold within the walls of which their lives, in the ordered progress and cycle of the Jewish year, found spiritual security and

the happiness of belonging. The men and women who had been going in and out of these gates day after day and week after week were, perhaps, basically little different from the rest of humanity. It takes all sorts to make a community, and all sorts could be found here: the generous and the mean, the sincere and the hypocrites, the venerable and the ridiculous, the genuine and the spurious, the honest and those just a little less so. Some were wise and others fools, some clever or stupid, some intelligent and educated and others simple without much polish but of sound heart and character. We had lived with all of them, observing their good sides as well as their weaknesses and getting much fun out of their eccentricities, just as we had joined passionately in all the conflicts and controversies which had been the very life-blood of the community.

All these individualities were merged into a group of extraordinary strength and vitality. What held them together in all their disparity and what made them distinguishable and gave them distinction was that—as one man—they were determined to preserve the Jewish life, its contents and its forms, as they had received it from their fathers. They would not make concessions in Jewishness either to the Christian world that surrounded them; even less to the spirit of modernism and Reform, rampant among the majority of their fellow-Jews. Tucked away behind those gates in the St. Apernstrasse (or for that matter on the Hohenstaufenring) they tried to keep their sanctuary intact and untarnished by the storms raging outside. It was a sort of Ghetto, created by a type of Jew who was very Jewish, very German, very Rhenish and very *kölsch*. They were sturdy, honest, unpretentious, good-humoured, and prepared to make any sacrifice for the maintenance of Jewish life, of Shabbat, Kashruth or as much of the *Taryag Mitzvoth* as they could manage. Under the protection of the Law, they led well-ordered, decent lives, being less exposed to the temptations which beset an affluent society in an age of revolt and changing values. If on the whole they were somewhat blinkered and narrow-minded, that could hardly have been otherwise. Few only achieve a foothold in two worlds. The Adass Yeshurun had been very lucky in finding leaders who belonged to those few, men who would have shone in larger and greater spheres. They were also lucky in being yoked to an

educational institution of more than local importance which kept before their eyes vistas of wider ideas and responsibilities. After all is said and done, these *Baale Battim* represented a fine type of Jew and they had much to be proud of, as these pages have tried to show. The long and honoured list of institutions and activities which clustered round their synagogue, represents an amazing effort for such a small group. In their own peculiar way and in spite of their numbers, they were the very salt of Cologne Jewry, of that large community to whose achievements in the fields of communal endeavour greatness cannot and must not be denied either.

So they lived until an obscure, semi-literate and maniacal Austrian roused and led the German people, reputed to be one of the most civilised in Christian Europe, to run berserk against its Jewish minority, and later against the whole world and European Jewry in particular, only to bring disaster upon themselves in due course. In the merciful breathing space of six years given to German Jewry up to September, 1939, some four-fifths at least of Adass members and their families were, as we have seen, able to escape abroad. They not only saved their lives, and some even the whole or part of their fortunes, but with them they took the image and discipline of Kehilla life as they had known it.

In their new lands of dispersion they at once set about rebuilding either new Kehilloth together with like-minded Jews from their old homeland, or joined existing congregations enriching them with their own peculiar Jewish experience and enthusiasm. (The miracle of how the refugees from Germany rebuilt their lives—economically, socially and religiously—deserves to be told and described in detail.) In Eretz Israel in particular, in the freedom and independence of the renascent Jewish state and society, Jews from the Adass circle quickly found their feet, and they, their children and grandchildren are making a fine contribution to the country's expanding life, not the least by preserving, in the welter of conflicting religious ideas and sects, their own rational and humanistic *Torah-im-Derech-Eretz* type of Judaism. It should be added that, both here and in the *Golah*, some of the younger elements have turned with great avidity and enthusiasm to a more intense and exclusive Jewish life of the

Yeshiva or the chasidic type. That, again, is another story. What matters is that the enemy was not able to destroy the spirit, the human dignity and Jewish idealism that once built and animated the Adass Yeshurun, its leaders, its *Baale Battim* and *Neshey Chayil*, its teachers and pupils. The spirit lives on.

Nor should the memory of those who created and lived by it be allowed to fade. They deserve their place, modest as it may be, in the glorious, blood-stained annals of the Jewish people. This the present writer has endeavoured to achieve on these pages. May his effort not be unworthy of the lives and deeds, which he has here recorded.

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ד"ר זוב סלונים היה
בברכה. אלא המחבר.



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was born in 1908 into the bustle of the Jewish community whose life and death are described in this book. He received his education, both Jewish and general, in a Jewish elementary school, a Catholic gymnasium, a Lithuanian Yeshiva, and German and French universities, but learned much at home and from private tutors. Having chosen a career in Law, he left Germany with the advent of Hitler in 1933, studied for the rabbinate at Jews' College, London, and is now rabbi of the Jewish community of Belfast and Northern Ireland.