

A German Rabbi goes East

BY ALEXANDER CARLEBACH

Prefatory Note to the Letters published below.

To the German Jews the first World War brought some unexpected developments; it was, in effect, a turning point in German-Jewish history. This turning point was no less decisive because it affected not their material condition but their spiritual life and the ideological basis of their existence. Foremost in importance was the "discovery" of Eastern Jewry, of what they called "Das Ostjudentum" but had scarcely known before 1914. The revolutionary impact of this encounter on many German Jews, serving in the East as soldiers or civilians, has been pointed out before and has found literary expression in such works as in the famous letters of Franz Rosenzweig (see note on p. 67), one of many assimilated young German Jews who through Eastern Jewry found the way to their people.

But apart from this personal impact there was another involvement of German Jewry which is seldom remembered to-day. The fact that Imperial Germany occupied a large Eastern territory formerly under Russian domination, with its masses of Jews, put upon the German Jews, though for a short period only, a peculiar kind of political responsibility. Being both Jewish and German they were the obvious middlemen between the occupying power (which at that time was only mildly anti-semitic, if at all, compared with Nazi Germany) and the Jewish masses. Against this background the episode reflected in the letters published here must be viewed and evaluated.

When war broke out in August 1914 it was an hour of destiny for the Jewish people in many lands. The largest Jewish community, counting many millions, was that of the Russian Empire crowded together in its western belt of subject countries. For the Jews no less than for the Poles, Lithuanians, Letts, Ukrainians etc. the war offered the hope of liberation from Russian oppression. While these hopes were fulfilled for many of these peoples, the suffering of the Jews did not come to an end with the fall of the Romanovs.

The Jewish community to which the present letters refer, was that of so-called Congress Poland, that part of Poland assigned to Russia by the Congress of Vienna (1815). It numbered upwards of two million souls with some 400,000 in Warsaw alone. Practically disenfranchised, they enjoyed even less liberty than the oppressed Poles and were subject to innumerable discriminatory laws. The great majority were living near the starvation line. The hatred of the Poles against the Jews showed itself

chiefly by a boycott which restricted still further the narrow basis of their economy. Only a very small section of the Jewish population had achieved wealth or comfort in industry, commerce or the professions; a somewhat larger element served as labour in the small Jewish sector of a nascent industry, the vast majority being small traders and craftsmen or just *Luftmenschen*, unemployed and unemployable.

In spite of these miserable political and economic conditions, the cultural and religious life of Polish Jewry was flourishing. The majority, probably no less than two thirds, were Chasidim, living their intensely religious life along old-established lines, guided by a great number of *Rebbeim* and Rabbis. Their children were educated in the exclusive atmosphere of Chadarim and Yeshivot; they were distinct in their dress, spoke Yiddish only and, judged by European standards, were a rather backward community. Those who had broken away from this way of life, though not necessarily from Jewish tradition altogether, were nationalists in the sense that they believed that Jews could live their own national and cultural lives based on the Yiddish language more or less in isolation from their Polish surroundings. They expected to see this minority status recognised by the majority nation in whatever constitution this nation would adopt. So did the Zionist element, with the difference that they wished to see the Hebrew language given priority over Yiddish, and that they propagated a Jewish National Home in Palestine as the true solution of the Jewish problem as a whole. A split similar to the one which divided the middle-class Nationalists and Zionists, divided the socialist labour organisation "Bund" from the Zionist "Poale Zion." Nationalists and Zionists together represented about 30 % of the Jewish population. Both had their own schools in which either Yiddish or Hebrew were languages of instruction. They published their own daily papers and periodicals. A very small section of intellectuals and wealthy Jews advocated a policy of Polonisation, spoke Polish, and sent their children to Polish schools.

The invasion of Poland by the Central Powers threw this precariously balanced community into turmoil and chaos. The Russians would not relax their anti-Jewish policies even at the moment of their supreme peril. On the contrary, they accused the Jewish population of hostility and treachery and evacuated it wholesale from the pale of settlement to the interior of Russia. Hundreds of thousands thus lost whatever livelihood they had and were exposed to hunger, cold, epidemics and the cruelties of the Russian soldiery. Compared with them the German armies, which by the summer of 1915 had conquered and occupied the whole of Poland, were humane and civilised and were, in fact, welcomed as liberators by the suffering populations. But the military regime, which the Germans by necessity imposed, was often oppressive and bound up with all sorts of chicanery. Nor had they much understanding, let alone love, for the peculiarities of the Jewish masses.

What made the German yoke so much easier to bear was that it brought with it the promise of liberation from the Russian tyranny. It was Germany's declared policy to set up a Kingdom of Poland, and very soon certain powers were transferred to Polish authorities on a municipal and even national scale. At the same time the Germans recognised the need for themselves and the Poles to safeguard the rights of the minorities in the new Polish state. In any event, for the task of dealing with the Jewish population and their problems, present and future, the military and civil administration were willing and indeed pleased to avail themselves of the help and advice of German Jews who were the natural liaison officers between these disparate worlds. Leading German Jews needed no prompting to shoulder a responsibility that was so obviously theirs, nor were they unaware of the tremendous problems created for Polish Jewry by the war and the German occupation. Already in September 1914, on the initiative of Dr. Max Bodenheimer, a prominent lawyer, communal leader and active Zionist, a *Comitee für den Osten* (Committee for the East) was established for this very purpose. On it sat representatives of the major Jewish organisations in Germany, Zionist and anti-Zionist alike. On the orthodox side, the *Freie Vereinigung für die Interessen des orthodoxen Judentums* had established contact with the German government and obtained permission to send a delegation to Warsaw which was to advise the civil (and military) authorities and to act as liaison between them and the overwhelmingly orthodox Jewish population. Why just the *Freie Vereinigung* rather than the *C.f.d.O.* was given these facilities is somewhat of a mystery.*

So it was that in February 1916 two orthodox German rabbis made their appearance in Warsaw. One was Dr. Pinchas Kohn, rabbi of Ansbach in Bavaria and co-editor with Rabbi Dr. S. Breuer of Frankfurt, of the *Jüdische Monatshefte* (ירוש טוב למונת) The other was the writer of the following letters, Dr. Emanuel Carlebach, rabbi of the independent ("secessionist") Adath Yeshurun Congregation in Cologne and principal of the Jewish Teachers' Training College there. Born in 1874, he was the second of the twelve children of Rabbi Dr. Salomon Carlebach of Lübeck.** He had obtained his doctorate at Würzburg University, his rabbinical diploma from Dr. Breuer's Yeshiva in Frankfurt and had, prior to his Cologne appointment in 1904, been rabbi of Memel for five years. The two rabbis were both attached to the German civil administration of the Generalgouvernement of Poland. Dr. Kohn acted as adviser to Dr. Ludwig Haas, a liberal member of the German Reichstag and also a "liberal" Jew, who was in charge of the department for Jewish affairs.*** Dr. Carlebach, on the other hand, was to advise the School Department on questions

*See P. Kohn, *Eine würdige Jubiläumserinnerung, Schriften herausgegeben vom Vorstand der Freien Vereinigung anlässlich des 50jährigen Bestehens der Vereinigung, Folge II, Frankfurt, 1936.*

**See H. Cohn, Joseph Carlebach in: LBI Year Book V, 1960, p. 58 f.

***See Judith Schrag-Haas in: Bulletin des Leo Baeck Instituts, IV, 13, April 1961, p. 73 f.

affecting Jewish schools of the Cheder type, under Professor Dr. Herold, who had been deputy mayor of Düsseldorf when the war broke out. As can be seen from his letters the two and their departments worked in close co-operation.

Both in their political and educational work Kohn and Carlebach entered into intimate relationship with the chasidic and rabbinic leaders of Polish Jewry, the house of Ger and their followers in particular. The Gerer Rebbe, Abraham Mordechai Alter, was then the most powerful and influential rabbinical figure in Poland, his followers being numbered in hundreds of thousands. The basic conception of the orthodox delegation was that events had made radical changes in the life of chasidic-orthodox Jewry in Poland inevitable. It would therefore be better, indeed vital for the preservation of the religious character of Polish Jewry, that whatever outward reforms might become necessary should be carried out with the help and advice of men, orthodox themselves, who were in basic sympathy with the chasidic way of life and thought — and not by their nationalist and secularist opponents. Only such men could hope to obtain the confidence of the chasidic and rabbinic leaders. This, indeed, Carlebach and Kohn did, though they met with a good deal of distrust and opposition as well. Here the unflinching support of the Gerer Rebbe was invaluable and indeed indispensable. The two rabbis were able to set up an over-all orthodox party organisation, with its own daily paper, to begin a reform of the antiquated Cheder system and of the training of teachers, to establish model Chadaram, and an orthodox school for girls (whose education had been entirely neglected by the Chasidim hitherto). They even obtained the consent of chasidic leaders to prepare new regulations and laws concerning the organisation of the Jewish communities and Jewish schools in the future Poland. All these activities are reflected in the letters.

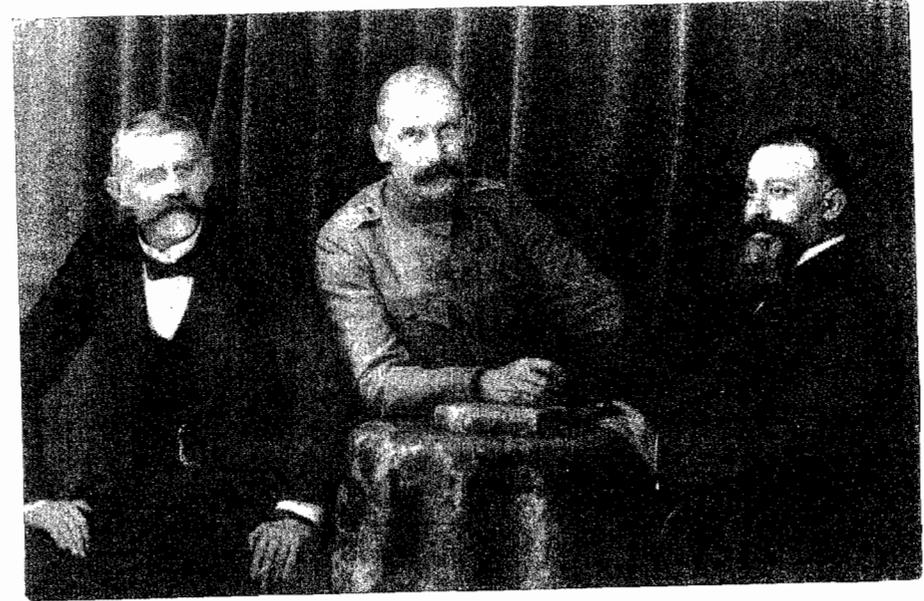
As much as the orthodox welcomed the two rabbis and the role they played in their affairs, as strong and violent was the opposition they called forth from nationalist and Zionist circles. There was, curiously enough, no such opposition from the assimilationist leaders. On the contrary, they often worked quite harmoniously together, though there can be found in Carlebach's letters an occasional doubt as to the propriety and wisdom of such an alliance. To the nationalists of all shades, however, and to their supporters in Berlin, the fact that these two rabbis, friends of the Chasidim and opponents of Jewish nationalism, had the exclusive trust of the German administration, was a thorn in their side and a continuous source of irritation and frustration. True enough, relations between Carlebach and Kohn and the representatives of the Committee for the East (amongst whom there were such Zionists as Max Bodenheimer, Adolf Friedemann and Franz Oppenheimer), were very friendly at first and even intimate. They were cordial, too, with Lazarus Barth, a religious Zionist (Mizrachist) who worked in the German administration. Things changed however when

the Orthodox Party (*Agudas Ho'orthodoxim*) and their daily paper (*Dos Yiddishe Wort*) had been established. This created a serious political rival for the nationalists and foreshadowed the political emancipation of the hitherto politically uneducated orthodox masses, who would no longer accept the guardianship of men not of their own choosing and persuasion. An attempt was made, at the instigation of Dr. Jonas Simon of Heidelberg, now of New York, who was Pinchas Kohn's brother-in-law, to iron out the difficulties between the two rabbis and the Zionist leaders in Germany. In April 1917 a meeting took place in Berlin between Carlebach and Kohn on the one hand and Arthur Hantke and Julius Berger on the other. But no common ground could be found. According to Hantke and Simon it was Carlebach who adopted an uncompromising attitude. He was not prepared to renounce co-operation with the assimilationists, while the Zionist spokesmen had proposed a common front against them.

It would be wrong to see in nationalist opposition to the activities of Kohn and Carlebach merely the result of jealousy and power politics. The struggle had deep and legitimate ideological foundations. The nationalists, which includes the Zionists, were striving to obtain for the Jews of Poland the rights of a national minority, implying a lesser degree of cultural autonomy. They wanted Yiddish or Hebrew recognised as the official language in Jewish life, particularly in schools. All this was anathema to the Poles, who, seeing themselves at last, after centuries of divisions and persecution, within reach of their goal of a Polish nation-state, believed their national unity and coherence threatened by the centrifugal forces of minority nationalism. Least of all were they prepared to concede minority rights to the hated Jews, a people without a country of their own and without that protection from outside for which other minorities like Germans, Lithuanians or Ukrainians could hope.

Kohn and Carlebach and their friends, both within and without the Administration were not only lukewarm towards the cultural and essentially irreligious nationalism of the Folkists or Zionists. They were primarily interested in finding a *modus vivendi*, in the most literal sense of the word, by which Poles and Jews might live reasonably and peacefully together in the new Poland. This, in view of the deeply ingrained Jew-hatred of the Poles, might have been a forlorn hope. But they believed that insistence on national minority rights would perpetuate this hatred and make life still more difficult for Jews in Poland. This is exactly what happened when the victorious powers later forced the Poles to accept the incorporation of such rights in the Peace Treaty of Versailles (art. 93). It poisoned Polish-Jewish relations from beginning to end.

The two rabbis were content, as were the orthodox leaders of Polish Jewry and, of course, the small group of assimilationist "aristocrats", that the Jewish community should be recognised as a separate denomination with full political and civil equality for Jews as individuals. After all, if



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 in Warsaw, and Pinchas Kohn (right).

this was good enough in Germany and throughout Western Europe, why was it "treason" or even "high treason" (as the *Jüdische Rundschau*, the weekly of the German Zionists, wrote) in Poland? A German orthodox Jew, of the school of S. R. Hirsch, could hardly be expected to realise that this purely religious and denominational conception of Jewish corporate existence was the fruit of the age of enlightenment and emancipation in which both Jew and Gentile alike strove to overcome the idea of a Jewish nation. The renunciation of nationhood, at least for the present, was by implication the price which orthodox Jews no less than adherents of Reform were prepared to pay for civil equality. With the advance of the twentieth century this concept began to lose its validity, nor did it ever fit the true situation and mentality of the vast majority of Polish Jews. One ought to add that the chasidic masses were as little ripe for national minority status as for that of "Polish citizens of the Jewish persuasion".

The chasidic leaders, advised by Carlebach and Kohn, had no fears for the preservation of their own way of life, including their Yiddish language, and a few hours of elementary teaching in Polish in their schools was considered a relatively harmless concession. To them National Minority Status was a mere political catchword and did not appeal to their emotions. They had the substance, why then worry about the form? But the urchins who ran after Kohn and Carlebach in the streets of Warsaw shouting with derision *Nor a religie, nor a religie!* ("A religion only, a religion only") had a point. They in turn had no idea that these rabbis might have their own mental reservations as to the merely religious character of Jewry, and that they had their own Jewish national pride and patriotism, though it had a different connotation from that of their opponents. To this pride and patriotism Carlebach's letters bring their eloquent testimony. He, perhaps less thick-skinned than Pinchas Kohn, was deeply hurt by this kind of vilification carried on by the nationalist-Zionist press in Poland — and in Germany — which he considered a slanderous attack on his Jewish honour. On the other hand, he was too prejudiced against Zionism, considered as an attempt to secularize the idea of Jewish nationhood, to appreciate the traditional ideals which found expression in the new national movement. Nor must one assume that political virtue was all on one side and that the orthodox side was incapable of using some of the methods which were so much resented if practised by their opponents. It should be added that from Aguda circles in Germany voices were also raised in criticism of the anti-nationalist policy pursued by Kohn and Carlebach in Poland.

When Kohn and Carlebach fled from Poland on the tender of a locomotive, with the Polish stoker more than symbolically threatening their lives, it appeared that all their labours had been in vain. Curiously enough they were not. The Haas-Kohn communal constitution did good service up to the end of the Polish republic in 1939. So did the school law on which

Carlebach had co-operated. The reform of the Cheder and the establishment of orthodox girls' schools were seeds that slowly but surely bore fruit. It would have been a vain hope to "westernize" the chasidic masses within three years (cp. the reference to Moses Auerbach's scepticism in this respect in the letter of March 5th, 1918). Out of the *Agudas Ho-orthodoxim* grew the *Agudas Yisroel* of Poland, which between 1918 and 1939 sent deputies into the Sejm and the municipalities; and the political experience thus gained was of great value not only to this party but to the *Yishuv* in the Jewish National Home, and later in the State of Israel. *Dos Yiddishe Wort* continued to appear for many years under the name of *Der Yid* as the organ of the Aguda. Above all, the helping hand which Carlebach and Kohn were able to extend to thousands and thousands of suffering Jews was enough to justify their selfless and self-sacrificing work in Warsaw and should secure them a place of honour in the annals of Jewry.

The real importance of Emanuel Carlebach's letters lies in the revelation they afford of the inner mind and soul of a western orthodox rabbi and, furthermore, of his reactions on being confronted with the chasidic reality in the East. There can be little doubt that these letters present to those who did not have the privilege of knowing their writer in the flesh, one of the finest products of German orthodoxy. He represents a generation of spiritual leaders that had grown to full stature within the ideological and organisational framework created successively by men like Jacob Ettlinger, Isaac Bernays, Samson Raphael Hirsch, Esriel Hildesheimer, David Hoffmann and many others of their contemporaries. These men were the architects of a unique and on the whole tremendously successful synthesis of Jewish life and thought with what was best in European culture and civilisation. Based on this synthesis they built *Kehilloth*, founded schools and colleges, carried on research and created literature, published a host of weeklies, monthlies and quarterlies, and set up a variety of national and international organisations with a wide range of political, social and cultural aims in the service of Jews everywhere. And in spite of rifts and divisions, such as those created by the problems of secession or Zionism, the orthodox rabbinate of Germany of all shades, supported by a like-minded intelligentsia, was a body of enlightened and creative men, deeply devoted to their Jewish ideals. They should command respect and admiration from the distance of a new and different age. And this orthodoxy, in turn, in spite of the very real and sincerely felt differences, was merely one facet, and an important one, of the totality of German-Jewish life and culture which created and sustained it.

Carlebach and Kohn's "mission" to the East was a conscious and deliberate effort to reform Polish religious Jewry in accordance with their own *Torah-im-Derech-Eretz* pattern. Even before they set out for Warsaw, they were animated by a deep respect, though not without reservations, for Eastern Jewry and Chasidism, for their world of ideas and their forms of

life. Carlebach, in particular, while rabbi at Memel, had had revealing and fruitful contacts with Lithuanian Jewry and its austere Torah-filled and Torah-disciplined scholars and *Baale Battim*. But, as the following letters show, the impact of chasidic life on him was tremendous. Whether it was the atmosphere of the synagogue or *Beth Hamedrash* at prayer, with its warm, unreflective enthusiasm and its enchanting melodies; or that of the chasidic Sabbath table exuding a spirit of other-worldly sanctity; whether it was the picturesque chasidic dress and hair-style: all these and more overwhelmed a man of such fine religious and aesthetic sensitivity as Emanuel Carlebach. The immediate comparisons with Jewish life at home were not too favourable to the latter. More than anything else it was the great familiarity with rabbinic learning of the Polish Jew that provoked his admiration and envy. Nevertheless, he was not blind to the weaknesses of chasidic ways: the total absence of orderliness, cleanliness, table-manners and sense of time; their obscurantism and superstitions and their denial of social equality to their womenfolk. As time went on, he became aware of the petty intrigues of competing chasidic *rebbe*s and their courtiers, and his admiration somewhat waned. He remembered with pride the standards and achievements of his own, no less legitimate, Judaism. But there can be no doubt that to Emanuel Carlebach, as to innumerable German Jews — orthodox or not**** — the encounter with the vigorous, living forces of Eastern Jewry meant an enrichment of their Jewish personality and the adding of another dimension to their national-religious awareness. This significant episode in the relations between Western and Eastern Jewry illuminates the contrast between those who still lived in the age of emancipation and assimilation, and those whom the 19th century had almost completely passed by. It is the irony of history's dialectics that, while the reformatory zeal of the rabbis from the West had its effects, the encounter boomeranged in that it contributed to a greater awareness in them of the shortcomings of their own mentality and way of life which they had hoped to transplant to the East.

These letters also present a fascinating contrast between the world of the Chasidim and that of the German aristocrats, officers and high officials; between these two worlds Carlebach and Kohn had to divide their hectic lives. One is surprised, too, at the astounding intimacy that would spring up between a rabbi and representatives of the German ruling classes, some of whom were no doubt men of high intellectual and moral calibre. Here, too, Carlebach has his doubts. He asks "whether this would have been possible before the war, and will it remain like this." Prophecy indeed.

However, the impact on these Germans as on Polish Jewry of Carlebach's magic personality was immediate and profound. The latter soon learned to appreciate his sincere Jewish piety, his great learning and his love and

****Cf. Franz Rosenzweig, *Briefe*, p. 320 f. and his remarks concerning Carlebach and Haas.

devotion to his fellow-Jews. For the Germans his nobility and charm, his princely bearing and his wide culture came somewhat as a surprise. To them he became "the man with the festive-solemn eyes". And all the time he remains the passionate, loving and adoring husband, the father solicitous for his sons, for their regular attendances at Synagogue, for their assiduity at "Learning", for their progress at school, their Latin and their physical exercise; he remains deeply concerned about the welfare of his congregation and his Seminary at home which suffers by his absence. The conflict of conscience as between his duties at home and his responsibilities at Warsaw casts its shadows from beginning to end. A son might be forgiven for expressing praise and admiration for the writer of these self-revelatory letters. But he hopes that the less biased reader, too, will recognize in them an outstanding personality, humane, lovable and sincere; a man in whose mind and heart a great moment in Jewish history was nobly enacted and portrayed.

EMANUEL CARLEBACH'S LETTERS FROM WARSAW, 1916-1918

The letters here published were addressed by Rabbi Dr. Emanuel Carlebach to his wife and children during the three years of his mission in Poland. They are, of course, private letters, not political reports, and, as in such letters, much of the content is incidental. Carlebach also wrote official reports for the Central Office of the Freie Vereinigung in Frankfurt which had delegated him, and sometimes he mentions to his wife a copy of one of them, which was apparently enclosed. Unfortunately these documents seem to have been lost with all the archives of the Freie Vereinigung.

Of all the letters preserved only about one half could be printed here, the main reason was the shortage of space, but many passages, concerning family matters, or the writer's daily routine and private life were omitted as they would have been of little interest to the general reader. Also omitted were occasional sentences containing rather harsh criticism of other people which was certainly not intended for a wider circle.

For technical reasons most of the Hebrew expressions, which Carlebach wrote in Hebrew, have been transcribed into Latin characters, spelled as he pronounced them in the usual Ashkenasi pronunciation. In the foot-notes (a.) stands for Aramaic, (h.) for Hebrew, (j.-d.) for Judeo-German, and (y.) for Yiddish.

Liebe Minna,

Berlin, den 18. Januar 1916.

Ich will Dir über meine Reise und meinen Aufenthalt hier vorläufig nur ganz kurz berichten.

Ich bin durch die Güte des Zugführers erster Klasse gefahren und habe ganz gut schlafen können. Bald nach meiner Ankunft im Elite Hotel habe ich Herrn und Frau Dr. Haas,¹ die gerade mit Herrn Dr. James Simon² konferierten, gesprochen. Nach der Besprechung mit Dr. H. hatten wir dann gemeinsam eine Konferenz über mein Warschauer Vorgehen, an der

¹See Prefatory Note, p. 62.

²Cotton-merchant, philanthropist and maecenas, prominent member of Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden.

sich Dr. Biberfeld³, Dr. Esra Munk⁴ und Dr. Meier Munk⁵, Dr. Meier Hildesheimer⁶ u. Dr. Kohn⁷, Ansbach, beteiligten. Fest steht jedenfalls zunächst Folgendes: — Ich kann für die ersten 2 Monate auf irgendwelche Mitarbeit seitens eines dieser Herren nicht rechnen und muss meine Mission in Warschau zunächst allein in die Hand nehmen. Aber über die Art meines Vorgehens haben wir uns eingehend ausgesprochen, sodass ich auch weiss, was im Sinne dieser Herren liegt.

Gleich nach dem Mittagstisch besuchten mich im Elite Hotel Herr Dr. Nobel⁸, Frankfurt a/M. in Begleitung des Herrn Justizrat Lienthal, Syndikus der Jüdischen Gemeinde, Berlin. Sie hätten von meiner Berufung nach Warschau gehört und auch erfahren, dass diese auf Vorschlag der Freien Vereinigung erfolgt sei. Nun müsse ich doch begreifen können, dass sie sich wieder durch das Vorgehen der Freien Vereinigung aufs Tiefste gekränkt fühlen müssen, sie, d.h. die konservativen Elemente innerhalb der Konferenzgemeinschaft der deutschen Grossgemeinden des D.I.G.B. und des Verbandes der deutschen Juden. Ich werde doch wohl wissen, dass ein viel grösserer Teil orthodoxer Juden der Freien Vereinigung nicht angehöre, als ihr angeschlossen seien, und so müssten sie von mir verlangen, mich auch zugleich finanziell und ideell als ihr Beauftragter zu fühlen, wenn die Freie Vereinigung nicht Gefahr laufen wolle, dass die genannten konservativen Elemente sich zusammenschliessen, eine Sonderaktion in die Wege leiten und ebenfalls um Entsendung eines Delegierten nach Warschau bei der Behörde nachsuchten. Sie wünschten also, dass ich vor allen Dingen meine Berichte über meine Wahrnehmungen und Eindrücke und meine Vorschläge zur Aenderung der Verhältnisse und Reorganisation des dortigen Schulwesens nicht nur der Regierung und der Freien Vereinigung unterbreite, sondern auch regelmässig ihnen zustelle. Ich nahm kein Blatt vor den Mund, und wenn ich mich auch unter der Voraussetzung, dass die F.V. auch damit einverstanden sei, was ich in sichere Aussicht stellte, bereit erklärte, ihnen meine Berichte zugehen zu lassen, so fragte ich doch den Herrn Justizrat, inwiefern er befugt sei, im Auftrage irgendwelcher konservativer Elemente des deutschen Judentums zu sprechen und bemerkte Herrn Dr. Nobel gegenüber, dass ich sein ganzes Verlangen nicht für einen sachlich begründeten Wunsch anerkennen kann, sondern nur für eine Prestige- und Kowedfrage halte. Man antwortete mir, da sei ich doch auf dem Holzwege. Denken Sie doch, sagte der Herr Justizrat, an folgende Episode: Die Grossgemeinden Deutschlands wenden sich an die Behörde

³Physician, leading member of Adass Jisroel Congregation of Berlin.

⁴Rabbi of Adass Jisroel Congregation of Berlin.

⁵Brother of preceding, chemist, lived up to 1914 on an estate nr. Lemberg.

⁶Preacher at Adass Jisroel Synagogue, Berlin, son of Ezriel H., founder of that congregation and of the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary.

⁷See Pref. Note p. 62.

⁸Nehemia Nobel, rabbi at the orthodox, but non-secessionist, synagogue of the Frankfurt Jewish Community.