

of Isaac ha-Levi), turned to the Catholic clergy for aid, and thanks to them the danger was averted. The Jewish community of Deutz then established a holiday.

With one stroke of the French pen the University of Cologne was abolished on April 28, 1798, along with the other schools of higher learning on the left bank of the Rhine. Its last Rector was Wallraf.

SECTION IV
THE COMMUNITY IN
MODERN TIMES

CHAPTER I

UNDER FRENCH RULE

THE era of enlightenment left its traces on the Electoral Duchy of Cologne. When Elector Maximilian Franz established and dedicated a new college in Bonn, in 1777, his act was taken to symbolize the triumph of the spirit of enlightenment. In this new academy Jews, too, were permitted to study, although they could not obtain a degree. I. A. von Franz, the Canon and Scholastic of the St. Gereon Monastery in Cologne, in his book, *Considerations on the Inception and Encouragement of Trade and of the Professions Connected with it in the Electoral Principality of Cologne*, posed the question whether or not intolerance was the chief reason for the deterioration of trade in these lands. He does not mention the Jews specifically, and he answers the question by saying that the unsatisfactory state of business could not be blamed either on religion or on the laws which tolerate only Catholics and not Protestants. The real cause, he concluded, lay elsewhere. But the mere discussion of the question is indicative of the general attitude. The press of the Rhineland followed the events in France very closely. The *Reichsoberpostamts Zeitung* of Cologne, for example, on January 2, 1790 and February 6, 1791, and the

Welt-und-Staatsbote of Cologne on October 3, 1791, reported the decision of the National Assembly in Paris to grant full citizenship to the Jews of France.

As a result of the French occupation of the left bank of the Rhine these decisions of the French Assembly assumed real significance for the Jewish population of the district. To be sure, the Jewry of Bonn hailed the return of Elector Max Franz in 1793, and held a welcoming service in the synagogue. The *Politische Gespraechen der Toten*, speaking about the events of 1793, remarked, "One may truthfully assert that the German Children of Israel have behaved during these days quite like Germans." But the glory of the Prince-Elector came to an end the very next year. On October 6, 1794, the French entered Cologne, and on October 8 they arrived in Bonn. On November 4, 1797 the government in Paris united the entire left bank of the Rhine with France. On December 23, 1802 there followed the political absorption of the Rhenish territory of the Roer-Rhein-Moselle, the Saar, and the Donnersberg *départements*. A new ideological reality appeared in the Rhineland, namely the idea of universal citizenship. In place of a State divided into castes, such as had existed during the eighteenth century, the French administration instituted, at least during its heyday, a politically unified state. The French juridical reforms established equality before the law and in the courts. Chains which had existed for hundreds of years were now broken; new forces were let loose. Thus, on the basis of the decisions of the French

National Assembly of September 27, 1791, the Jews of the Rhenish *départements* became citizens of France.

Probably through the influence of Doctor Ansel, General Hoche, in September 1797, abolished the Jewish Body Tax on the left bank of the Rhine. Ansel's influence was due to his position as physician to Rethel, the French government representative in the City of Cologne. The same influence, that of Ansel and his like-minded friends, probably obtained, in September 1797, the destruction of the wooden gates which barred the *Judengasse* in Bonn.

In the City of Cologne non-Jews now had to accustom themselves to seeing Jews once more within the city boundaries without having previously obtained permission to enter. However, as long as the old city constitution was in force, Jews could not settle in Cologne. Correctly the evangelical merchant, Johann Jakob Schuell, made the following statement before the magistrates of Cologne, on October 20, 1797, "The sensible and true Roman Catholic must now be filled with shame when he sees that the Jew alone has to pay a Body Tax, or that the Protestant must deny his own name, purchasing for himself that of a [Catholic] burgher, in order to make it possible for him to enjoy advantages and rights to which all human beings are entitled." But only with the arrival of Government Commissioner Rudler, toward the end of 1797, and with the organization of Cologne and the entire Rhineland into French *départements*, were such dif-

ferences abolished. In his proclamation of June 21, 1798, to the inhabitants of the conquered territory, Rudler announced, "Whatever smacks of slavery is abolished. Only before God will you have to give an accounting of your religious beliefs. Your civic rights will no longer depend upon your creeds. Whatever these are, they will be tolerated without distinction and enjoy equal protection."

A few months previously Joseph Isaac of Muelheim on the Rhine had sought civic rights from the Magistracy of Cologne. Since he presented favorable evidence of his previous conduct, and also proved that he would never become a burden to the city because of poverty, permission was granted him, on March 16, 1798, to stay and settle in Cologne. For the rest, his request for civic rights was refused because the French regulations had not yet come into force. In 1801 he was followed by Samuel Benjamin Cohen of Bonn, son of Chief Rabbi Simha Bunem. At the same time there arrived Solomon Oppenheim the Younger and Wolf Cassel, probably his uncle. Already in 1799 two Jewish children were born in Cologne, and in 1800 three more. Also a Jewish wedding took place that year. A number of other Jews arrived in 1800.⁶⁵ Under the presidency of the Chief Rabbi of Bonn these seventeen heads of families united themselves into a Jewish community on the 20th *Vendémiaire* of the year X, that is October 12, 1801. They elected Seligmann Ochs of Lechenich as cantor. They adopted a constitution for the community, consisting of thirteen articles in which the election of the cantor is ratified, the

amount of dues to be paid to the community fixed, and the tariff for the sale of synagogue seats established. This constitution also regulated the rights of the community leadership which was to consist of three persons, plus four other members of the congregation to join the three in matters of communal administration. Other articles in the constitution provided for daily services, the calling up to the Torah, the initiation fee of newly arrived Jews, the rights of the rabbi of the Electoral Principality, and the use of the ritual bath. All the regulations, including the one about the calling up to the Torah, were adopted for three years.*

In 1806 the *arrondissement* of Cologne contained 2,012 Jewish souls, while the canton of Cologne, covering the single *mairie* of Cologne, had 124 souls.⁶⁶ By 1808 the Jewish population of Cologne proper had risen to 133, among whom were two teachers, three merchants, one money-broker, one business agent, five butchers, one day laborer, three peddlers, and two second-hand clothes dealers. There were twenty-five married couples, thirty-three minor boys, twenty-nine minor girls, eleven unmarried men, and nine unmarried women. There is mention also of two children born out of wedlock. For those days the number of children is not large. Two families had seven children each, one family had six, and two families had five each. Insofar as economic life is concerned the Jews engaged in petty trade. The most prominent among them were the merchant-

*See Appendix A.

banker, Solomon Oppenheim, and, on a slightly lower level, the grain-merchant Joseph Levy, the metal dealer Samuel Benjamin Cohen, and the money-lender Heimann Cassel. A number of them, mostly women, had not yet learned the art of writing. A better test of the cultural standing of the group is the fact that in 1805 ten Cologne Jews were subscribers to Mendelssohn's translation of the Psalms, with notes by Brill.

Cologne had to accustom itself to the presence of Jews. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1803 a rumor spread that the Jews would again be expelled from the city, and the community's leaders exerted all their influence with the Burgomaster. On the other hand, the attitude of the French authorities toward the Jews was perfectly clear. They maintained order and applied the law without any discrimination between Jews and Christians. Regardless of consequences, the French carried out the laws concerning the debts of the Jewish communities of the former Electoral Principality. For the purpose of collecting these debts from the Jewish communities, the Government Commissioner, Jollivet, set up a Welfare Commission in Bonn in 1801. (On September 23, 1794 the debts in question amounted to 25,806 *Reichsthaler*, a sum which was not finally liquidated until Prussian times, in 1832.) At the same time the French authorities interested themselves deeply in maintaining the civil equality of the Jews. On May 3, 1801 Commissioner Jollivet took a very decided stand against the Body Tax imposed upon the Jews on the right bank of the Rhine, by

which Jews were counted as cattle and taxed on that basis when they crossed from one little state into another. Since this tax was collected also from the Jews of the left bank when they crossed the river, the agents of the French government received orders to make representations to the German authorities. The abolition of the Body Tax in various states of the right bank, for example Nassau-Orange and the neighboring territory, in the following years, must be attributed to such intervention on the part of the French.

An incident which took place on June 23, 1801 illustrates the French attitude. Samuel Benjamin Cohen, one of the new residents of Cologne, stepped upon the right shore of the Rhine at Deutz, and was charged a Body Tax of four stivers. He turned to the Burgomaster of Cologne and to the French subprefect, who in turn referred the matter to the prefect of the *département*. Their assistance was extended at once.

Jewish religious life also was protected by the French. On September 30, 1800 a Jewish robber, Michel Meyer, was executed in Cologne. On that occasion the President of the Criminal Court of the *Département* of the Roer sent a communication to the Burgomaster of Cologne to the following effect. The rabbis and other religious officials of the Jews shall accompany the condemned to the place of execution; the Burgomaster shall make all necessary arrangements to protect the condemned and the rabbis from the mob; the law was most explicit in its grant of religious freedom, and the President of the Criminal

Court is certain that the Burgomaster will leave nothing undone to see that this sacred law is observed. One request made in 1803 by the heads of the Jewish community was not fulfilled. Joseph Isaac, Solomon Oppenheim the Younger, and Samuel Benjamin Cohen requested that some property of the confiscated Monastery of St. Clarissa be transferred for the use of the synagogue. This was refused.

The regulations about cemeteries, which, according to French Law, had to lie outside the city, were also applied to the Jews. In 1802 negotiations with regard to a separate cemetery outside the city-wall ended in failure. The Jews of Cologne were compelled to use the cemetery at Deutz.

Of particular importance to the Jews of Cologne was the French legislation of the years 1806-1808. Two Jews of Bonn represented the *Département Rhin et Moselle* in the Assembly of Notables and the Synhedrin called by Napoleon to meet in Paris. They were the property-owner, Lion Marx, and the wine-dealer and municipal councillor, Mayer Marx. In addition to them there was also the rabbi of the *département*, Bonum Cohen of Bonn. The *département* of Cologne was represented by Solomon Oppenheim. The Jews of both these districts were required to raise the sum of 2,240 francs for the purpose, and Samuel Benjamin Cohen was empowered by the Jews to do so. Upon the creation of the consistorial system by the Decree of March 17, 1808 for the Jews of France, Cologne was made part of the Consistory of Krefeld, with Loeb Carlsburg as rabbi.

On the same day was issued the so-called Infamous

Decree which destroyed the complete civil equality of the Jews of France. In the first place this decree dealt a serious blow to the collection of debts due to Jews. The moratorium on Jewish debts granted in paragraph 6 of the Decree of May 30 was rescinded. But debts due from minors, women, and soldiers, incurred without the consent of guardians or people appointed for the purpose, were no longer collectible by Jewish creditors. Neither note of credit nor any other written demand in favor of a Jew not in active mercantile business could be honored unless the creditor could prove that the sum stated had been loaned in full and without any subterfuge. Loans of money, the interest on which had increased the total sum by more than fifty percent, could be reduced by the courts, and if such interest had been more than ten percent, might be completely annulled. The courts, moreover, could use their powers of equity to reduce even legitimate and non-interest-bearing loans, or grant a moratorium on their repayment.

The second part of the decree, issued on July 1, 1808, ordained that Jews might engage in trade only upon the possession of a special certificate to be granted by the Prefect upon the presentation of two testimonials. In one testimonial the City Council had to vouch for the applicant that he had not engaged in usury or any other forbidden business activity. In the second testimonial the Jewish Consistory of the applicant's place of residence had to bear witness to his good behavior and uprightness. Any business transaction made by a Jew unprovided with a certificate, or any mortgage taken by him for business,

was to be considered null and void. All contracts and loans issued in favor of a Jew who possessed no certificate of protection were subjected to investigation by the court. If a debtor produced proof of usury or any underhand methods, the court might either reduce the value of the debt, or annul it altogether if the rate of interest exceeded ten percent. The Procurator General of the Court might cancel the certificate of protection any time he was apprised of a Jew's usurious practices. The certificate had to be renewed every year.

The third section of the Infamous Decree forbade the settlement of any more Jews in the Alsatian *départements* of the Upper and Lower Rhine. In the other *départements* of the French Empire only such Jews might settle, in addition to those settled there already, who had acquired land, and desired to devote themselves exclusively to agriculture. The authorities might, however, make some exceptions to this rule. Finally, article 17 provided that whereas Christians subject to military service might have themselves replaced by volunteers, Jews of the same category must under all circumstances perform their own military duty.

The sole mitigating circumstance in the entire Infamous Decree was that its applicability was limited to ten years, provided the government was not disappointed in the hopes it set by the effectiveness of the regulations. Only the Jews of the *départements* of Gironde and Landes (southwestern France) were excepted from the Decree.

No wonder that this Decree with its draconian

rules was dubbed a new Jewry Regulation. Nor is it surprising that the Jews of the entire French Empire, including those of the former German districts, resolutely set themselves to fight against it. In behalf of the Jews of the Roer *département*, the banker, Solomon Oppenheim the Younger of Cologne, sent a petition to the Minister, which the prefect of the *département* supported in a document dated May 1, 1808. Oppenheim called attention to the danger inherent in the Decree to Catholics as well as to Jews, since it made credit impossible. The prefect, however, subsequently changed his stand from one of agreement with Oppenheim to one merely favoring mildness in administration. One may understand, therefore, why the petition of the Jews of this *département* for exemption from the Decree remained unanswered by the Minister despite a number of reminders, the last one dating from May 10, 1810. Another petition transmitted through Solomon Oppenheim on the occasion of Napoleon's presence in Cologne in 1811 met with no greater success. But the efforts made by all the Jews of the various *départements* finally resulted in Napoleon's announcement, on April 11, 1815, that fifteen *départements* would be freed from the Decree. The Minister was empowered, moreover, to nominate other cities, the Jews of which might be similarly liberated. The territory of the German population, however, was affected by none of this, so that the Infamous Decree was in full application against the Jews of the Rhineland throughout the French occupation. In the larger district, the *Arrondissement* of

Cologne, there were in the years 1809 to 1810, two hundred and thirty-one Jews, and in the city itself twenty-two Jews possessing certificates to carry on business. In 1812 the district had two hundred and eighty Jews, while the city had only twenty-three such Jews. Of particular importance in connection with the Jewish population was the French Decree of July 20, 1808 by which the Jews were commanded to adopt permanent family names within three months. In Cologne one hundred and thirty-three Jews adopted such names between October 14 and October 31, 1808. Of the seventy-four people who signed for themselves and their children, forty-five made use of the Latin or German script, nineteen of Hebrew script, eleven did not know how to write. Of the last, seven were women.

In Cologne proper no Jew held public office. In Bonn, however, there was one municipal councillor and one district councillor, the latter being Simon Baruch, uncle of Ludwig Boerne.

CHAPTER 2

UNDER PRUSSIAN RULE

(TILL 1850)

WITH Napoleon's defeat the French had to evacuate the Rhineland, and the Allies occupied the territory. On April 5, 1815 Frederick William III of Prussia took possession and created two provinces out of the territory. A new era began for the Jews of the Rhineland. They were now divided between two administrations, the Grand Duchy of Hesse and two Prussian provinces. At the time there were in the territory of the Rhine some twenty thousand Jewish souls, 15,391 on the left bank of the Rhine, and 5,351 on the right. These, at any rate, are the numbers for the year 1823. In the government district of Cologne there were 3,809 Jews; in the cities and towns 10,969, and in the village 9,773. Bonn counted 475 Jews, Cologne 354, Duesseldorf 315, Coblenz 256, Deutz 238.

The Prussian Edict of March 11, 1812 had granted the Jews of Prussia almost complete equality with other citizens without subjecting them to burdensome regulations in the conduct of trade such as were contained in the French Edict of March 17, 1808. But the Infamous Decree of that date still hung over the Jews of the Rhineland and was not due to expire until the end of 1818. When the French evacuated

the Rhineland, the Allies were not sure whether the Decree could still be considered in force. On August 19, 1814 the District Governor announced to the Chief Burgomaster of Cologne that the entire legal system, including the Decree in question, must remain in force until such time as the supreme authorities would decide upon a complete revision. The special applicability of Article XVI, title 3, of the Infamous Decree, that which concerned the settlement of Jews, was to be decided first, for all these provinces, in a forthcoming military conscription decree. The Jewish Consistory of Bonn transmitted a petition, on December 2, 1814, requesting the discontinuance of at least that regulation, in Article XIII, which limited the claims upon Christians. This, too, was refused. The government replied, on January 24, 1815, that it was impossible to rescind the Decree in whole or in part, but that, when a definite decision had been reached on the subject, the Consistory would still have the right to repeat its petition. Apparently, however, the new government no longer demanded certificates for the conduct of trade. At any rate, since 1814 the certificates fell into disuse. An announcement by the Supreme Administration, on September 18, 1815, continued the functions of the Debt-Settlement Commission mentioned above for the liquidation of the debts of the Jewries in the former Archbishopate of Cologne. The Commission continued its work under the supervision of the royal government.

The principle to be followed in Jewish matters was expressed by the Minister of the Interior on Septem-

ber 5, 1817: "The condition of the Jews in the new provinces shall remain in the status in which they were found at the time of the occupation until comprehensive decisions will introduce a change." On the same day the royal government in Cologne observed that the settlement of Jews and their acquisition of certificates were in a very disorganized state ever since 1814, as a result of the failure to follow the legal prescriptions. Once the former Governor-General of Aix had recognized the continuance of the Decree of March 17, 1808, there was no longer any excuse for the failure of the Jews to observe it, as was the case since 1814. Nor was there, under such circumstances, any excuse for arbitrary action with regard to the settlement of the Jews, or for the toleration of their commerce in Cologne. (The number of Jews had doubled since 1813.) In view of this it was all the more urgent to put an end to irregularities by a strict enforcement of the law. That is why the government ordered the Police President of Cologne to draw up a list of Jews actually in Cologne with or without permission, whether engaged in business or not. Both the City Council and the Consistory were asked to offer their testimony with regard to each individual. On April 18, 1817 the Chief Burgomaster was empowered to grant a temporary permit to the Jewish banker, Solomon Oppenheim, and to those other Jews who had resided in Cologne at the time of the promulgation by the French of the Law of July 25, 1808, provided their behavior since then has been unimpeachable. Thus the Prussian government continued where the French at their worst had left off.

On May 29, 1817 the City Council of Cologne found it necessary to divide the Jews into three classes. The first consisted of those who had been conducting business in the city for some time without evoking any complaint against themselves. In the second class were two groups, those who were settled in the city but a short time and therefore had no certificates, not having created as yet any confidence in themselves, and those whose residence was of longer duration but who had not justified the confidence which had been placed in them when a certificate had been granted. In the third class were the Jews who had already been provided with certificates and whom it would be unreasonable to deprive of such permission since their conduct had not given any excuse for treatment of this sort. The City Council felt that it could grant its testimonial to the first and third classes, but that it had to refuse it to the second. Altogether, this division seems to have been based upon the attitude of the Cologne Chamber of Commerce. For on May 16, 1817 this Chamber had notified the Chief Burgomaster that, in the first place, there were Jews who had been in business a long time, and against whose activity and practices there could be no complaint; that, in the second place, there were those whose reputation was not untarnished; and that, in the third place, there were such who sought gain through any and all means and deserved no consideration. The Chamber of Commerce, however, suggested the application of Article XVI of the Decree of March 17, 1808, according to which no Jew, not already resident in a *département*,

could obtain permission to settle unless, completely refraining from competition with Christian merchants, he purchased arable land and devoted himself exclusively to agriculture.

On September 25, 1817 the City Council drew up its list of Jews resident within the city who, in their opinion, might be granted permission to carry on business. The list contained the names of thirty-three persons, among them two manufacturers of writing-material, one manufacturer of cotton, seven listed merely as merchants, one grocer, one fruit-dealer, six butchers, one jobber, three money-brokers, two horse-dealers, two cattle-dealers, thirteen shop-keepers, one small trader, one second-hand dealer, one clerk. The cotton manufacturer was at the same time a dealer in lottery tickets.

At last the year 1818 approached when the Decree of March 17, 1808 was to expire. But the petitions presented to the *Immediat-Justizkommission* unanimously expressed the wish for the extension of the law. Accordingly, a Royal Order in Council of March 3, 1818 extended the provisions of the Decree until a further decision could be made. On July 20, 1819 the Minister of the Interior set both Lords-Lieutenant to the task of preparing an opinion on the existing legislation and on the principles which might guide the civil relations of the Rhenish Jews in the future. They were asked to keep in mind, however, the favor shown in the Edict of March 11, 1812 to the Jews of the older Prussian provinces.

The strong wave of anti-Jewishness which started in Wuerzburg in 1819 passed over the Jews of

Cologne without physical consequences. Nevertheless, during the same year, a number of local governments sent extensive reports in favor of continuing the French Decree of 1808. Expressions of disagreement with such a view were rare. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ingersleben was alone in expressing the view that laws for the moral improvement of the Jews had had no effect; that, on the contrary, they increased the evil. The Jews of the Rhineland being no different from those of the Prussian provinces, he claimed, they should be treated in the same fashion, and the more liberal Prussian Law of 1812 be applied also to the provinces of the Rhine. The Prussian government, however, did not follow this suggestion.

The situation seemed gloomy enough in other respects as well. Coblenz witnessed physical attacks upon the Jews. The Prussian Society for the Promotion of Christianity Among the Jews, founded in 1822 with headquarters in Neuwied and Wesel, received every support from the king and the government. Moreover, at the order of the Minister of the Interior, May 7, 1822, an important civil right was taken away from the Jews of the Rhineland. As a result of an incident which caused considerable attention, the district governors were commanded thereafter not to include Jews in the lists of jurors which they submitted to the Presidents of the Courts of Assizes. In addition, Jews were prohibited from practicing law, maintaining an apothecary shop, and even from holding the position of court bailiff. Thus, while the Prussian Law of March 11, 1812 was not applied to the Jews of the Rhine provinces, such

Prussian legislation as contained restrictions was extended to them.

The government made the acceptance and settlement of Jewish families dependent upon the literal prescriptions of the French Decree of 1808. The only change was that Prussian government districts replaced the previous *départements*. Consequently, the government of Cologne, on October 5, 1818, ordered the City Council to grant or refuse the testimony required of it by majority rule and, after considering the evidence, to state whether the Jew applying for a testimonial had dealt in usury or any other forbidden occupation. On October 29, 1818 a decision was made in Cologne granting certificates to Jews arriving from other parts of the country to settle in the city if they could prove that they had previously possessed a certificate.⁶⁷

Very soon disagreements developed between the general government and the city in the matter of the Jewish certificates, indicating that the city's attitude toward the Jews was still one of hostility. The government of Cologne began by demanding, on February 26, 1820, that every Jew, whom the City Council granted a testimonial saying that he had not engaged in usury or forbidden trade, should receive from the Council a document on official paper signed by all the members present at the time of the decision. On June 14, 1820 the government declared that it would not insist upon the drawing up of individual testimonials in the future. It asked rather that the register of the City Council contain by the side of a Jew's name either the testimonial granted

him or the reason for its refusal. The City Council, however, on June 30, 1822, decided on an altogether different procedure. It argued that the Decree of March 17, 1808 nowhere prescribed the attestation of a Jew's unworthiness, but rather assumed that as a general rule they were all unworthy, and, therefore, demanded that only the worthiness of the exceptional one be witnessed to. The City Council, therefore, considered that it did its duty when it gave testimonials to those Jews known to have been innocent of usurious practices, and refused them to others.⁶⁸ Despite repeated demands by the government, the City Council announced its inability to withdraw from its position.⁶⁹

In its session of March 29, 1825 the City Council made clear why it considered the execution of the central government's order practically impossible. The City Council conceived it as its duty to follow public opinion, that is the opinion of the city's Christian merchants. It wished to grant its testimonial of good behavior when the merchants felt that a Jew applying for a permit deserved it, and refuse its testimonial where public opinion was opposed to any Jew, although specific facts against him could not very well be ascertained. Anxious as the Council was to observe the regulations of the government, it considered it neither possible nor practical to state specific reasons as the law prescribed. In the end the differences of opinion between the city and the government with regard to Jewish certificates were adjusted through negotiation. Thereafter, the grant or refusal of certificates proceeded apparently with-

out friction on the basis of a hearing conducted by the Chief Burgomaster and a testimonial granted by the Jewish Consistory.

The number of certificates granted to Jews during the next years showed a steady increase as follows:

YEAR	PERMITS
1817	33
1819	37
1820	45
1822	42
1824	31
1825	37
1826	32
1827	39
1828	40
1829	43
1830	44
1831	38
1832	43
1833	42
1834	48
1835	51
1836	51
1837	59
1838	61
1839	72
1840	78
1841	85
1842	102
1843	107
1845	134

Clearly, despite the application of the French Decree of March 17, 1808, the number of Jews in Cologne slowly increased. In 1822 there were 375; in 1834, 436; in 1846, 974 individuals. Small in number, they participated actively in the economic life of the city.

An example of this economic activity is the most important Jewish firm of Cologne of that day, Solomon Oppenheim Jr. and Company, which gained prosperity for itself and the city despite opposition. It was the first to earn the distrust of the uppermost stratum among the businessmen of Cologne in whom there continued to live the conservatism in thought and feeling characteristic of the previous century. Nevertheless, these leaders in the city's economic life soon yielded to the new spirit, adopting the greater energy and newer methods which set former restrictions aside. Already in 1810 the Jewish firm of Solomon Oppenheim worked with a capital of almost a quarter of a million thaler, the second banking-house in Cologne. The importance of the firm and of its owner was strikingly illustrated when, in 1822, Solomon Oppenheim was honored with the title of *Oberhofagent*, and, at about the same time, elected member of the Chamber of Commerce, thus becoming the first Jew to hold a position of honor in Cologne. The sudden death of Solomon Oppenheim at Mainz in 1828 did not stop the remarkably rapid growth of the business he had founded. The two oldest sons were the real creators of the firm's success: Simon (1803-1880) and Abraham (1804-1878). The younger was the driving force in the establishment, the one who set



Solomon Oppenheim, died 1828.

its aims and guided its methods. An intimate friend of Gustave Mevissen, whose ideas he shared, Abraham Oppenheim labored creatively on the problems of economic reorganization which that age presented. He was next to Mevissen in the development of the stocks and bonds business in Cologne. Hence the firm of Oppenheim is to be found represented in all the financial projects of the west during the 1840's. Its international connections, with the Rothschilds and with high finance both in Brussels and in Paris, raised the Oppenheim bank above the others in Cologne and the Rhineland generally.

Other Jewish business activity in Cologne naturally could not compare with that of the Oppenheim bank. Jewish economic activity in Cologne might be summarized for 1842 as follows: two manufacturers, twenty-three merchants, two shipping and commission firms, two oil and plaster mills, two linen merchants, one dealer in iron, one dry-goods dealer, one dealer in wine and jewels, and one dealer each in manufactured articles, tobacco, yarn, articles of art, real-estate, one carrier, and two small traders.

Culturally, too, the Jews showed signs of progress almost immediately upon their resettlement. To their own thirst for knowledge was added the stimulus given by the government order of September 13, 1824, that Jewish children must be provided with educational opportunities. Educational standards in the Jewish community during the 1820's may be judged by the fact that of about sixty Jewish children of school age in the year 1824, six attended the Catholic Gymnasium of

Cologne, and ten attended the Gymnasium of the Carmelites. Thus, more than twenty-five percent attended higher schools of learning. In 1828 a civic high school was established in the city, and of its eighty-five pupils four were Jewish. Among the first Jewish graduates of the Carmelite school, in the winter of 1828, were Abraham Gomperts who hoped to study medicine, and Louis Wihl who wanted to study philosophy. Abraham Gompertz, in fact, is mentioned as a physician in Cologne from 1835 on. The Cologne directory of 1841 lists four Jewish physicians, that of 1844 lists five, and that of 1848 seven. It is also worth noting that during the forties A. Ochs conducted a Practical Commercial Institute.

Nevertheless, despite clear evidence of Jewish desire and ability to participate in the general economic and cultural development, the first Rhenish Territorial Diet (*Landtag*) in 1826, as well as the Provincial Estates of the Monarchy in general, took a negative attitude toward the question of Jewish emancipation. Rejecting a number of petitions, the Diet renewed its demands that the most important regulations of the admittedly annoying French Decree of 1808 be extended to the Jews of the right bank of the Rhine as well. The chief motive for this attitude was the Diet's concern for the depressed economic state of the agricultural population. The prevalent view held, moreover, that the Jews living in the rural districts were culturally on a very low level. Finally, a certain inner antagonism existed which expressed itself, to cite but one example, in the opposition to the practice of Jewish midwives. De-

spite the motion in favor of emancipation which Schoeller and Bracht submitted to the fourth and fifth Rhenish Diets in 1833 and in 1837, and despite the effective support of the Jewish cause by Schmidt-born, the fifth Diet showed only eight votes in favor of emancipation.

The coming to the throne of Frederick William IV aroused new hopes, for his early pronouncements indicated a desire for justice. Several regulations which followed soon thereafter seemed to lend color to these hopes. Thus, on March 9, 1841 the prohibition for Jews to assume Christian names was rescinded. A new spirit was in evidence during the 1840's in the Rhineland especially. The *Rheinische Zeitung* gave particular expression to it. On September 28, 1841 a syndicate was organized for the publication of a political and literary periodical in Cologne. On the provisional committee were Moses Hess, the founder of philosophical Socialism as well as of Zionism, and Dagobert Oppenheim, brother of the bankers Simon and Abraham Oppenheim, at that time a law apprentice at the Territorial Court, and destined to become president of the Cologne-Minden Railroad Company. Among those who took shares in the *Rheinische Zeitung* corporation were the young physician Andreas Gottschalk, S. B. Cohen, Jacob de Jonge, Helwitz, M. Morel, and A. Ochse-Stern, all of whom played a more or less important role in the life of the Cologne community. Moses Hess was appointed editor, and among his collaborators were Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Deeply interested in the discussion of German and Hegelian problems,

the newspaper treated also the Jewish problem of the New Germany. On January 21, 1843 the Ministry forbade its further publication.

The Jews of Cologne did not rely only upon liberal journalism to express their desire for emancipation. The bankers Simon and Abraham Oppenheim presented a personal petition to the King, on January 5, 1841, concerning the legal status of the Jews in the monarchy, especially in the provinces along the Rhine: "The edict of March 11, 1812, unabridged, applied in accordance with its letter and its spirit, interpreted in the thoroughly magnanimous manner in which it was originally granted, is all we want and ask for." The answer which they received to their touching petition, on March 22, 1841, must have been like a cold shower: "In view of the fact that the circumstance in question has been taken under advisement by the Council of State, I refrain for the moment from voicing any judgment with respect to the same, and shall await the recommendations of the Council."

David Rothschild, the district representative of the Jews in Simmern, was no more fortunate. On June 19, 1842 he took steps to obviate the Jewry Regulation, plans for which had been announced by the king on May 18, 1842. He, at least, received the assurance that "the Jews may calmly await the results of the consultations undertaken, and may rely upon it that whatever improvement in their status may coincide with the higher general interests of the State will not be refused them." Help came from the Territorial Diet of the Rhine-

land. Nothing is more indicative of the fast growing liberal tendencies in the province during the 1840's than the flood of petitions which were directed to the seventh Diet in 1843. Numerous Rhenish cities turned to it with the request that full civic rights be granted to the Jews. The new community-regulation projected by the government for the Rhine province excluded the Jews from representation. But all the leaders of the liberal forces among the citizens came forward in favor of the extinction of ancient injustices, namely for the abolition "of the black, neglected stain" of the French Decree of 1808. Against this mighty flood of liberal sentiment, the opponents of emancipating the Jews had a difficult time. Paragraph 48 of the draft of the new community decree was rejected by a vote of fifty-one to twenty-three. On July 16 the Diet, by a vote of sixty-eight to five, asked for the repeal of the Decree of 1808, and by a vote of fifty-four to nineteen for taking steps in the direction of complete civic equality. This was followed by an announcement that the Infamous Decree's applicability to the industrial system was terminated.

So striking a victory had not till then been achieved in any Prussian Diet. Enthusiastic resolutions of thanks arrived from every part of the province, from Heidelberg, and from Berlin. As an earnest of its gratitude for this first expression in favor of emancipation by a public body, the Jewish community of Berlin donated, in 1844, one thousand thaler for the Institute of the Blind at Dueren. Nevertheless, the step taken by the seventh Rhenish

Diet led to nothing further. As a result, the eighth Diet, in 1845, took the matter up once more, and, after a serious verbal battle, voted fifty-six to sixteen in favor of emancipation. During the discussion great emphasis was laid upon the need for complete political equality. Yet upon the adjournment of the Diet, the situation remained unchanged.

At the time of this Diet's adjournment, the Prussian King expressed himself in no uncertain terms, "that it is not our desire to establish absolute equality in political rights between our Jewish and our Christian subjects, or, to put it differently, to render the Jews capable of holding offices by which they might exercise superior authority over our Christian subjects." What followed, on June 21, 1845, was merely a decision by the Ministries of Interior and Finance to ratify the previous decision on the subject of the certificates to engage in business.⁷⁰ On August 21, 1845 this regulation was put into force by the police of Cologne. Thereby the shame which had rested upon the Jews for so long was removed, and the way was open for further development.⁷¹

If the Prussian government opposed emancipation, the Jews opposed the series of regulations suggested by King Frederick William IV. Therein Jewish communities in all cities were given the standing of legal corporations, which gave them the right to be represented in the Town Councils. It also had the effect of segregating them in a civil sense. In addition Prussian Jews were freed from military duty, the reason given being the desire not to infringe upon the Jewish religion. Against these regulations

the Jews, under the leadership of the Consistory rabbis, voiced sharp objection both in direct petitions and in the press. The Jewish community of Cologne was among the objectors. Thereupon the first United Diet in Berlin, in 1847, undertook to settle the Jewish problem for the time being. The famous "winds from the west" were in evidence throughout the Jewish debate. On April 22, 1847 Mevissen wrote from Berlin, "The Government has proposed a Jewry Law which threatens to throw the whole question back a couple of centuries. I shall write to A. Oppenheim that the Jews must oppose these measures energetically." As a matter of fact, Abraham Oppenheim did come to Berlin as representative of the Jewish communities of the Rhine provinces, in order to defend the civil rights of the Jews. Later on the Jews of the Rhine provinces presented him with a golden goblet in gratitude for his efforts. Mevissen participated in the debates on the 14th and 17th of June. Citing moral as well as historical and practical arguments why the Jews ought to be granted full civil rights, he warmly set forth the necessity to bind them organically to the State and its culture. Representative Beckerath of Krefeld also joined the debate in favor of complete equality between Jews and Christians. Nevertheless, the result of the discussion was the defeat of the proposal for the complete equality of the Jews by a vote of 215 to 185.

Still, the law of July 23, 1847 represented a slight step forward. It extended the applicability of the edict of March 11, 1812 to the Jews in all Prussian provinces. It also removed a number of restrictions

which still interfered with economic life. On the other hand, the Jews were expressly denied the right of holding public office, military rank, judicial power, and active or passive participation in the elections to the provincial diets. They were excluded from all teaching posts with the exception of *Privatdozent* (private tutor) and extraordinary professor of mathematics, physics, and medicine. About the detailed administrative regulations of the law, more will be said later.

Insofar as the civil status of the Jews was concerned this law did not last very long. The revolutionary constitutional movement, which began the very next year, placed the legal position of the Jews upon an entirely new foundation in principle. Already on April 6, 1848 an enactment indicated certain lines which the forthcoming Prussian Constitution was to follow, and declared that the enjoyment of civil rights would no longer depend upon the religious beliefs of a citizen. It thus removed the last separation between Jewish and Christian members of the State. The constitutional declaration of December 5, 1848 ratified this principle by stating in Article 4 that, "All Prussians are equal before the law." There were to be no more social privileges. Public office was opened equally to all those qualified. Paragraph 11 adds, "The enjoyment of civil and political rights is not dependent upon religious confession or the participation in any religious organization." When the Constitution was revised, these principles were not modified, so that they were included in the declaration of January 30, 1850,

that is in the Revised Constitution, as Articles 4 and 12.

The revolutionary movement, however, was far from being a complete success. After its collapse, the authorities of the Rhine provinces continued, all through the 1850's, to consider the Jews incapable of participating in the elections to the provincial diets. Only a city-ordinance, on May 15, 1856, finally decided the question whether Jewish civic representatives possessed equality of rights with relation to the provincial diets. Finally, on the following February 16, a rescript from the Ministry of the Interior settled the matter in favor of the Jews.

As late as 1856 the executive board of the Jewish community at Kreuznach sent a resolution of thanks to the chambers of the Diet for "the reconstitution of the traditional Jewish Oath of the Royal Prussian Rhine provinces in accordance with religious and practical requirements." The requirement for a special Jewish Oath was not terminated, however, till 1869. The law passed by the North German Confederation on July 3, 1869, which soon thereafter became the law of the German Empire, was the final official act in the long struggle of the Jews for civic rights.

CHAPTER 3

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE
NEW COMMUNITY (1801-1861)

A JEWISH community in Cologne was re-established (so we learn from the regulations then adopted by it and still preserved in Hebrew) on the fifth of *Marheshvan* 5562, or October 12, 1801. The French Decree of March 17, 1808 introduced the consistorial system, creating three Jewish consistories on the left bank of the Rhine: those of Krefeld, Treves, and Coblenz, the last of which, since 1811, was transferred to Bonn. All of them depended on the Central Consistory of Paris. Each consistorial board consisted of two rabbis and three laymen. The latter were elected by twenty-five Jewish notables of the respective *départements*, and, like the rabbis, had to be ratified by the French Ministry of Religion. The consistories had to see to it that the decisions of the Great Synhedrin were properly carried out. Theirs was the duty to administer and maintain order in the synagogues. They had to fix the budget and raise the money necessary for the religious services. They were expected to encourage the Jews to engage in "useful economic activity." They were particularly entrusted with the task of having the Jews fulfill their military obligations. Every year they had to report to the authorities the names of the

young Jews who had attained the age of military service.

The Prussian regime retained the consistorial system in every respect except for the connection with the Central Consistory in Paris, and the substitution of German authorities for the French wherever the Decree demanded supervision of Jewish affairs. At the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century the consistorial district of Krefeld was extended over portions of the government district of Aix, Cologne, and Duesseldorf.⁷²

At first the Jewish community of Cologne was made part of the Krefeld Consistory.⁷³ For a short time, therefore, the City of Cologne was removed from the authority of Simha Bunem Kahana Rapa-port who continued as rabbi of the Bonn district into the Prussian period, till his death in 1816. The Lord-Lieutenant having consented, the new Jewish community of Cologne was ceded, in 1817, to Rabbi Abraham Auerbach of Bonn, Rabbi Bunem's associate since 1811, and now his successor. He was a man of character and experience. He was born in Buxweiler, Alsace, in 1760. When, as a result of the efforts of Cerf-Berr, that fighter for Jewish equality in France, a Jewish community was organized in Strasbourg, Auerbach was put in charge of it. In 1794, while the Terror raged in Strasbourg at the time of Robespierre, Rabbi Auerbach took a definite stand in favor of the rite of circumcision, and consequently was imprisoned for a whole year. Subsequently he served in succession as rabbi in Forbach,

Neuwied, and Bonn, where he became the chief rabbi for the consistory, serving from 1816 to 1840. His son, Aaron Auerbach, succeeded him.

In 1836 Rabbi Ullmann of Krefeld demanded the return of Cologne to his diocese. For the Cologne community was already a lucrative adjunct, paying 108 thaler annually to its superior consistory. The Lord-Lieutenant, however, taking into consideration the boundaries of the government district and the geographical situation of the cities, Cologne, Bonn, and Krefeld, categorically rejected this request. In the sense of the French Decree of 1808 the Jewish community of Cologne was and remained a daughter community of Bonn.

The Jewish consistory retained the power to nominate the three representatives of the subordinate community, and the right to represent it before the authorities of the State. Moreover, it could interfere in the internal arrangements of the local community, to appoint new officials, to change the duties of or to remove the old. It was an arrangement that made for sluggishness in communal life. Occasionally the rabbi of the consistory would appear to examine the pupils of the school, or to preach a sermon before the community in Cologne. Without his express permission no one could exercise any religious function in the community. The administration of the branch communities was thus exceedingly primitive.

Before long the necessity for reorganizing the religious life became apparent. With the consent of the Jewish consistory steps were taken, on September

15 and November 21, 1846, to supplement the three members of the executive board of the local community with four administrative councillors. The latter were empowered to participate in the deliberations and the voting of the executive board, though the original board of three still had the sole authority to carry the decisions into effect. The larger board, consisting of executive members and administrative councillors, constituted the Administrative Council of the community, though all were named by the Jewish Consistory. The active administration was divided among a number of committees: synagogue, school, finance, charity, and building and repairs. The head of the Cologne community at the time was David Hess.

As far as the Cologne Jewish community was concerned no religious stimulation came out of Bonn. Consequently it cannot be criticised for having complained to the authorities on several occasions that the system of a consistory and a consistorial rabbi meant nothing to the growing and active community except a material burden. Both of the community's representatives to the government, David Hess and Isaac Cohen, stressed this point in the petition which they handed the Lord-Lieutenant of the Rhine province on November 10, 1843. They asked to be released from their connection with the consistory at Bonn, and to be rejoined to that of Krefeld whose central seat should then be transferred to Cologne. They pointed out that the Jewish community of Cologne numbered eight hundred individuals, among them one hundred and thirty children of school age.

Yet the community could not provide itself with a man whose duties it would be to educate the young and organize religious life. But the Lord-Lieutenant rejected this petition on two occasions, on December 17, 1843 and on February 22, 1844, and Jewish community life in Cologne continued to languish.

Relief came from a different quarter. On July 23, 1847 the United Diet passed a law, the second part of which granted each Jewish community the rights of a legal personality. The government had already been in touch with a number of Jewish leaders on the subject of abolishing the French law still in force. For the moment, however, nothing came of this because political events in Prussia, especially the Revolution of 1848, made the moment unpropitious for applying the new law, as it affected the intercommunal relationships. On June 15 and on August 24, 1848 the Ministers of Religious Affairs and of the Interior circulated an order among all local governments to drop, for the time being, the organization of synagogue-communities in accordance with the prescriptions of the Law of 1847. Another order, circulated on June 5, 1849, completely stopped the carrying into effect of the above-mentioned law. Behind these orders was the generally accepted view that the Law of 1847 was incompatible with the Prussian Constitution as promulgated on December 5, 1848, especially with Article 11 which read, "Freedom of religious confession and the right of organizing religious bodies, as well as public worship in common, are granted herewith."

With the appearance, however, of the revised

constitution promulgated on January 31, 1850, the Prussian Government reverted to its first view, namely that Jewish religious and communal life was the concern of the State. Moreover, Article 13 stated definitely that religious bodies not organized into corporations could attain corporate rights only through laws passed for that purpose. Hence, the executive board of the Jewish community of Cologne, then animated by a fresh spirit, decided, on February 17, 1850, to turn to the Ministries of the Interior and of Religious, Educational, and Medical Affairs in Berlin with a request for the rights of a legal corporation. Without civil rights, they argued, the Jewish community could not enjoy a secure existence. Certain specific needs of the community, such as a new synagogue, in view of the smallness and the dilapidated state of the existing one, compelled the Jews to press their request. The Director of the Police and the entire local government of Cologne seconded this request.

The decision of the Ministries came on July 22, 1850: 1) The grant of corporate rights asked for can be made only after the Chamber had passed a law in line with Article 13 of the Constitution. 2) The need of the Jewish community for corporate rights being undeniable, the preparation of a draft of the necessary law would be undertaken at once. 3) As a basis for such a draft the Jews are asked to prepare a statute in which the organization and the administration of the community are outlined in greater detail, and which would be subjected to careful scrutiny. The Ministers consider it proper for the

Jews to proceed to the election of delegates to draw up such a statute. The statute is to omit by-laws and specific administrative regulations, and confine itself to broad constitutional matters.

By December 1850 a draft of the statute was ready. It had been drawn up by the Director of Police Geiger along with the executive board of the community. In addition to an executive board it provided for a General Assembly of the Community which was to exercise the final authority. As a matter of fact the draft of the statute had been completed on October 23, 1850, and on the basis of it a new executive board and administrative council had been elected. About the same time, on October 27, 1850, with the calling of the legislative chambers already in the offing, the Jewish community of Cologne turned to the other Jewish communities of the Rhine provinces and of Westphalia. It summoned these communities to consider the new situation, in view of the fact that the internal communal administrations were faced with imminent disruption. The meeting of the communities took place in Cologne on January 29 and 30, 1851, and, as a result, a suggestion was forwarded to the Minister early in February that as soon as practicable representatives from every part of the monarchy be summoned to Berlin. Under the chairmanship of a government commissioner these representatives, it was further suggested, should then work on the following two phases of Jewish life: 1) A general statute on the basis of which all Jewish communities of the monarchy might be granted corporate rights through one and the same law, and

2) The regulation of internal communal and educational life.

Apparently this proposal to the Minister remained without result. In the meantime, on April 10, 1851, the executive board of the Jewish community of Cologne received a revised draft of the statute from the Police Commissioner of the city. In place of the general assembly, this statute now contained the phrase, "Assembly of Representatives." This statute, as modified in accordance with the suggestion of the government commissioner, was submitted by the executive board on November 30, 1851 to the General Assembly which adopted it with only one dissenting vote.⁷⁴ On the basis of this statute, which was printed, seven members were elected on the executive board, and fifteen representatives. In December 1851 the statute was transmitted for the approval of the Minister.

In connection with the problems of communal organization, the executive board of the community tried to satisfy the spirit of the time by stimulating fresh communal activity. Ever since the 1840's a project to build a new synagogue had been under discussion. By July 1852, members of the community had contributed 1,510 thaler toward a building fund. Such a sum was made possible by reason of the fact that the statute of October 23, 1850 made acceptance into the community dependent upon contributions for this purpose. The elementary school also was reorganized, and a new cantor was appointed.

Above all, the community decided, in 1851, upon the creation of the post of preacher. They rightly

argued that the community needed an organizer of its religious life and a teacher of Judaism for its members. The salary for the rabbi or preacher yet to be elected was already included in the budget for 1852 and about thirty applications had already been received from more or less well-known rabbis. But the budget required the consent of the Jewish consistory, and thus a conflict developed between the rabbi of the consistory and the executive board of the Cologne community. In vain the executive board sent a deputation to try to change the mind of the rabbi. For it seems that Doctor Auerbach, the Rabbi of the Consistory, had a long time been seriously considering the advisability of changing his seat from Bonn to Cologne. In his attitude Doctor Auerbach was encouraged by about twenty-eight members of the Jewish community of Cologne, under the leadership of Nathan Rothschild, who were opposed to any change in the existing communal and religious structure.

The civil authorities also continued to look upon the French law of 1808 as still in force. In view of this governmental support of the consistorial system, it is clear that the executive board of the Jewish community, despite all its efforts, could make no progress with the authorities for the time being, and that practically all hopes for a new and more vigorous communal life would have to be postponed. Consequently, towards the end of December 1852, the entire executive board resigned, and the old organization of the community resumed its functions. On March 9, 1853 the Jewish consistory in Bonn

chose new representatives for a period of three years: Isaac Kaufmann, Samuel Mayer, and D. Levy-Elkan; and, in addition to them, four administrators.

In the meantime, on February 16, 1853, the Ministry rendered its decision on the statute submitted to it, and threw the entire situation back to where it had been left before the revolutionary outbreaks of 1848.⁷⁵ A few months later, on August 27, 1853, the royal government set down the following regulations for Cologne: 1) All Jewish residents of the City of Cologne as well as the municipal districts Longerich, Muengersdorf, and Rondorf, shall constitute one synagogue-community on the basis of the law of July 23, 1847. Altogether this community counted four hundred and six members. 2) For the present the new community shall be guided by twelve representatives and an executive board of five. 3) The expenses of the religious organization and the other needs of the new community shall be divided among the taxable members in accordance with a statute yet to be promulgated. 4) Until the statute is drafted, ratified, and put into effect, nothing shall be changed in the religious arrangement of the Jewish community. The community may hold a meeting only for the purpose of electing its representatives. 5) The government makes it the duty of the Police Commissioner to conduct the first election of representatives and members of the executive.

The election took place on October 26 and 27, 1853. Five members of the executive, and their three alternates, were chosen on November 11. They were Abraham Oppenheim, Isaac Kaufmann, Drucker-

Emden, Wilhelm Hertz, the physician Doctor Bendix, Jacob Cassel, M. Morel, and Heinrich Kapferer, the last three being alternates. But Abraham Oppenheim and Wilhelm Hertz declined. On May 21, 1856 the government reported to the Lord-Lieutenant that the statute was completed and that the next step was for the executive board to lay it before the Representative Assembly.⁷⁶ For the moment there were differences on the subject of rebuilding the provisional synagogue. Although these were soon removed, nevertheless there was delay. A year later, on May 23, 1857, the government again reminded the Police Commissioner that the statute must be laid before the Representative Assembly as soon as possible.

The difficulty was that further changes were called for. Jacob Kaufmann had died in the meantime, and an election of new members of the executive board had become necessary. On January 10, 1859 Doctor Israel Schwarz, who had been appointed rabbi during the intervening period, informed the Lord-Lieutenant that the community of Cologne, by far the largest in the province, was still suffering its birth-pangs, and was still unable to adopt the statute and thereby attain its corporate rights, while its administration was in a sad state and its functioning paralyzed. The difficulties could be obviated only slowly. Long quarrels and negotiations had arisen because of the control of the Representative Assembly by a majority not in harmony with Isaac Kaufmann, the leader of the executive board. Between October 28, 1856 and March 31, 1857 thirty sessions

were required for the executive board to consider the by-laws. On October 10, 1859, they informed the Lord-Lieutenant that the synagogue, newly erected by Abraham Oppenheim, was approaching completion. They also told him that by the time the new building was dedicated the community would have to have its definite constitution and its new executive board. Consequently the Lord-Lieutenant was requested to help obtain the basic changes needed in the community's consistorial obligations, especially the obligations of the Cologne community to the consistory rabbis at Bonn and Krefeld. The Lord-Lieutenant finally announced on November 30, after correspondence with the Prussian government,⁷⁷ that the new statute, including paragraphs 96 and 100, could be put into effect. The Representative Assembly had already adopted it in April, and the executive board in July.

At long last the Lord-Lieutenant of the Rhenish Province of Pommer-Esche gave his final approval to the constitution of the community. This happened but shortly before the dedication of the new synagogue on the Glockengasse which took place on March 4, 1861. The new communal elections were held on May 2, and the new executive board was chosen on July 5. The constitution of the community consisted of 137 articles. The community which was to function under it included not only the Jews of the City of Cologne but also of the districts Longerich, Muengersdorf, and Rondorf. In matters of property the community now possessed the rights of a legal

corporate personality. Active members of the community were divided into three classes in accordance with the amount of their communal dues. The community affairs continued to be managed by a Representative Assembly and Executive Board. The representatives were fifteen in number who were elected, according to the three class system, for a period of six years. This Assembly decided all the internal affairs of the community, such as synagogue officials to be appointed, or the administrative functions of the executive board. The latter consisted of five members elected for a period of six years. Their choice, however, had to be ratified by the government. The government's permission was necessary also for a variety of internal matters: the imposition of new communal taxes, the raising of loans by the community, the purchase of property, and the voluntary alienation of communal property. The executive board had the further powers of choosing and appointing communal officials, except insofar as this did not interfere with the similar powers of the Assembly. The board also had to prepare the communal budget, and to set up rules to guide the committees in the maintenance of order in the synagogue, in the regulation of burial, and in the dispensation of charity to the poor and to the sick. These activities of the board were also under the government's general supervision. Public worship was limited to the synagogue, and in connection with it the board could grant or withhold permission for ritual ceremonies and had to supervise them. For changes in synagogue ritual agreement was necessary of both

the board and the Assembly. As soon as possible a cemetery was to be provided, to be located within the territorial circuit of the community, and to be communal property. The community undertook to maintain schools for girls and boys. Private instruction in the Jewish religion, as well as religious instruction in the elementary schools, could be given only by the rabbi of the community or by qualified teachers. The religious functionaries of the community were listed as a rabbi, a cantor, a ritual slaughterer, and a sexton. The rabbi's selection was put into the hands of the Assembly which was to choose him from three candidates submitted singly or together by the board. The latter was to assign their tasks to the respective officials. The government of Cologne, and above that the Lord-Lieutenant of the Province, assumed general supervision over the administration of the community affairs. Members of the community, residing within the city, undertook to pay a pro rata sum for the support of Chief Rabbi Auerbach who had been elected for life by the Jewish Consistory at Bonn. The same tax was accepted by the Jews of the districts Longerich, Muengersdorf, and Rondorf, with respect to the salary of Chief Rabbi Bodenheimer at Krefeld, as well as the pension then being paid to the widow of Chief Rabbi Ullmann. Similar arrangements were to be made for the other administrative expenses of the consistory of Bonn and Krefeld until such time as these would be abolished.

CHAPTER 4

THE COMMUNITY AND ITS RABBIS

IN 1861, on the occasion of the corner-stone laying of the new synagogue in the Glockengasse, the rabbi, Doctor Israel Schwarz, announced the aims of the new community as the attainment of unity within and prestige without. With its fundamental law adopted and its corporate rights obtained, the community could begin to function.

The membership of the religious community coincided with the number of Jewish individuals within the communal boundaries. By 1860 the number of Jews in Cologne exceeded one thousand, and by 1870 it was more than three thousand, by 1880 over four, and by 1885 over five thousand. The ten thousand mark was reached around 1900. The highest point in population was attained in 1931, when the Jews in Cologne numbered around twenty thousand. At the same time, note must be taken of the fact that since the end of the nineteenth century there was a constantly growing immigration from Eastern Europe.

Ehrenfeld became an independent religious community in 1898, but was re-incorporated in the community of Cologne in 1913. The incorporation of outlying religious communities was a slow process, slower than the enlargement of the city's boundaries. It was 1927 before the religious community of Deutz,

and 1929 before the religious community of Muelheim became parts of the community of Cologne. In 1930 the Jewish community of Cologne included the Jews not only of the city proper, but also of the mayoral districts, Rondorf, Merheim, both on the right bank of the Rhine, and Berg, Gladbach, Bensberg, Overath, Odenthal, Heumar, Wahn, and Roesrath. More recently Stommeln became part of the community.

The constitution of the religious community was changed on several occasions, and new regulations added to it. This happened in 1896, 1914, and 1921. On the last date the three-class electoral system was abolished. The regulations of 1930 adopted women's suffrage, and recognized differences in the ritual.

Throughout all these years the community had the good fortune to have at the head of its executive board men who were at the same time excellent administrators and devout Jews. Since 1861 the following have headed the executive board: the physician Doctor Bendix, S. M. Frank (to 1879), Jacob de Jonge, Louis Eliel (to 1919), Emil Blumenau who was also a translator of Spanish folk-songs (to 1931), the lawyer Doctor H. Frank (to 1933), and Consul Albert Bendix down to 1939.

Mention has already been made of Abraham Auerbach, Chief Rabbi of the Consistory in Bonn until 1840, and of his son, Aaron Auerbach. They used to come to Cologne only occasionally, either to examine the children in the school, or to deliver a sermon, so that their influence upon the community

was very slight. On rare occasions they consented to the delivery of a sermon or of an address in the Cologne synagogue by someone else. For some time Doctor Isaacsohn, who had been a student at Bonn, acted as preacher of the Cologne community. But his stay in Cologne was of short duration, for he later became Chief Rabbi in Rotterdam.

The first rabbi of the Jewish community of Cologne was Israel Schwarz, who began his tenure on May 1, 1857. He was a man of deep Jewish and secular learning, having obtained a doctorate from Jena and rabbinic certificates from several noted rabbis. He also had a good deal of experience in communal leadership, not only as assistant to his father at Huerben, but also as rabbi in Bayreuth from 1853 to 1857.⁷⁸ When, upon the recommendation of Simon von Oppenheim, he was elected to Cologne, his community at Bayreuth deeply regretted his departure because of all he had achieved.

In Cologne Israel Schwarz found rather uncultivated ground, a situation easily understandable in view of the neglect from which the community had suffered since its establishment over half a century previously. During the seventeen years of his incumbency at Cologne he helped the community establish its most important institutions. Nevertheless, his official relationships with the community were not of the best. In April 1857, he was appointed for twenty months and then, from January 1, 1859, for three years, and from June 2, 1862, for six years.⁷⁹ In spite of his request for an appointment for life, the executive board of the community merely ex-

tended his tenure for periods of six years from October 1867 and October 1874. His task seems to have been to persuade the community to put its trust in rabbinic guidance. It was not an easy task. It was made even more difficult by the fact that he had to mediate the religious differences which soon became apparent within the community. This could have been achieved only by a man who, like Israel Schwarz, was characterized by youthful enthusiasm, pure and noble piety, and high moral standards. More than once he faced the question whether it might not be better for him to exchange his position in Cologne for a more peaceful one. In 1871 the community of Nuremberg extended to him a particularly hearty invitation, offering him its rabbinical post under exceptionally advantageous and honorable conditions. He finally refused the offer, on April 30, 1871, in order to complete the task he had undertaken in Cologne. For, as he said in this letter, he had been striving for two things: the firm establishment of a truly religious community, and the maintenance of unity among the members. He feared that upon his departure the community would disintegrate. This striving for unity was fundamental to his point of view. From the right and from the left his stand was attacked, but he persisted in the rocky middle of the road. The one thought that guided his activity was to protect the community from an irremediable breach.

He was truly conservative, and this conservatism shone through his entire life's work and through his teaching by spoken and written word. He not only

opposed extremism; he also sought to have modernity exert an influence upon communal affairs. In April 1862 he joined the administration of the community in the abolition of *piyyutim*, the religious poems recited on holidays. "We have the right," he said, "to select *piyyutim* while keeping our young community in mind." At the same time he refused to give up the attitude of strict conservatism. He turned down the organ, stating his objections to it in a detailed argument submitted on December 20, 1864, in which he pointed out that the organ had frequently served as a signal for unwholesome conflicts within hitherto harmonious communities. On June 25, 1869 the executive board and the representatives appointed him delegate of the Cologne community at the Jewish Synod which was to take place in Leipzig. Pressure from other directions was put upon him to accept. But Schwarz refused, the basis for his refusal being the plan of the Synod to institute reforms in Jewish marriage-laws. Schwarz considered this to be tampering with the foundations of traditional Judaism. Consequently from the very outset he could not see himself cooperating with the Synod. One of his ambitions was to beautify the service. Already in his text-book on the religion of Israel, in 1853, he placed great emphasis upon confirmation for boys and girls, for in such a ceremony he saw an institution demanded by the spirit of the time and productive of useful results. The very first instructions given him by the executive board of Cologne included the organization of confirmation services as one of his duties. In 1871 he wanted to

institute a public religious confession for every *Bar Mitzvah*. This time, however, the executive board rejected his suggestion. Nevertheless, in the same year his suggestion was accepted for the institution of an afternoon service for the youth on Saturdays and holidays, with the exception of New Year's days, the Day of Atonement, and *Simhat Torah*.

His activity in Cologne was extensive. He paid constant and serious attention to matters of ritual. As a minor illustration of this may be cited the agreement into which he entered on February 18, 1868, with the factory of Franz Stollwerk, about the manufacture of kosher and Passover chocolates. He was expected to preach every other Sabbath in the summertime, and every four weeks in the winter, and on every first day of a holiday. His instructions, by the way, stated that such sermons must not be too long. But the greater part of his time was taken up with teaching. In his instructions for the year 1858 he was given active direction of the elementary school, and was expected to give religious instruction to the pupils. At the same time he had to organize a curriculum of religious instruction which, if necessary, might be used by pupils in other schools who had passed the thirteenth year.

His teaching duties, whether in the confirmation class or in the school, Israel Schwarz had very much at heart, but it also brought him a great deal of work and unpleasantness. He was active, furthermore, in the institution of similar religious instruction for Jewish children in the civic high school of Cologne, later called the *Realschule* and nowadays the *Real-*

gymnasium on the Kreuzgasse. For a large number of Jewish children attended that school as well as the *Friedrich-Wilhelmgymnasium* which at that time was under the direction of the noted educator, Oskar Jaeger. From the end of 1857 it was his duty to give religious instruction in the civic high school to about sixty Jewish children who attended them. In December of 1867 the Ministry agreed to the exceptional arrangement whereby Jewish religious instruction would be given to the Jewish children of the *Realschule* in classes VI, V, and IV, at the same time that religious instruction was being given to Christian pupils within the school building. In 1868 Jewish religious instruction was introduced also into the *Friedrich-Wilhelmgymnasium*.

In 1859 Schwarz was preoccupied with a plan for the establishment of a Jewish *Realschule*. In this, however, he met with the determined opposition of the executive board (December 29, 1859). Thereupon, Schwarz changed his plan and, in 1860, transmitted to the executive board a printed pamphlet dealing with the establishment of a communal public school. This was greeted with approval by his colleagues in the provinces of the Rhine and by various experts in the field. He suggested therein a Jewish public school in which boys would receive instruction until the ages of twelve or thirteen so that thereafter they might be able to enter the upper classes of the civil schools. Such a school would have the advantage of bridging the gap between the *Realschule* and the existing elementary schools, and, at the same time, be self-supporting. The plan was never realized.

Israel Schwarz was active also in philanthropy. As he himself occasionally pointed out, the administration of charity was first organized by him. Nevertheless, it was not until 1860 that he became a member of the Charity Board, and in 1862 honorary member of the Harmonie Society. He likewise performed a great service by his activity in Germany in behalf of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. His friend, Doctor Feilchenfeld, Chief Rabbi of Posen, in one of his letters called Israel Schwarz the chief representative of the *Alliance* in Germany. In 1873 he joined a committee for the establishment of orphans' homes in Palestine. At the outbreak of the war between Prussia and Austria in 1866, Schwarz offered his services to the Ministry of War as chaplain for the Jewish soldiers in the field. His offer was refused. In 1870 to 1871, however, he very actively ministered to wounded, sick, and the Jewish prisoners of war, in utter disregard of the serious danger from contagious diseases. His activity was so important that both the Governor of the Fortress of Cologne and the French authorities thanked him in words of highest praise.

Finally, Schwarz found time for extensive literary work. He began his literary career at the age of twenty, while still a student. In 1848 he directed a petition to the *Teutsche Parlament* demanding equality of rights for the Jews. From then on he gave much attention to the preparation and publication of text-books on religion.⁸⁰ Of his other literary work mention must be made of his excellent poetic translation of the Book of Job,⁸¹ and of many of his

sermons.⁸² The latter show a noble enthusiasm and a warm pathos, a glowing love for Judaism and for the German Fatherland, and a deep knowledge of biblical and talmudic lore. Their language is dignified and beautiful. The addresses delivered in Cologne, as contrasted with the earlier ones delivered at Bayreuth, indicate a considerable development in linguistic power and in homiletical approach, testifying to the efforts of the speaker to perfect himself.

His varied activities, however, were secondary to the deep impression which he made by his manly, human qualities. He demonstrated the truth of that which the community of Huerben at one time said about him, that in every respect he had been created for the sacred office of rabbi. Glowing with zeal for the furtherance of Judaism, possessed of deep piety and love of humankind, filled with poetic beauty, thoroughly rooted in Judaism, he, like Michael Sachs, the eminent rabbi of Berlin, combined the ethical qualities of Shem with the beauty of Japhet. When Israel Schwarz died at the age of forty-six on January 4, 1875 as a result of an ear infection, profound mourning filled every member of the Cologne community. Numerous rabbis, like Israel Hildesheimer, Horwitz of Krefeld, and Plato of Duesseldorf, were present at the funeral. It was a serious blow to the Cologne community to be deprived of the man who had done more than anyone else to revive its institutions.

After a search for a successor which lasted almost a year, Doctor Abraham Frank assumed the rabbinate of Cologne on January 29, 1876. At the time

Cologne was still a city of moderate size, numbering, at least until the year 1871, 3,172 Jews in a population of 129,233. When Abraham Frank died in November 1917 the Jewish community counted between twelve and fifteen thousand souls. Thus Frank's official activity coincided with the period of remarkable development of both the city and the Jewish community. He himself contributed substantially to the growing importance of the Jewish community and of Judaism in Cologne.

Abraham Frank was born on February 22, 1839, the son of a teacher, Solomon Frank, in Oud-Beyerland, Holland. He attended the higher schools in Arnheim where he distinguished himself in his studies. Around Easter 1858 he entered the Jewish Theological Seminary of Breslau which had opened its gates four years previously. At the same time he entered the University of Breslau. There he showed particular interest in Oriental languages, Philosophy, and History. His teachers, Schmoelders, Magnus, and others testified to his remarkable diligence. He completed his University studies in Leipzig in 1863, obtaining his doctorate of Philosophy. At the Seminary in Breslau his teachers in Jewish Theology and Science were Zechariah Frankel, Graetz, J. Bernays, Manuel Joel, and B. Zuckermann. Each one of these men was a giant in his field; year after year they published works of great scholarly importance. Graetz, for example, during this period completed several volumes of his history. It is no wonder, therefore, that the scientific brilliance which emanated from these men penetrated and enlightened their pupils'

spirit. At the end of 1865 Abraham Frank passed his examinations at the Seminary with high merit. His rabbinical diploma of January 28, 1866 testifies to his comprehensive knowledge and purity of character. The *Hattarah* (rabbinical certificate) granted him by Zechariah Frankel mentions the "divine flame which burns in his heart."

As has already been said, Frank was chosen by the community of Cologne from among a large number of applicants. He took office in 1876, and at once applied his gifts, talents, and experience⁸³ to cope with the actual problems of Jewish life in his day, revealing unusual ability as rabbi, preacher, social worker, and representative of Judaism before the outside world. As rabbi he remained true to the policy of the Breslau Seminary in pursuing a middle road, avoiding the extremes of right and left in Judaism. The leader of any group, he said in the first sermon he was invited to preach in Cologne, "must stand for the unity and the solidarity of his people. So the teacher of Israel at the present time must spread his arms, giving one hand to those on the right and the other to those on the left, in order to guide all of his people on the road which leads to God." A man of independent thought, he always conducted himself conservatively. Although the organ was introduced into the synagogue during his incumbency, this did not in any way contradict his total religious attitude.

Within him, as his teachers had testified, there burned the flame of Godliness. That is why his sermons were so inspiring. A natural eloquence per-

vades each of his numerous addresses, which he seems to have worked out to the slightest detail. Richness of thought, an abundance of imagery, loftiness of phantasy, sparkling antitheses, and scintillating humor characterized his sermons. "It is the duty of the community's teacher to sound the alarm and point the direction; he must not permit himself to be swayed by the favor or disfavor of others, and accordingly impose silence upon himself. . . . Never have I degraded this teacher's platform into the rostrum of a public orator." That is what he said in his parting sermon at Saaz, and that remained his policy in Cologne. His oratorical ability and expertness in turning a *Midrash* entitle him to be placed by the side of Adolf Jellinek, "each of whose addresses," said Armin Schnitzler, "was a complete work of art, a golden candelabrum finely chiselled and worked out, a chased piece of refined gold."

The pinnacle of his life's labor was reached toward the end of the nineteenth century. On March 22, 1899 Abraham Frank dedicated the synagogue on the Roonstrasse, and on July 23 of the same year the Jewish Apprentices' Home. Moreover, since there were very few rabbis in the Rhineland and in Westphalia down to about 1900, Abraham Frank received numerous calls to participate in festive occasions. He was invited to the dedication of synagogues and the establishment of institutions of public welfare, to fiftieth anniversary celebrations of houses of prayer, and to joyful occasions in the life of important individuals.⁸⁴ It stands to reason that he took a stand on all the important questions of his day. He

discussed the question of duelling (in Brill's *Monatschrift*, 1896), of Antisemitism, and of Zionism. For he did not confine his educational activity to the pulpit. For decades he stood at the head of the *Verein fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur* (The Society for Jewish History and Literature) in Cologne, using the organization for the furtherance of Jewish culture in his own and neighboring communities. Along with Gustav Karpeles he acted for many years as the president of that organization for all of Germany. On the occasion of its anniversary, celebrated in Berlin on December 26, 1897, Frank delivered an address which is still remembered.

In addition to all this general activity there were his important social labors. He took a leading part in all the work of the philanthropic institutions of the community. He participated in the Cologne Prisoners' Welfare Society, working for the care of released prisoners.⁸⁵ His favorite institution, however, was the Jewish Orphans' Home. At his suggestion an association for the support of orphans was called into being in April 1878. He literally added penny to penny, and saved for each single stone until finally, on September 19, 1910, the new Jewish Orphans' Home was opened at 443 Achenerstrasse. To be sure, the work was supported by a great many people, nevertheless it rightly bears the name Abraham Frank House. Moreover, his name is bound up with the history in Germany of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. When in 1876 the Constantinople Conference resulted in the call for a meeting in Paris of European and American Jews

for the purpose of consulting about steps to be taken in behalf of the Jews of the Orient, Abraham Frank was among the delegates.⁸⁶ He was one of the most active members of the *Alliance* in Germany, and was on the executive committee for the entire country, continuing to work on it down to the World War.

There is no need to dwell at length upon the fact that Abraham Frank took a leading part in the rabbinical association of the Rhineland and Westphalia as well as in the general rabbinical assembly of Germany, always defending the rabbinical point of view. He became the representative of German Jewry before the dignitaries of Church and State, for his word was listened to with pleasure in non-Jewish circles. There was a feeling of mutual admiration and respect between him and the Cardinal Bishops of Cologne, Krementz, Fischer, and von Hartmann. He knew how to maintain his relations with them with great tact so that his connections redounded to the benefit of Judaism. He also received repeated compliments from the highest circles of the State, which he accepted as compliments for Judaism. The fiftieth anniversary of his rabbinic work, as well as his funeral in November 1917, were occasions for spontaneous outbursts of admiration for his person and his achievements. All in all, he possessed the highest good fortune that a human being could attain, for he was blessed with a personality which made him a leader of men.

Since November 1897, Doctor Ludwig Rosenthal^{86a} worked by the side of Doctor Frank as rabbi

of the community. In 1906, after the organ had been introduced into the synagogue on the Roonstrasse, Doctor Rosenthal took over the sole direction of the synagogue on the Glockengasse. Doctor Frank's successor since October 1918 was the author of this book.^{86b} Doctor L. Duenner and Doctor I. Caro also served as rabbis in Cologne in recent years. The last-named is still active there at the time of this writing.

CHAPTER 5

SYNAGOGUES AND CEMETERIES

THE first synagogue of the newly established Jewish community was located on the grounds of the former Monastery of St. Clarissa on the Glockengasse. This came about in the following manner. In 1802 the French authorities transferred the Church of St. Anthony to the Protestants for the establishment therein of Protestant religious services. Thereupon, in the next year, the Jewish community turned to the French minister with the request that the like be done for the Jews by making a permanent transfer of the former Monastery of St. Clarissa for use by them. The petition seems to have been refused. But according to a report which dates from 1867, Benjamin Samuel Cohen, one of the Jewish communal leaders at the beginning of the century, took advantage of a property sale by the French tax-office to buy the land and building of the former monastery, and there the synagogue was subsequently built. According to the same report a formal transfer of the property had never taken place. Nevertheless, it was always recognized as a Jewish communal holding.

Upon this spot stood two small ancient buildings, one of which became the school-house, and the other was fitted up as a community office. A modest hall of prayer was erected inside the court. It seated seventy-four men and forty-eight women. Conse-

quently, as the community grew, especially during the 1840's when it increased to over a thousand individuals, the situation became intolerable. A new building was already in contemplation, but since the status of the community remained insecure as long as it possessed no corporate rights, no building project seemed feasible. Still, the sum of 1,510 thaler was collected by the members of the community by July 1852, for the purpose of erecting a new synagogue. The collection of this sum was made possible by the fact that in the constitution of October 23, 1850 acceptance into the community was made contingent upon the payment of a contribution for this purpose. Next to the question of corporate rights and a communal constitution that of the erection of a synagogue was the one which caused the most heated discussion within the administration of the Jewish community.

In 1853 the old synagogue had to be closed because the authorities condemned it as unsafe. At first it was decided to rebuild it, but then serious differences of opinion developed within the communal executive board on the question whether a new building on a different spot was not preferable to rebuilding on the Glockengasse. It was argued that a new building would afford more space. Another suggestion was to utilize all the space on the Glockengasse for synagogue purposes. The plan to rebuild was disallowed by the government, while that for a new building seemed to make no progress. Help came from an unexpected quarter. Over a number of years Drucker-Emden, a member of the communal administration,

had been working on the sympathies of Abraham Oppenheim. Finally, on June 10, 1856, the latter announced his readiness to erect at his own cost, and to present to the community, a synagogue worthy of the Glockengasse. Building-Councillor Zwirner, had already prepared the plans for the structure, and Oppenheim handed them over to the Jewish community. The corner-stone laying took place on June 23, 1857. On August 29, 1861 a festive procession with banners and music moved from the provisional synagogue on St. Apernstrasse, over Breitestrasse and Columbastrasse, toward the new synagogue. In the presence of the local officials and of the rabbis of the Rhine province, it was dedicated by Rabbi Israel Schwarz. There are two mementos of this occasion: a memorial tablet dedicated to the donor which was placed inside the synagogue, and a medal of silver and bronze.*

The central space of the new structure occupied about three hundred and sixty square meters. The synagogue was built in the Moorish style. A mighty cupola measuring forty meters in height and ten meters in diameter, rose out of the quadrangle of the synagogue itself. The outside of the synagogue was characterized by unpretentious dignity. The lower portion of the upper part was distinguished by ornamented slabs. Over the whole rested a number of gilded cupolas with minarets. On the inside, three walls of the synagogue room itself had two galleries each for the women. These galleries were supported by cast-iron pillars upon which, facing the inside,

* See the Frontispiece.

were balustrades with arabesque decorations. The arches over the women's galleries, in the form of a horseshoe, were in severe Moorish style. The windows were for the most part round, though some had the shape of a trefoil leaf. Through their colored glass a subdued light fell into the room and upon the richly decorated walls and pillars. The inner decorations consisted of arabesque paintings and medallions with Hebrew inscriptions. The ceiling, the smaller arches, and the chief cupola were covered with golden stars on a blue background. The ark consisted of a cupboard closet set into the wall and made of richly carved wood. On the outside it was flanked by pillars of carrara marble. The *Almemar* in the middle of the synagogue room was somewhat higher than usual and stood directly under the cupola. It was surrounded by a parapet of rich woodwork. Ernst Weyden regretted that this stately building stood hidden from view between the houses of the south side of the Glockengasse, and not on another spot with an open approach, so that its full beauty might be grasped.

Almost immediately the need for an enlargement of the synagogue became evident. Moreover, in July 1867 it met with a serious misfortune through fire. In the same year Albert, the son of Simon Oppenheim, a convert to Christianity and his non-Jewish wife, Pauline, born Engels, sold to the Jewish community a flat piece of ground of 2,333 square feet on the south side of the synagogue, and a strip of 791 Rhenish square feet consisting of a building and a bit of garden on the east side. This made

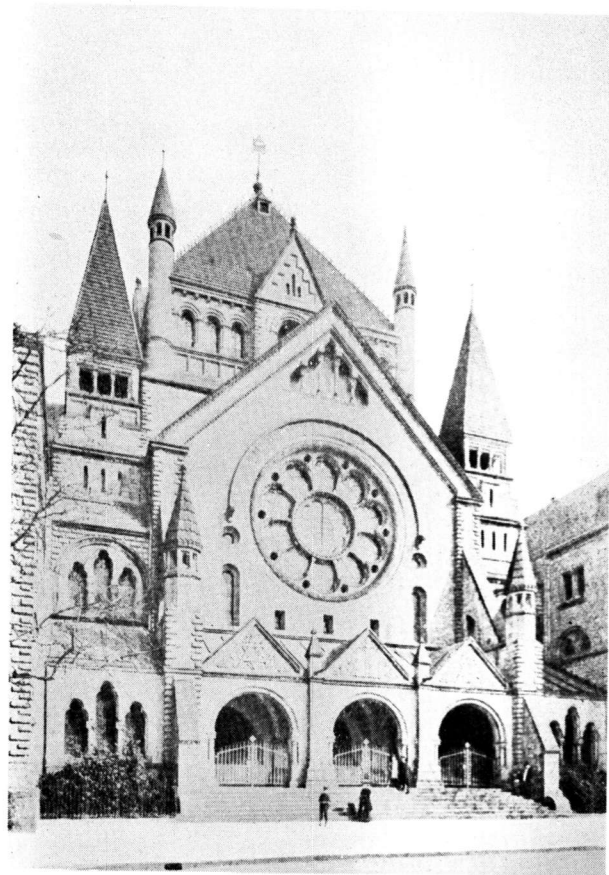
it possible to enlarge the synagogue, erect a smaller synagogue for week-day services, and leave room for a court.

The fiftieth anniversary of the synagogue was celebrated in 1911. During the World War the large cupola, as well as the smaller ones, were deprived of their original copper covering. In the course of the years, this copper with its original patina had become one of the most beautiful, artistic cupolas in the City of Cologne. In consequence of the removal of the copper, the four towers on the outside pillars were dismantled, to be restored only in 1925. The replacing of the copper covering of the chief cupola had to be postponed for financial reasons.

The number of Jews in Cologne at the time of the dedication of the synagogue on the Glockengasse was about 2000. In 1871 it was 3,171. By 1880 the number had risen to 4,523. In 1890 it was 6,859, and by 1900 it was 9,745. It is not surprising, therefore, that this synagogue with its 226 seats for men and 140 seats for women, of which 50 were held in perpetuity, sufficed the communal needs for barely twenty years. From 1880 on an additional place of worship had to be provided during the High Holidays. But while the need for another synagogue was obvious, ten more years passed before the executive board began serious discussion of the matter, and four years beyond that to find a suitable site. In July 1893, 2,250 square meters of ground were acquired on the Roonstrasse, opposite the Koenigsplatz of that day. It was estimated that the cost of the new building would be about 550,000 marks.

To cover this sum a substantial loan was made with the Prussian *Zentralbodenkredit Aktiengesellschaft* in Berlin. On May 23, 1894, the Representative Assembly of the city voted a grant of 40,000 marks from the city treasury. The corner-stone laying was celebrated on October 23, 1894.⁸⁷

The synagogue was expected to be completed in the fall of 1897, but it was March 22, 1899, before the dedication could take place. On that day, in the presence of the highest functionaries of the Rhine province and of innumerable guests of honor, Rabbi Frank and Rabbi Rosenthal delivered the dedication addresses. The synagogue was a magnificent structure, possessed of striking individuality. It stood out sharply from among its modern surroundings. Everything about this structure of Romanesque style blended into a harmonious whole. Its lofty cupola, the monumental effect of its portico, the imposing gable at the front, its richly appointed circular lattice-window, its side-view artistically constructed and colored, and the roof covered with red and green bricks, fitted in with the surroundings of the Koenigsplatz. On the other hand, the effect of the building would no doubt have been much greater had it stood apart from the others on the square. Within, the walls were decorated with flowers, arabesques, and Hebrew inscriptions. The *Almemar* was placed towards the front of the synagogue, near the Ark, as is usual in modern buildings of this kind. The Ark itself was built into the wall. For the sake of acoustics an extra pulpit, of beautifully carved wood, was built on the north side of the synagogue. The prayer-hall seated 763



Synagogue on the Roonstrasse.
Only the facade now remains, as a result of November 10, 1938.
In recent months an air-raid shelter has been constructed under it.

men and 587 women. The vestibule was later turned into a simple but impressive hall of honor in memory of nearly three hundred Cologne Jews who fell in the World War. The only synagogue building in the Rhenish province which could compare to this one on the Roonstrasse in Cologne was the synagogue in Essen which was completed in 1913. Both were monumental in character and were centers of attraction amid the architecture of their respective cities.

Because of the union of the Jewish community of Ehrenfeld with that of Cologne, the latter took over the obligation to erect a new synagogue in place of the inadequate building there at the time. The building put up by architect Robert Stern on the Koernerstrasse had simple but beautiful lines, its chief ornament being the burning altar in the eastern window. It was dedicated on September 18, 1927 by the rabbis of the community. With the incorporation into the Jewish community of Cologne of the communities in the districts of Deutz, Muelheim, and Zuendorf, other synagogues were acquired by the larger community. The old synagogue in Deutz, which stood near the bank of the Rhine, was destroyed by a flood and drifting ice on February 27, 1784. A new building was erected on the same spot in 1786, and remained in use until 1914. Unattractive on the outside, its interior was quite pleasing, especially its beautiful Ark, the stately *Almemar*, and the particularly valuable Torah decorations. More recently the synagogue was forced to make way for the construction of a new bridge between Cologne and Deutz. The modern synagogue in Deutz was

located on the Reichsplatz. It was built by the City of Cologne and dedicated in 1915.

The synagogue in Muelheim was dedicated in 1786, after the preceding house of prayer had likewise fallen victim to the overflowing waters of the Rhine in 1784. It is therefore more than one hundred and fifty years old. At Zuendorf the synagogue celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1932.

The Jewish Asylum as well as the Jewish Children's Home possessed rather large synagogue quarters of their own in which services were conducted regularly. Nevertheless, until 1934 the houses of prayer at their disposal did not suffice the Jews of Cologne on the High Holidays. Extra places for services had to be established for every *Rosh ha-Shana* and *Yom Kippur*.

The synagogues of the community had the following cantors. Isaac Offenbach till 1850, Rosenberg since 1851, F. Blumenthal from 1876 to 1924, E. Kohn till 1936, and in recent years F. Fleischmann, Max Baum and Schallamach. All of them, especially Blumenthal, contributed to the enrichment of synagogue music.

CEMETERIES

THE last interment in the Jewish cemetery at St. Severin's Gate took place toward the end of the seventeenth century. On October 2, 1693, Moyses Horn, the spokesman for the Jewry of the archiepiscopal domain, asked the Electoral Government

for a new burial place in Deutz. He pointed out that the rising waters during the winter season often made interment impossible. In 1695 Elector Joseph Clement granted the Jews of Deutz a strip of land in the vicinity of the mills at Sandkaul. In return they had to pay an annual tax to the Court Treasurer and the bailiff.

The first interment in this cemetery, according to the Memorial Book of Deutz, took place in 1699. The same cemetery served also the Jewish community of Muelheim into the second half of the eighteenth century. When in 1798 Jews were again permitted to settle in Cologne proper, a difficulty arose as to which cemetery they were to use. French law ordained that cemeteries must be outside the city, and in 1803 the Burgomaster of Cologne was sharply reprimanded by the higher authorities for permitting the burial upon the territory of the former Monastery of St. Clarissa of three Jews who had been executed at the order of the French Court. During 1802 and 1803 there were constant negotiations between the Jewish community and the city for the purchase of a cemetery outside the city limits. When these negotiations were broken off in 1807, an agreement was reached between the Jewish communities of Cologne and Deutz, and for more than half a century thereafter the Jewish community of Cologne managed without a cemetery of its own.⁸⁸

After prolonged negotiations between the Prussian government and the Jewish community,⁸⁹ the former, on May 22, 1866, finally declared itself content not

to insist upon the acquisition by the community of a cemetery within the Cologne district in view of the fact that the cemetery at Deutz sufficed for the needs of both communities. The size of the cemetery at that time was one acre, eighteen rods, and one hundred and twenty feet. It was located within the boundaries of the fortress. As a result of the amalgamation of the Jewish community of Deutz with that of Cologne in 1928, the latter became the sole owner of the cemetery.

The oldest portion of the cemetery, which contains some beautiful old trees, lies at the entrance on the south side to the left. The tombstones of this cemetery have suffered the wear of the ages, but for the most part they are still legible. As ornaments upon them one may see the priestly hands in blessing, the water pitcher in the case of the descendants of the Levites, and the head of an ox on the tombstones of the Deutz family of Rindskopf. In this oldest part of the cemetery are the graves of some famous men, for example that of Alexander ben Jacob, the rabbi of Cologne-Juelich-Berg, who died in 1704; Rabbi Joseph Juspa Kossman of Essen, who died in 1758 in Deutz; and members of the Duellen family. On the western side of this oldest part are the graves belonging to the nineteenth century, for example, that of Michael von Geldern, the brother of the adventurer Simeon von Geldern, and son of Leser of Duesseldorf (1733-1825). His tombstone displays a coat of arms with a lion. In the same vicinity is the grave of Cantor Isaac Offenbach (1779-1850).

Not far from that is the grave of the draughtsman David Levy Elkan, and also that of the David who was known as Tewele Hess of Bonn. In a particularly quiet spot are the graves of the family Solomon Oppenheim: the mother Therese Oppenheim, born Stein (1775-1842); Simon Oppenheim and his wife; and Abraham Oppenheim, who is represented by a tombstone, his remains having been carried for burial to Bassenheim. In the same vicinity are the members of the de la Parra family.

From 1851 until the old surrounding wall was destroyed in 1882, the military authorities forbade the upright position of gravestones. The majority of the stones, therefore, in the new section on the northern side, lie over the graves and resemble sarcophagi. Among these there are a number of works of art; for example, one with a sculptured arrangement of flowers. In the newer part are the graves of the first communal rabbi, Doctor Israel Schwarz who died in 1875; Moses Hess who died on April 6, 1875; and members of the old families of Cologne; for example, Benjamin Liebmann (1829-1898); the physician Doctor Feith, who died in 1885; Doctor S. Bier, who died in 1894; the eye-specialist Doctor Julius Samelsohn (1841-1899); Doctor S. Apfel; the singer Meta Callmann (1856-1895); the Professor of Mathematics at the University of Heidelberg and famous Zionist, Doctor Herrmann Schapira (1840-1898), who was the first to suggest the idea of a University at Jerusalem; also the President of the Zionist Organization, David Wolffsohn (1855-1914),

and many more. The soldiers fallen during the World War and brought home for burial have been placed in separate rows.

More recent is the cemetery Cologne-Bocklemuend which was first used in December, 1918. It is 785,05 are in size. As a result of a property exchange made with the city it was recently enlarged, the city obtaining the oldest Jewish cemetery at the Bonn Gate. The cemetery buildings were put up in a practical and attractive manner, especially the hall which was imposing in its coloring and soothing at the same time. On this cemetery lies at rest Rabbi Abraham Frank who died in 1917 and was transported there in 1919; also Louis Eliel who died in 1919 and who had earned the gratitude of the city and the Jewish community; Leonhard Tietz; and the surgeon, Doctor Fritz Cahen, and Rabbi L. Rosenthal.

With the amalgamation of the Jewish community of Ehrenfeld with that of Cologne, in April 1913, the cemetery on the Widdersdorferstrasse, established in 1897, also became the property of the enlarged community. It is 39,44 are in size. With the amalgamation of the city and district of Muelheim with Cologne on July 1, 1929, two more cemeteries became the property of the community. In 1774 the Memorial Book of Muelheim makes first mention of an interment in the Jewish cemetery of that place. This cemetery was increased during the French period by the purchase of more land on November 4, 1812, again by a further purchase in 1865, and finally by a gift of David Cahen on March 28, 1866, meant

particularly for the laying-out of a road leading to the cemetery. Consequently this cemetery now measures 37,07 are. To the same former township of Muelheim belong the cemetery acquired in 1919 on the Elsdorfer Road. It is 35,75 are in size and was meant particularly for the Jewish inhabitants of Zuendorf, Wahn, and Porz. Finally, there is the cemetery of Deckstein belonging to the Congregation Adath Jeshurun of Cologne.

CHAPTER 6

RELIGIOUS SERVICES AND CUSTOMS

THE gap in the history of the Jewish community in Cologne, caused by their long absence from the city, was bridged through the adoption by the re-established community of the religious customs characteristic of German-Jewish religious life. The *Minhag Ashkenaz*, more specifically the Rite of Deutz, was made the foundation of the ritual of the new settlement.

The synagogue service retained its traditional form. Change in the religious ceremonial by the community of Cologne was the less likely in view of this community's dependence upon the consistory in Bonn, and especially its Chief Rabbi. For the growing community this was not a happy situation. Not only did the religious services have to be held in an inadequate and unattractive building, but also not a single German word, and certainly no sermon, could be made part of the ritual. In 1842, when the community of Cologne invited a rabbinical student of Bonn, the one who later became Chief Rabbi Isaacsohn of Rotterdam, to deliver religious addresses in its synagogue, the Bonn consistory at first objected. Only occasionally during the 1850's did outsiders preach in the Cologne synagogue on the holidays.

With the coming of Doctor Schwarz as rabbi, the religious arrangements of the community assumed

a more distinctive character. Whatever he did was done in a rather conservative spirit. However, only the external forms of the ceremonial were modernized. Schwarz preferred to follow the middle of the road, and in this respect the majority of his community agreed with him. This point of view is incorporated in paragraph 93 of the first constitution of the Cologne Jewish community, that of 1861, where a number of assurances were included to guard against changes in the ritual. Of a more radical nature was the limitation or even abolition of the use of *piyyutim*.⁹⁰ The synagogue regulations were the subject of long discussion among the leaders of the Jewish community both in the executive board and among the representatives. They were finally adopted and published in full in 1864.⁹¹ Aside from the abolition of the *piyyutim* and the complete removal of *Kol Nidre*, no fundamental changes were introduced for years thereafter, so that the synagogue regulation of 1887 agreed with that of 1864 in almost every detail.

The sermon now became a regular part of the service on Sabbaths and holidays. Prayers in German for the Fatherland and for various special occasions were composed by Schwarz in rhythmic language and read by him, especially on Sabbaths and holidays. A choir in four parts was introduced in 1862. In the reading of the Hebrew prayers the rabbi alternated with the cantor and choir. This modernized religious service was similar to the ritual used at that time in Berlin and Vienna. Although Schwarz himself spoke against the abolition of *Kol Nidre*, explaining that such action would imply an accusation of Juda-

ism in general and of those Jewish communities in which this prayer was retained, nevertheless the communal representatives, after long discussion, adopted, on May 11, 1863, the resolution to delete *Kol Nidre*. In place of *Kol Nidre* a prayer was instituted called *Kol Sitre*, whereupon the choir sang "O Day of God," and the evening service followed.

Another innovation was confirmation for boys and girls. A decision in this respect was made by the administration as early as January 22, 1852. The first Confirmation took place on *Shabu'oth*, May 24, 1852, after the Torah had been replaced in the Ark. Judging by the printed order of service for the *Shabu'oth* feast of 1862, and by the synagogue regulations of 1864 and 1887, confirmation of boys and girls had become a fixed part of the religious services of the Cologne community. It is also taken up as one of the activities in the educational efforts of Rabbi Schwarz, being assigned to him on March 16, 1863. Moreover, Schwarz himself, in his book on religion, commended the confirmation ceremony very highly. Rabbi Frank, too, used to confirm girls. Since 1920 such a service has been held at the Roonstrasse regularly every year. Nevertheless, the *Bar Mitzva* ceremony for boys has remained unaffected; the only difference being that of late the special address of the rabbi makes the *Bar Mitzva* ceremony a more festive occasion.

The religious point of view of the communal authorities during the 1860's is revealed by their desire to have Rabbi Schwarz attend the first Synod of Leipzig where fundamental changes and reforms

were adopted, including the use of the organ. Already at the dedication of the synagogue the question arose whether it ought not to have an organ.⁹² In 1863 the question was raised once more, and from that day on remained on the agenda of the community. Towards the end of 1864 a motion was made by Rhee and a number of others that instrumental accompaniment be introduced into the service. Rabbi Schwarz presented a detailed report on this question on December 20, 1864, denying the permissibility of instrumental accompaniment on Sabbaths and holidays, even when the instrument was played by a non-Jew. Nevertheless, the representatives continued to introduce resolutions for such musical accompaniment in the years 1867, 1869, 1870, and 1871. On April 3, 1871, a committee of the representatives, by a vote of ten to five, decided upon the introduction of musical accompaniment, but the report was tabled by the administration. The entire subject was put upon a different basis in 1899, when about thirteen hundred taxpayers, under the leadership of Friedrich Drucker, petitioned for the introduction of an organ into the new synagogue. The executive board, after listening to the rabbis, and after weighing all the circumstances, decided to hold back for the time being, and to lay this decision before the representative assembly. At that time was founded the Liberal Association⁹³ of the religious community, and on March 16, 1904, on the petition of Eliel, Callmann and Heidenheim, the executive board expressed itself in favor of the introduction of an organ. Nevertheless, two more years passed before all the regulations

set forth in paragraph 93 could be fulfilled. The organ was used for the first time in the synagogue on the Roonstrasse on Passover 1906.

Presumably as a result of the abolition of *Kol Nidre*, Isaac Ochs, in 1863, asked permission of the executive board to rent a room in which religious services might be conducted for about thirty adults. On July 23, 1863 the executive board agreed to this request with the provisos that the community in general incur no expense as a result, and that all contributions made by the participants in the new service be placed at the disposal of the executive board. Out of this *Minyan* eventually developed the congregation Adath Jeshurun. As a result of the introduction of the organ into the Roonstrasse synagogue this congregation, despite extensive concessions proposed to it, completely withdrew from the community at large on June 17, 1906. It developed its own institutions, established its own cemetery in Deckstein, and organized a private elementary school and a higher school under the direction of its own rabbi, Doctor Emanuel Carlebach.

The plans for a union of liberal Jews, set forth in 1912, aroused a strong current in the Jewish community of Cologne as in others. The announcement of a program for liberal Judaism by the Union of the Liberal Rabbis of Germany motivated the executive committee of the Association of Orthodox Rabbis of Germany and of the Union of Traditional Rabbis of Germany to outline their own programs in a number of Jewish periodicals. Thereupon the executive board and the representative assembly of the Jewish

community of Berlin agreed upon a statement of that community's stand in the interests of continued friendly cooperation among the adherents of various points of view. To this announcement of its stand by the Berlin community the Jewish communities of Frankfort, Munich, and also Cologne gave their adherence. In any event, the program of the Liberals resulted in a religious movement among the orthodox as well as among the liberal circles of Cologne.

On May 27, 1920 it was voted to re-institute the *Kol Nidre* prayer in the service of the synagogue on the Glockenstrasse. It was re-introduced in the Roonstrasse synagogue in 1935. On the other hand, the latter synagogue adopted, in 1927, the mixed choir and several other changes in the ritual, none particularly important or fundamental. The result of the differences of opinion was that in 1930 a breach occurred, resulting in two autonomous religious service committees, one conservative and the other liberal, to guide the arrangements for the services and the religious education of the community. It was agreed that no Sunday service, or any other service as a substitute for that of Saturday, would be established without the consent of the executive board of the entire community and its representative assembly. With regard to the introduction of a prayer-book other than the one actually in use, it is necessary to obtain the consent of two-thirds of the religious service committee involved as well as of the rabbi of that synagogue. The organization of other religious societies is permitted, and they have the power to regulate their own affairs. Such an organization

for progressive Judaism, which is not to be confused with the liberal group within the community, did exist for a number of years in Cologne. Nevertheless, reforms of the kind predicted as a result of the breach within the religious community have not materialized. The Cologne community has continued in the good middle of the road along the course charted for it in days gone by.

CHAPTER 7

JEWISH COMMUNAL SCHOOLS

THE first teachers in the Jewish community after its re-establishment were Isaac Ochs, previously called Seligmann Ochse, a native of Lechenich, and Hermann Elkan, previously called Hone Levi. The former had been cantor of Lechenich since 1801, and is mentioned in 1804 as "the Jewish schoolmaster and percentor of the Jewish community of Cologne." The latter had been a very popular teacher of reading and writing.

The instruction given at this time was private. In general there was not a single elementary school in Cologne around 1815. It was not until the issuance of the Order in Council on May 14, 1825 that compulsory education was introduced and that the private schools existing in each of the parishes of Cologne were recognized as public schools. Jewish education in the Rhenish province was organized in accordance with an order of the Lord-Lieutenant on September 13, 1824. Jewish children were to attend one of the existing Christian schools, or take private instruction, or be taught in a school established by the Jewish community. Such Jewish schools as well as the Jewish private teachers were placed under the supervision of the State. "The Jewish teachers engaged for the instruction of the Jewish religion shall not only present a

certificate of a blameless personal life, to be granted them by the police authorities, but also pass an examination in knowledge of and skill in all subjects expected of a member of the teaching profession. Failing in this examination they shall not be granted the right to teach religion either. Thus, in order to combine instruction in other subjects with religious instruction, which includes the teaching of the Hebrew language, it is necessary to obtain a special license on the basis of a thorough examination. No private teacher shall give instruction in or outside the home without a license granted by the royal government. Instruction of his children by a licensed teacher, shall free the Jewish householder from the obligation to contribute to the Christian district schools. The teachers of a . . . Jewish communal school shall be examined by a competent authority of the province and found capable under the same terms as other teachers of the same sort, with the exception of his religious knowledge." (Paragraphs 8-11 of the Order.)

We learn from the city's school commission's report to the royal government in April 1822 that a number of Jewish boys and girls were taught in two separate rooms, that the place was quite unsuited for this purpose, and that the children studied the Talmud with one teacher, and Hebrew reading and the reading and writing of German with another. The city's school commission recommended the establishment of a good elementary school for the Jewish children. The royal government was also insistent upon this in 1826, but found, at first, no

response in the executive board of the community, which considered the attendance of Jewish children in Christian schools as quite proper in every respect. Gradually, however, the Jewish community itself sensed the need for separate schools. In 1830 it established such a school for boys in the house, Glockengasse 45, which was the property of the community. The government knew nothing about this move.

The first teacher of this school was Markus Mannheimer. The curriculum called for twenty hours of Hebrew, including religious instruction, eleven hours of German, six hours of Arithmetic, one hour of Geography, and one hour of the History of the Fatherland. The last two hours were soon dropped as separate studies, and in their place instruction in German was strengthened. In 1837 the city tried to influence the executive board of the community to improve its educational system, in the first place by finding better quarters for its school, so that boys and girls might be taught in separate classes. A room was rented for the girls, and in this way a hedge-school was turned into a dignified institution and brought under the supervision and influence of a competent Jewish teacher. Such was the report of State Secretary Fuchs.

Generally speaking, however, the community actually did nothing for its educational system at that particular time. The boys' school continued to be conducted in quarters quite unsuited for it, and enjoyed little of the interest that it should have received from those concerned with it. In 1838 the

city granted a teacher's license to Rosalie Neumann, a Jewish school-mistress who had received her education in Cologne, where she had specialized in Pedagogy. She was granted permission to open a private Jewish school for girls. A short time after the establishment of this school it was given quarters in a house belonging to the synagogue on the Glockengasse. The expenses of both institutions were covered by contributions from the general membership of the community and the tuition fees of those children who were able to pay. In 1831 twenty-two boys and thirty-three girls attended this school. The girls' school followed a curriculum consisting of fifteen hours of German, five hours of Arithmetic, five hours of Handwork, five hours of Religion, five hours of French, one hour of Drawing, two hours of Geography, and one hour of Nature-Study. The entire establishment was looked upon by the civic and state authorities as private instruction, and the teaching personnel were licensed as private teachers. Supervision was exercised by the city's school-inspector under the authority of the government. In order to carry out an edict of the Lord-Lieutenant of April 24, 1834, the city's school-inspector sought, in 1837, to have the executive board of the community answer a certain number of questions with regard to the location of the school, school equipment, the cleanliness of the schoolrooms, the number of children of school age, contributions for maintenance, regulations governing admission, and the control of the curriculum and general arrangements of the school. The

Jewish community refrained from sending its answer. It sent an answer of a general nature only in July 1841. For the present it desired merely that the city inspector visit the Jewish school.⁹³

The negotiations between the executive board and the city's school commission with regard to the Jewish educational facilities were broken off by the events in 1848. The city's commission waited for a new law which would regulate the general educational system. In the meantime, the next important development was that beginning with 1852 the city made an annual grant of money to the communal school.

A new era began for the school with the arrival of Rabbi Schwarz in 1857. As was pointed out above, one of the duties assigned to him by the executive board was to direct the school. He taught Religion for three hours to the middle and upper grades, conducted review lessons in the presence of all the teachers,⁹⁴ and paid daily visits to the school for purposes of supervision. He also held a conference on school matters every month, set up a curriculum and school program, prepared, on behalf of the executive board, an outline of duties to which the teachers were to be held, and set up a school calendar which, in the main, followed the calendar of the non-Jewish schools of the city. The reorganization of the school resulted in the elimination of the Christian text-books and the establishment of a juvenile library.

In 1859 the Jewish elementary school had one hundred and eighty boys and girls. In the same

year Rabbi Schwarz suggested the establishment of a Jewish secondary school (*Realschule*). The suggestion was turned down by the executive board. In the meantime a number of difficulties had to be overcome in the elementary school. Discipline, the schoolrooms, and school attendance left much to be desired. The request of the executive board that the government, declare as legally enforceable the sums which Jewish parents had to pay in school taxes was refused, on March 31, 1860, on the ground that the communal school was a private institution. In 1862 the school board of the Jewish community began to give really earnest attention to the elementary school. It voiced sharp criticism of its conduct, and expressed preference for the class system of instruction as over against the departmental system. Moreover, it favored the teaching of Religion by means of catechisms, and the organization of a course for instruction in the Hebrew Language. All this the executive board put into effect in 1862. The committee favored the establishment of a course in Latin and, in 1863, twenty pupils took that course. Except for Gymnastics which, down to 1864, did not find a place in the Jewish elementary school curriculum, this school stood no lower than any of the elementary schools of the city; it met all the legitimate requirements. Such was the judgment in which both Rabbi Schwarz and the city inspector of schools agreed.

Considering the growing Jewish population of the city and the fact that the Jews paid a sixth of

the city's taxes, while taking no advantage of its charitable institutions, and considering, furthermore, that out of four hundred Jewish children of school age two hundred attended the Jewish school, the executive board asked the city that the Jewish elementary school receive the same treatment as the other elementary schools of Cologne which bore a religious character. This involved the payment of a stipend of eight hundred thaler and the assignment of school quarters at the city's expense. Only the first part of this request was granted by the city. But the Jewish community did not yield, and repeatedly requested that the grant for the support of Jewish education be fixed once and for all on the basis of parity with other schools, and that, in addition, school quarters be assigned it. The quarters which the Jewish community itself could provide were so inadequate that, in the course of these years, the school changed its location half a dozen times. The problem was not solved until 1874 when events placed in the hands of the city a new building on the Schildergasse for which it had no other use.⁹⁵

On July 22, 1870 the Representative Assembly of the city decided to take over the Jewish communal school as one of the city's institutions. It even voted the necessary funds, and gave the executive board of the Jewish community the right to nominate the teachers. However, this decision of the city's Representative Assembly fell short of making the Jewish school a public school in the real sense.⁹⁶ For help in these negotiations the executive board

of the Jewish community turned to the Minister of Religious and Educational Affairs. In the meantime, the Community Council of Cologne decided to transform all the elementary schools of the city into so-called non-denominational schools. When the government rejected this plan, the city dispatched an appeal to Berlin, as well as a deputation one member of which was Wilhelm Hertz, a Jew. The Jews in general did not favor having the school taken out of their hands. In its petition of April 29, 1877 the executive board had made representations to the Minister pointing out that the vast majority of the Jewish community desired the maintenance of the Jewish elementary school and asked, as did the Presbyterium of Cologne, that no local changes be permitted. On July 17, 1877 the government apprised the executive board of the rejection by the Minister of the city's request to give the eight schools of Cologne, including the Jewish school, a non-denominational character. That done, negotiations could be resumed on the question of the city's willingness to treat the Jewish elementary school on the same basis as the rest of the schools of Cologne by turning it into a public school whose teachers were to receive the same privileges as those of similar institutions, but to remain under Jewish control.

The Prussian government, too, had inquired of the city whether it was prepared to take over the Jewish elementary school and make of it a city school on the same basis as others. The city, however, stood firm in its demand for a clear statement

by the Jewish community that the school, having been taken over by the city, would be subject to the city's administration in exactly the same fashion as the other public schools. This involved the giving up by the executive board of its influence in the appointment of teachers, the organization and adoption of the curriculum, and the like. The executive board would also have to abandon its rights to give examinations to the pupils. After a great deal of discussion pro and con, the executive board on October 15, 1879, finally agreed to such a declaration on its part. It declared, however, "Yet we confidently assume that the school quarters on Schildergasse 72 will be maintained for the Jewish school." Thus the road was clear for the Jewish elementary school to become a public school of the city. The royal government also, by its decree of May 7, 1881, recognized that the Jewish school had become a public institution.

Even before this final step was taken, the process of equalization was in full swing, so that during the 1870's the Jewish school was made parallel to the non-Jewish schools in organization and instruction. In 1876 the public schools of Cologne underwent fundamental changes. The school commission of the city and all the executive officers were dismissed. In their place a school board was appointed consisting of the Chief Burgomaster, the city's school-inspector, and twelve appointed members.⁹⁷ Local supervision was placed in the hands of a head teacher who bore the title Rector. In this way there ceased to exist a separate director for the

Jewish school. The rabbi of the community no longer had to conduct separate examinations, not even in religious instruction. Thereafter the teaching personnel, like the teachers of the Evangelical and Catholic schools, regularly took part in the general teachers' conferences which were held under the chairmanship of the city's school-inspector. The only two who remained outside the usual school organization were the rabbi of the community, who continued to teach Religion to the upper classes, and the cantor of the community, who continued to teach singing. The new school-inspector also tried his utmost to adjust the inner life of the Jewish school to correspond as much as possible to that of other schools. The same books were introduced as were used in other schools, except that no change was made in the text-books on Religion.

Along with the books, the curriculum followed in the other schools of the city was introduced into the Jewish school. The subjects of instruction were assigned the same number of hours. There were only two respects in which the curriculum of the Jewish school differed from that of the others. A number of additional hours were devoted to instruction in Hebrew, without adding to the burdens of the regular teaching personnel. In this way the wishes of the Jewish population with regard to religious instruction were fully met. The general curriculum was not followed also in the matter of Gymnastics. Within the Jewish school there was no teacher capable of giving such instruction.

Besides, the civic *Turnhalle* (gymnasium) was being used to capacity. Ever since 1883, however, the highest class of the Jewish school took physical training like any similar class.

All these arrangements raised the respect for the school in the eyes of the Jewish community. For there had been a large number of Jews who had preferred Christian schools or private institutions. With the change, however, the number of pupils increased considerably, so that already in 1881 it appeared necessary to organize another class. It was likewise considered an advantage that, with the organization of this class, the sexes could be separated in the school. Soon the classrooms could no longer hold the number of children. In 1883 the living quarters of one of the teachers had to be taken over for the organization of a sixth school year. That, too, did not suffice for very long. In 1887 another story was added, affording two more classrooms. The school now had four boys' and four girls' classes, and four men and four women teachers. Even the increase in tuition fees, which affected all the elementary schools of Cologne beginning with October 1, 1888, had no appreciable effect upon the number of pupils in the Jewish school. In May 1894 that number was 211 boys and 234 girls. At the same time the Christian elementary schools had 38 Jewish boys and 24 Jewish girls, while in the higher schools there were 232 Jewish boys and 184 girls. The pupils of the middle and upper classes frequently dropped out, thus making the classes assigned to children of

that age too small; but the lower classes remained too crowded. Consequently an arrangement was made whereby the fourth class contained the first school year and half of the second; the third class contained the second half of the second school year and the entire third; the second class contained the pupils of the fourth and fifth school years; and the first class, the highest in the school, combined the pupils of the sixth, seventh, and eighth school years. Despite this, the subjects prescribed for the elementary school were given the necessary number of hours, and each teacher taught the prescribed twenty-eight or twenty-four hours per week.⁹⁸ Because of the fact that Gymnastics and Singing were taught by teachers not connected with the school, a number of extra hours were left free for Religion, that is the study of Hebrew. In this way, the pupils of a number of classes received more than the number of hours given in other schools.

Until 1901 the director of the school was Herrmanns, its head teacher. In September of that year the directorship was transferred to Bernhard Coblenz. Under the leadership of this excellent pedagogue the school made rapid progress. From four boys' and four girls' classes, with a total of three hundred pupils and four men and four women teachers, at the end of Herrmanns' administration, the school soon grew to have six boys' and six girls' classes. In consequence the director of the school was promoted to the position of Rector. He was, therefore, not only the first Rector of this school, but the first Rector of any German Jewish public school. In 1926,

after a highly successful school administration, as well as distinguished service to his community and his city, Bernhard Coblenz was retired. His successor was Rector Emil Kahn.

In 1934 the school consisted of 19 classes with 870 pupils and nineteen faculty members. In the course of time the school had had to wander about a good bit.⁹⁹ Its latest home was the stately school-house in the Luetzowstrasse, a building provided by the city shortly before the outbreak of the World War, and used until the spring of 1938.

There was another school of a private character by the name of *Moriah*. It was conducted by the congregation Adath Jeshurun, and was founded by Rabbi Emanuel Carlebach in 1907. During the school year 1933-1934 it consisted of six classes with 170 children. In 1936-1937 the number of children was 180.

Around Easter 1919 Rabbi Carlebach likewise opened a school called *Jabne*, having two departments. On April 15, 1921 this school received permission to build; and in 1925 it was recognized as a *Real-Progymnasium* and *Lyzeum* with the rights of a semi-public institution. On September 28, 1929 its official name was changed to *Privates Juedisches Reform-Realgymnasium mit Realschule fuer Knaben und Maedchen*. The *Jabne* school's position was strengthened when, on April 27, 1928, it entered into an agreement with the executive board of the Cologne community whereby, for a period of five years, this school was to receive an annual stipend. In return the school was to be administered by a

board of governors the majority of whom was appointed by the executive board of the Jewish community. According to the by-laws of the school, its teachers and directors had to be of conservative religious views. Since April 1, 1929 its director was Doctor E. Klibansky.

The first graduation from the *Reform-Realgymnasium* took place on Passover 1932. During the school year 1930-1931 the pupils numbered 103 boys and 75 girls. During 1936-1937 the total number of pupils, boys and girls, was 410.

CHAPTER 8

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

FROM a report transmitted to the Royal Government by the school commission of the city, it is evident that in the year 1820 most Jewish schoolchildren of Cologne attended non-Jewish schools. In this respect the situation remained unchanged down to 1933. In 1824 and 1826 the Catholic Gymnasium of Cologne had six Jewish pupils and in 1824 to 1825 the Carmelite Gymnasium had ten Jewish pupils.¹⁰⁰ In 1825 the Jewish community consisted of only thirty families and sixty-one children of school age. Yet of this number sixteen children, that is more than twenty-five percent, attended higher schools. The same was true of the year 1828. At the Carmelite Gymnasium in the fall term of 1828 there were eleven Jewish pupils, at the Cologne Catholic Gymnasium three, and in the recently founded civic high school (*Hoehere Buergerschule*) four Jewish pupils in a total of eighty-five. In 1828 the Jewish community consisted of thirty-seven families and sixty-five children of school age. Thus, in that year, eighteen of the sixty-five Jewish children, that is thirty-three percent attended higher schools.

The proportion of Jewish children attending school naturally increased as time went on. In 1903-1904 there were 1600 Jewish children of school age. Of these 660 attended public schools, and 940 higher

and middle schools. In this situation is reflected the general state of affairs all through Germany. The attendance of Jewish pupils at higher and middle schools during the course of the past century exceeded the percentage of Jews in the population. In Cologne, for example, the percentage of Jews was from two to three percent, but the school population was far above that.

Until the arrival of Doctor Schwarz religious instruction was poorly provided for. Outside those attending the Jewish school, other children received religious instruction privately. In April 1852 we hear of instruction for confirmation given by the teacher R. Marx to seven girls and three boys. In 1853-1855 Doctor M. S. Krueger taught Religion and Hebrew to a number of Jewish children who attended private Christian schools. Beginning with 1855 Cantor Rosenberg gave religious instruction at the school for girls conducted by Rosa Levié. Later on and until 1862 Rabbi Schwarz took over this duty. When Doctor J. Goldschmidt opened a secondary private school in 1857, he, at the request of the community, invited Cantor Rosenberg to give religious instruction. In his contract with the community Rabbi Schwarz undertook not only to prepare boys and girls for an annual confirmation, but also to arrange a special course for religious instruction in which Jewish children above the age of thirteen could participate even though they attended non-Jewish schools. As appears from his report toward the end of June 1858, Doctor Schwarz did prepare such a course. He and the other teachers

taught Religion on Sunday mornings between 8 and 12, on Wednesdays between 4 and 6, and on Saturdays between 2 and 4. By the end of 1857 Schwarz was permitted by the city to give religious instruction to the fifty children who attended the secondary civic school, though he was not remunerated for the work. In 1860 this arrangement was discontinued, and was resumed only in 1868 for the three lowest classes who received instruction at the same time that Christian religious instruction was given within the school quarters. This was done with the consent of the Minister of Public Worship, whose authority extended to any *Realschule* conducted by the city. For the higher classes instruction was provided in the afternoons, after school hours. At the Frederick William Gymnasium Doctor Schwarz, with the consent of the Minister, took over the religious instruction also after school hours. Beginning 1870 he gave such instruction for four hours a week.¹⁰¹

While this was an improvement over the situation which had obtained before the coming of Rabbi Schwarz, it was generally recognized that the religious instruction given was neither adequate nor efficient. In 1865, for example, only 174 of the 455 children of school age were receiving religious instruction. Consequently Doctor Schwarz submitted his plan for the establishment of a Jewish *Realschule*, which the executive board rejected. The religious instruction given remained quite insufficient. In 1876 the Minister issued a new decree regulating Jewish religious instruction at the

Frederick William Gymnasium. Out of this school's treasury the sum of one mark for every hour of instruction was set aside, while the executive board of the community set aside a further contribution of one mark for every hour of instruction. Instruction was given four hours per week. In 1878 the State set up a new arrangement. A fixed sum of two hundred marks per year for each hour of instruction was set aside by the government, and a similar sum by the executive board.

In 1889 there were still 299 Jewish boys and girls, outside of those in Ehrenfeld where there were 32 more, who were getting no religious instruction.¹⁰² At the same time Doctor Frank, being the only rabbi, was kept so busy that the Chief Burgomaster of the City of Cologne informed the Jewish community, on December 11, 1890, that Jewish religious instruction at the secondary schools of the city was in a most unsatisfactory state.¹⁰³ To improve the situation it seemed necessary for the Jewish community to appoint a second rabbi with the religious instruction in the various schools as his chief duty. On January 22, 1891 the executive board of the community notified the Chief Burgomaster of its intention to appoint a second academically trained teacher. When, after Easter 1891, Doctor Felix Lazarus, possessing the required qualifications, was appointed by the community, the executive board asked the city for permission further to develop the system of religious instruction. The community also requested school quarters in the Schildergasse for the setting up of a religious school. On March 31,

1891 the Chief Burgomaster agreed to the use of the schoolhouse on the Schildergasse for the purpose of such religious instruction, and to the establishment of two hours weekly for religious instruction at the *Oberrealschule*. No further changes were envisaged.

Doctor Lazarus took over the religious instruction in the secondary schools of the city, at the *Oberrealschule*, and in the lower and middle classes of the Secondary Schools for Girls. On April 22, 1891 a printed circular was issued by the executive board of the community announcing the establishment of a religious school. The members of the community were told that this was necessary because until then religious instruction could not be given with sufficient thoroughness because of lack of teaching personnel. Before, however, we go into the question of the religious school, it is necessary to give a further brief view of the development of religious instruction in the higher and middle schools.

The Ministerial Decree of April 30, 1875, which was still in force, had declared that Jewish religious instruction at secondary schools was not obligatory. Consequently, attendance was quite irregular even at the few hours for which such instruction was provided. In February 1892 the executive board attempted to solve at least half of the problem by petitioning the Chief Burgomaster for an increase in the number of hours of religious instruction at the city's *Oberrealschule* and for an increase in the stipend for such instruction. On February 23, 1894

forty important members of the Jewish community sent a complaint to the executive board in which they emphasized the fact that out of the 695 Jewish children who were attending civic and private schools, exclusive of those who were pupils at the Jewish public school, 350 were growing up without any, or with very little religious instruction. In its correspondence with the general community of Cologne the executive board thereupon took up the question of making religious instruction obligatory. But its efforts met with no success. All that the Jewish community could do in the following years was to strengthen and extend the religious instruction in the higher and middle schools without outside aid. This was made possible by the appointment of an academically trained teacher and by the arrival of Doctor Rosenthal, in November 1897, to assume his duties as rabbi in Cologne. The rabbi and the teacher cooperated with one another so that thereafter instruction went on uninterruptedly and efficiently. For every weekly hour of religious instruction in any of the higher and middle schools, the city, since July 1903, paid 110 marks per year-hour.

After a number of unsuccessful attempts, the religious school was finally reorganized in the spring of 1891. The executive board had distributed a printed circular to the members of the community in which it announced that, in order to fulfill the undeniable needs of the community, a religious school under the direction of Doctor Felix Lazarus would be opened on the 6th of May, and that instruction would be given at the school-quarters, Schildergasse

82, on Wednesday afternoon and Sunday forenoon. At the beginning of May, 110 pupils were enrolled. Only one classroom was available at first. Those children who could not read Hebrew were not accepted in the religious school. Already in August Doctor Lazarus complained that the attendance was irregular. The number of boys decreased from 39 to 25; and the number of girls from 24 to 18. The curriculum was predominantly Hebrew. Towards the end of October 1891 a preparatory class was organized in which children were admitted who had less knowledge of Hebrew. It was also decided to increase the number of teachers. The winter semester 1891-1892 closed with 93 pupils. The school year 1892 began on May 1 with 135 pupils. Beginning January 1893 the number of hours given to the middle and lower sections was increased from two to three. In 1891-1896 there was but one lower, one middle, and one upper grade each for boys and girls. In 1896-1897 a preparatory class was added and in 1899-1900 a special class for senior pupils. In 1901-1902 the system whereby several grades were combined into one section was changed into a class system, with six boys' and six girls' classes, and the subject matter was divided into seven years. The teachers were Director Goldschmidt, and Elias Gut who was added to the teaching staff in October 1891 and remained till 1901.

With the assumption of its directorship by Doctor Rosenthal in 1897, the religious school made further progress. At the end of school year 1906-1907 the school had fourteen classes, attended by 163 boys

and 138 girls. In 1907-1908 it had 303 pupils. and new teaching personnel was necessary. After 1915 the religious schools of the community were to some extent reduced in importance because of developments in the city and the Jewish community. The various schools had a comparatively small number of pupils. With the enrollment of the Jewish children in the elementary school on the Luetzowstrasse¹⁰⁴ and in the *Jabne* school, the picture was completely transformed.

In view of the fact that, since Easter 1936, no Jewish religious instruction could be given in the higher and middle schools of the City of Cologne, the Jewish community founded a new religious school for the pupils still attending these schools.

CHAPTER 9

CHARITY AND COMMUNAL WELFARE

AT FIRST communal life expressed itself only in common participation in the religious services. In view of the fact that the authorities picked the Jews who might settle in Cologne, there was no need, at the beginning, for establishing any kind of organized charity. The only non-synagogue communal activity requiring cooperation was service at the deathbed of a Jew, or in connection with his burial in the traditional manner. In the course of time, however, the number of the needy increased within the city as well as on the outside, so that calls for help by the Jewish community began to be heard. Charitable activities were then organized in the form of welfare societies. The Jewish Ladies' Society (*Israelitischer Frauenverein*) was founded only eighteen years after the establishment of the new community, that is in 1819, and is therefore 120 years old. In the course of time its activity became more and more inclusive. For years its chief functions were to render whatever service is necessary to the dying and the dead. The women also concerned themselves with the hospital, with child-bed attendance, with convalescence, family care, prison care, and accident cases. The Society also maintained a large day nursery of its own in Cologne-Lindenthal.

Shortly after the founding of the *Frauenverein* came the establishment of the Philanthropic Society called *Verein zur Ausuebung von Wohltätigkeit und Liebesdiensten*, or by its Hebrew name *Hebrah Gemilut Hassadim*. It was founded on November 6, 1819, and took over the duties and responsibilities customary to such an organization with regard to both the living and the dead. In 1919 it celebrated its hundredth anniversary. A good while later, May 2, 1850, the Jews of Cologne organized the Jewish Religious Charity Society (*Religioeser Wohltätigkeitsverein*), or to give it its Hebrew name, *Hebrah Semichat Dalim*. An opportunity for the study of the Talmud was provided by the organization in 1861 of Rabbi Wolf's *Hebrat Talmud Torah*. The philanthropic organizations established subsequently were: in 1868 the *Hebrat Bahurim Or Israel ve-Talmud Torah*; in 1899 the *Hebrah Ahabat Re'im*; in 1910 the *Hebrah Haknassat Kallah* (Society for the Endowment of Brides); in 1909 the *Hebrah Dorshei Hesed* which had as its chief activity the care of the sick and burial of the dead. With the exception of the *Hebrat Bahurim Or Israel ve-Talmud Torah*, all these organizations were fused into one *Hebrah Kadishah* in 1934.

The society *Harmonia* existed since October 1852. Its aims were social and philanthropic. It tried to achieve the second part of its aim by the creation of a fund which was called the Philanthropic Fund and which, in 1865, reached the sum of 4,000 thaler. Yet the society was disbanded in 1880, and the Fund, which had reached 37,191

marks, 60 pf. was transferred to the Jewish community, a change to which royal consent was given on June 25, 1882. The interest of the Fund was to be used for the education of the children of poor parents, particularly in manual labor and technical occupations. In this way the Fund was a source of blessing almost to this day.

The relation of the Jewish community to the city's administration of the poor during the 1840's required adjustment. Religious affiliation made no difference in the distribution of charity by the city. The city's drug dispensary gave medicines free also to the sick among the needy Jews, whenever the person in question submitted to treatment by the physician for the poor and to the other regulations prescribed for the poor. But the Jewish poor who were ashamed to admit their need publicly were also supported, since 1854, by a city poor-fund collected from voluntary gifts for extraordinary purposes.

Alongside of the charity organizations mentioned above, there existed within the communal administration, at least since 1853, a special Financial and Poor Commission. In 1858 a Poor Commission was organized quite independently of the communal administration. It had its first meeting on September 14, 1858, and elected David Levy Elkan as its first president. Rabbi Schwarz, who joined this commission soon thereafter, worked out its by-laws. This Poor Commission sought to put an end to the collection of alms by begging from door to door. It distributed charity and support,

not only to inhabitants of Cologne but also to outsiders. Moreover, it provided respectable sums for the training as teachers of capable boys of the Cologne community who were without means. Its first budget in 1858 was 300 *Reichsthaler*.

In 1859 the Poor Commission established a Loan Fund, under the name *Quelle des Heils*. Through the development of a larger capital fund the Poor Commission tried to put itself in position to lend money or to give any other kind of extraordinary assistance to such as were threatened with impoverishment, and thus save them in time. The fund to be collected was not to be used until it had grown to the sum of 5,000 *Reichsthaler*. Rabbi Schwarz and S. M. Frank, the Commission's president, were the most active in collecting the money. But the required goal was reached only in 1865.

The poor of the community throughout the 1850's and 1860's were treated by Doctor Gompertz free of charge. This the executive board of the community recognized in 1860. As an expression of thanks they voted to free Doctor Gompertz from communal taxes. The money for the support of the poor was donated not only by Jews but by Christians as well. Again and again the carnival societies sent money for poor Jewish school children. Also the Poor Commission of the city considered it its duty, after having done what it could for the gentle poor of the city, to help also the Jews, since the Jews always contributed to the general poor funds.

In January 1864, when certain unpleasantnesses developed in connection with the admission of Jewish

patients to the general hospital, the president of the Jewish Poor Commission arranged to have four or five Jewish sick, along with their attendants, quartered in a private house. Such an event naturally made obvious the need for a separate Jewish hospital, and small sums began to be placed at the disposal of the executive board for this purpose.¹⁰⁵ It might have taken many years before a hospital could be erected. But the question was solved soon thereafter in a different fashion. Toward the end of the 1860's the brothers Louis, Jacob, and Julius Eltzbacher of Cologne and Morris and Gustave Eltzbacher of Amsterdam donated a considerable sum of money for the establishment in the Sylvanstrasse of a non-sectarian asylum for the sick and the aged. They also promised to contribute substantially to its maintenance for a number of years. This Jewish Asylum for the Sick and the Aged was dedicated on January 12, 1869. A new building, on a piece of land measuring 21,550 square meters, in simple baroque style, was begun in 1905 and completed in 1908.¹⁰⁶

In 1876 the name Poor Commission was changed to *Israelitischer Armen-und Unterstuetzungs Verein*. It adopted new by-laws and opened an office. Into its sphere of activity it now gathered not only philanthropy, but also the care of youth and the wayfarer. But the various groups within the general organization did not coordinate their work with that of the Poor Commission. Yet the need for such coordination of philanthropic work became constantly more pressing. Finally, in 1902, Bernhard Feilchenfeld became the president of the general organization,

and coordination was achieved. On April 6, 1902 a new constitution was adopted and the organization registered as the *Israelitischer Unterstuezuungsverein*. The Feilchenfeld era brought about cooperation of all the Jewish societies and institutions until then functioning in Cologne, so that the *Israelitischer Unterstuezuungsverein* became the central bureau for all the volunteer Jewish philanthropic organizations. Independent though the organization was with regard to its external activities, it nevertheless remained under the influence and the supervision of the Jewish community's administration since the latter contributed to it considerable sums out of the communal treasury.

In 1892 the Poor Commission of the Jewish community established a work-room. Since 1902 this was located on a piece of ground belonging to the city and given for this purpose free of charge. In 1900 a committee for the aid of resident alien Jews was organized. At the outbreak of the World War in 1914 the Jewish community transferred a sum up to 10,000 marks to the *Unterstuezuungsverein* for the support of needy families whose bread-winner had been summoned to military duty. After the War the *Unterstuezuungsverein* again changed its name to *Israelitisches Wohlfahrtsamt*. In 1926 it spent 102,706 marks; during the business year 1927 it spent 137,593 marks. In 1926 the *Jugendamt* (Youth Bureau) of the community was founded and added to the general Welfare Office. In 1929 Jewish philanthropy was further developed through the establishment of a Loan Bureau.

Another charitable foundation was the Child Care Institution founded in 1890 by the wife of Rabbi Plato. This institution, today called *Israelitische Kinderheim*, has developed in the course of the years into an important philanthropic bureau for Jewish children to whom it offers a home. At the same time it served the Jewish population as a soup-kitchen, kindergarten, nursery home, and so on. Its new building on the Luetzowstrasse 37 was acquired in 1909.

The Jewish Orphans' Home, which concerns itself with the upbringing and care of full and half-orphans as well as abandoned children of both sexes, was founded in 1876 by Rabbi Frank. The handsome building on the Aachenerstrasse is called the Abraham Frank House, thus perpetuating the name of the founder.

A large number of other foundations were administered by the executive board of the community. Some were intended to aid gifted young men in their studies; others helped such needy as were ashamed to beg, some of them victims of the inflation. Particularly important forward steps in Jewish social work were made through the organization in 1888 of the Rhineland Lodge, and thirty-five years later of the Moriah Lodge. These lodges contributed many leaders to the Jewish community for its internal work as well as for the work with the non-Jewish world. Among these were A. Apfel, E. Blumenau, Callmann, and Eliel. The lodges encouraged and themselves showed the way to the arrangement of meetings for social and cultural purposes. The Rhine Lodge gave

the first impetus to youth-care work. In 1890 it sent out for the first time those Jewish vacation colonies which in subsequent years developed into an important humanitarian service. In 1894 the city's Kindergarten Society established a kindergarten for the children of the Jewish elementary school. The Children's Health Resort in Nauheim was established through the initiative of the physician, Doctor B. Auerbach. Still another foundation which owes its existence to the Rhine Lodge was the Home for Jewish Apprentices, founded in 1899. For decades this Home supported within its own walls or elsewhere such Jewish young men as desired to devote themselves to one or another type of manual or technical work. The Home even supervised the further development of such young people. Another activity started under the eye of the Rhine Lodge was the Society for the Training of Nurses in Cologne. In 1908 the same Lodge helped in the organization of a Jewish reading-room, and in 1910 of a lending-library. The Moriah Lodge called into being the Moriah Home for Girls. After the amalgamation of the Moriah Lodge with the Rhine Lodge in 1934, the Moriah Old People's Home was established as a separate institution where old people are given lodging at moderate prices. Since the beginning of the twentieth century a number of other social institutions came into being: a Jewish People's Kitchen, the Jewish Wardrobe, a Jewish Kindergarten, Jewish Travelers' Aid, and more.

Great as was the striving for wide-spread Jewish education on the part of the Jewish community,

nevertheless, in Cologne as elsewhere, the ravages of assimilation became apparent, and spiritually Jewish life was very weak. Insofar as it was not completely lacking, Judaism was limited to attendance at religious service and to meetings of the philanthropic societies. Only the rising tide of Antisemitism brought about a slight change in this respect. To a considerable extent the Rhine Lodge encouraged also religious interest among the Jews. During the 1890's the Jewish Literary Club, founded by Rabbi Frank, maintained an active program of lectures, and established a library. A community library did not appear until 1912. A movement for the organization of a youth league was begun in 1894, but it was not until 1906 that the religiously neutral youth organization, *Gabriel Riesser*, was organized, and during its first years attracted a large proportion of the Jewish youth of the city. In the course of time, especially after the War, the youth movement became so strong in Cologne, as elsewhere, that youth organizations multiplied. Three types of such organization became distinguishable: the Zionist, the German-Jewish, and the Orthodox. Beginning in 1902 athletics was fostered among the Jewish youth of the city by the *Juedischer Turnverein*. Since 1926 the Jewish Women's League carried on an active spiritual activity. In 1929 the society *Juedisches Lehrhaus* undertook the task of providing the members of the Jewish community with necessary material bearing on religion and history. The time-honored *Literatur Verein* has merged with the *Lehrhaus*.

CHAPTER 10

THE JEWS OF COLOGNE AND THE
LARGER JEWISH COMMUNITY

EARLY in its history the Jewish community of Cologne displayed a strong interest in the general flow of Jewish life. While still tied to the Jewish Consistory of Bonn, the Cologne community placed itself at the head of the Jewish communities in the Rhineland who, after the coming of Frederick William IV to the throne, began a movement to obtain equal rights for the Jews of Prussia. The petition sent to the King by the brothers Abraham and Simon Oppenheim in 1841, in which they requested the introduction in the Rhenish province of the Edict of March 11, 1812, has already been discussed. We have also discussed the request sent to Berlin by Abraham Oppenheim asking citizenship for the Jews while the united *Landtag* was considering the Jewish Law in 1847. At this point we again recall the fact that in 1850 the Jewish community of Cologne issued a call to all the Jewish communities of the Rhineland for a meeting to discuss how best to prevent the complete disintegration of their religious and other institutions. "What with the indifference of one party and the one-sidedness of another, an organized community is impossible to maintain, or the religious and educational institutions so intimately bound up with it. It can be done only by means of legislation

which would create a united corporate organism. Yet this goal can be achieved in no other way than by united effort." The Congress of the Jewish Communities of the Rhine Province and Westphalia took place in Cologne on January 29 and 30, 1851. It submitted a petition to the Minister, but otherwise remained without result.

The Cologne community, however, held to its course. In 1866 it sent to the House of Representatives in Berlin another address, with three hundred signatures, petitioning that articles 4 and 12 of the Prussian Constitution of January 31, 1850 be finally put into effect also for Prussians of the Jewish faith. The articles in question were those that guaranteed equality before the law to all Prussians, and the enjoyment of citizenship rights in city and nation by all, regardless of religious affiliation. The same petition asked for the abolition of those portions of the law of July 23, 1847 which contradicted the constitutional provisions just mentioned. On January 12, 1867 the House of Representatives replied to the Jewish community of Cologne. All it said was that it had transmitted the Jewish petition to the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Public Worship and Education, since it is up to the Royal Government to grant redress. On August 11, 1868 the executive board of the community joined itself to a petition of the Jewish Theological Association of Breslau, signed by Zechariah Frankel, requesting that the Prussian State Ministry introduce Jewish religious instruction, and make it obligatory, in the higher educational institutions of the land.

In 1874 Edward Lasker introduced into the German Diet a resolution permitting a Jew to resign from and refuse to support the Jewish community. Every Jewish community in Germany saw this as a threat to its corporate existence. In November 1874 the Cologne community adopted a memorial which it printed under the title *Concerning the Total Regulation of Jewish Community Life*. Having obtained eighty-four signatures of adherence, the Cologne community dispatched this to the House of Representatives on March 9, 1875. Like the League of German Jewish Communities, the Jews of Cologne desired to find a common middle ground between the two opposing tendencies, seeking to maintain the indivisibility of the community, and to regulate in a legal manner the cultural organizations of the dissenting minority. The community made it clear that it felt itself bound in conscience to supervise the affairs of the community as a whole. It is well known that the community was defeated in the matter of this petition. Nevertheless, this memorial is characteristic of the spirit which animated the Cologne community and of its striving for unity, an attitude in which it continued until 1906.

In view of its broad interest in Jewish life, it is no wonder that the Jewish community of Cologne always zealously supported the material and ideological work of the various unions of German and Prussian Jews, always doing its share for the good of Jewish life in Germany. It displayed keen interest

in the *Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund* (the German-Jewish Community League), the first free association of German Jewry. In April 1904 the executive board of the Jewish community joined the *Gesamt-Organization der deutschen Juden* (the General Organization of German Jews). Cologne played a not insignificant role in the *Konferenz-Gemeinschaft der Grossgemeinden*, in the Prussian *Landes-Verband*, and the *Reichsvertretung der Juden Deutschlands*. To the executive committee of the last named organization belonged the Cologne jurist and communal representative, Doctor Rudolph Callmann, until 1936.

The same concern with the welfare of the whole characterized the Jewish community of Cologne, from its very inception, also in philanthropic activity. As early as 1822, Fuchs, the Secretary of the City of Cologne, mentions the fact that "altogether twenty-seven collections are taken up for the various outside churches and schools, four of these being Jewish collections." That was at a time when the Jewish community of Cologne consisted of but 375 in a population of 56,527. Quite frequently the poor from the other, smaller communities turned their steps towards Cologne. Besides, the communities of the Rhenish province were not the only ones to turn to the executive board of Cologne for aid in the erection of their synagogues, as the communal minutes sufficiently prove. There was always a lively interest within the Cologne community in the affairs of the smaller

communities, if for no other reason than because those were the places of origin of the growing Jewish population of Cologne.

The Union of Jewish Communities in the Rhenish Province, which concerned itself with the religious and educational affairs of the various communities of the Rhineland, was created in 1900 and came under the leadership of Bernhard Feilchenfeld.¹⁰⁷ In 1906 he was instrumental in organizing the Society for the Care of Itinerant Jews. The first general fund for the care of itinerants in Germany was established in Cologne and took in the Rhenish province and Birkenfeld. The Provincial League for the Encouragement of Philanthropy was created in the Rhenish province in 1925, and, at the same time, there arose the Provincial Union of Women's Organizations. The orthodox Society for Jewish Interests in the Rhineland was founded in 1902.

There was active interest also in outside institutions. The Jewish Teachers' Training School of the Marks-Haindorf Foundation at Muenster, whose influence had extended over the entire Rhenish province ever since 1834, received material and other encouragement from the executive board of the Cologne community since 1851. Beginning with that year this Teachers' Training School received a regular subvention from Cologne, and was represented in its directorate by a member of the community. When, in 1867, Doctor Feilchenfeld, Rabbi of Duesseldorf, established a Teachers' Seminary of conservative leanings, Rabbi Schwarz joined his committee.¹⁰⁸ The Cologne community

always evinced a lively interest in the Seminary and gave it encouragement and material support. In 1874 it moved to Cologne-Ehrenfeld, and in 1876 to Cologne proper. In 1904 Rabbi Emanuel Carlebach assumed the direction of the institution. Although in its internal organization the Seminary was modeled after the state institution of the same kind, it long remained a purely private institution. It received no State aid until 1910 when, on July 21, a ministerial decree gave its graduates the right to take State examinations. To this day the Seminary prepares religious teachers and cantors.

At the 1908 session of the Grand Lodge in Berlin, Ludwig Cahen of Cologne and Maximilian Stein of Berlin started the movement for the establishment of the Union of Jewish Youth Organizations which materialized in 1909. Cologne was the seat of the Society for the Aid of Jewish Nervous and Psychopathic Cases. This organization took care of such cases from all Germany by sending those unable to pay to the Jewish Sanitaria in Sayn near Coblenz. Cologne was also the seat of the organization founded in the city in 1920 for the support of the Jewish *Kinderheilstaette Bad Kreuznach* for restoring sickly children to health. A sanitarium for Jewish women was connected with the same institution.

The needs of Jewry, as well as the aims and strivings of Judaism, found within the Cologne community and its leaders a ready response, which redounded to the benefit of the civil, social, and spiritual improvement of the Jews in every land. When the forcible baptism of the Jewish boy,

Mortara, in Bologna, aroused the entire Jewish world, and even princes and rulers of nations turned to the Pope for redress in this matter, the Jewish community of Cologne presented a personal petition to the Prince Regent of Prussia. When Sir Moses Montefiore celebrated his hundredth anniversary on October 26, 1884, and the entire civilized world participated in it, the executive board and the rabbinate of the Cologne community sent him an address which had been prepared in magnificent fashion in the studio of the Cologne lithographer, Solomon Oppenheim. The community wished to honor the celebrant for the humanitarian qualities which he displayed towards all, regardless of faith. In addition a festive service was held in his honor in the synagogue on October 25, 1884.

The needs of Eastern Jewry found a lively response in the community of Cologne. Thus in 1868 a committee was organized in Cologne for the support of the Polish and Russian Jews who were undergoing privations. This committee continued to function in subsequent years. In 1900 a committee was organized for the needy Jews of Rumania.

The oldest international Jewish organization is the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, founded toward the end of 1860. From the very beginning it was favorably received in Cologne. Rabbi Schwarz soon became one of the chief workers for the *Alliance* in Germany. At his suggestion a branch of the German committee was established in Cologne in 1867. When hunger and typhus ravaged the Jewish populations of Lithuania and Poland in 1869, a

meeting called by the *Alliance* was held in Berlin, under the chairmanship of Crémieux, on October 11, 1869. There a central committee was established to work in cooperation with similar committees in Memel, Cologne, and Berlin, with the object of caring for the orphans and organizing emigration to America. Doctor Schwarz was at the head of the committee in Cologne. His successor, Rabbi Abraham Frank, was likewise intimately connected with the work of the *Alliance* in Germany. He was among the delegates to the meeting of representatives of European and American Jews called by the Central Committee of the *Alliance* in Paris in 1876 for the purpose of taking steps in behalf of the Jews of the Orient. Throughout his life Rabbi Frank was tireless in his work in the Rhenish province in behalf of the *Alliance*.¹⁰⁹ Altogether the interest of the Cologne Jews in the *Alliance* continued active until the World War, when all such international relationships naturally were terminated.

In 1859 the executive board of the community decided to contribute to the assistance of homeless pilgrims in Palestine. Interest in the Holy Land continued. On May 24, 1873 Rabbi Schwarz joined a committee for the erection of an orphans' home in Palestine. On October 18, 1894 a session took place of the committee for the foundation of a society with the object of furthering Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine. The *Verein zur Foerderung der Juedischen Ackerbaukolonien in Syrien und Palaestina* thereupon was organized with its seat in Cologne. Its object was to create agricultural

colonies in Syria and Palestine in which homeless Jews might find a permanent refuge. Among the members of this organization were Bodenheimer, Wolffsohn, and Rabbi Frank. Soon thereafter three personalities made Cologne a center for the Zionist movement: Bodenheimer, Sokolow, and Wolffsohn. In 1893 Bodenheimer, along with David Wolffsohn, had organized the Cologne *Hovevei Zion* Club which later became the Zionist Union of Cologne. When Herzl appeared upon the scene, Bodenheimer immediately joined him in the Zionist movement, and remained a member of the more restricted circle of Herzl's friends and co-workers. He even accompanied Herzl on his journey to Constantinople and Palestine in 1898. Bodenheimer, David Wolffsohn, and Fabius Schach were instrumental in organizing the Zionists of Germany in general at the beginning of 1897, Bodenheimer becoming their president. After Herzl's death, when the seat of the Zionist movement was transferred to Cologne where Wolffsohn lived, Bodenheimer took over the work of the Jewish National Fund.

In 1898 David Wolffsohn founded the Jewish Colonial Trust in London, in the directorate of which he continued to play a leading part to the day of his death. David Wolffsohn's election at the seventh Zionist Congress to succeed Herzl as President of the Zionist Organization once again placed Cologne in the role of leading city. The general secretary of the Zionist Organization was Nahum Sokolow, who also lived in Cologne, and

who for some time edited there the newspaper, *Die Welt*, as well as the central organ of the Zionist Organization, *Ha-'Olam*, which he founded.

Cologne was likewise the local seat and provincial center of other important organizations of Jews. Among these are the *Linksrheinischer Verband des juedischen C. V.* (since 1920); the *Reichsbund juedischer Frontsoldaten*, the *Ost-juedischer Verband*, the *Zionistische Vereinigung*, the *Juedisches Palaestina-Verband*, the *Keren Hayesod*, the *Juedischer Nationalfond*, *Keren Kayemeth le-Israel*, and, since 1933, the *Juedischer Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr*. From all the above it is clear that since the middle of the nineteenth century the multiplicity of its activities and its outstanding personalities gave Cologne a leading place among the communities of the Rhenish province and carried its fame even beyond the borders of Germany.

CHAPTER 11
THE JEWS OF COLOGNE
AND PUBLIC LIFE

DESPITE a number of setbacks, the City of Cologne developed with unexpected rapidity during the nineteenth century, and by 1880 outgrew the seven hundred year old girdle of its city walls. In 1817 the city had 49,000 inhabitants, a number not far removed from the population toward the end of the Middle Ages. But in 1930 Cologne had 738,000 inhabitants. The cause for this rise is the fact that, beginning with the 1830's, Cologne, the old Hansa town, became the natural center for, and the heart of Rhenish commercial development. Since the 1850's Cologne also became the midpoint of the musical life of the Rhineland, and, along about the turn of the century, the center of scientific endeavor.

In every field of public life, in trade, in commerce, in science, and in art, both in the city and in the nation, whether in peace or in war, the Jews of Cologne became active even when no more than a quarter of a century separated them from their readmittance. After the political chains had been removed from them, their activity increased in volume and in value. The more important Jewish names in the economic life of the city during the nineteenth century were Abraham Oppenheim (1804-1878) and Simon Oppenheim (1803-1880). These two brothers

were the foremost philanthropists of the city, responding wherever human need existed. Thus, in 1863, S. Oppenheim gave the French Minister of the Interior 10,000 francs for the support of the starving cotton workers. Next to Mevissen, Abraham Oppenheim did most for the development of railroads in the Rhineland. The brothers Jacob, Loeb, and Louis Eltzbacher ranked with the most important bankers of Cologne. They settled in Cologne in 1844 and in 1858 established the firm J. L. Eltzbacher and Co. Jacob Loeb Eltzbacher was the soul of the business, and the development of this firm during the brief period from 1869 to 1875 was unequalled in method and in size in the field of banking in Cologne up to that time. Also in 1858 was organized the banking house A. Levy. The commercial-councillor Adolph Silverberg and his son S. Silverberg contributed greatly to the rising importance of Rhenish peat-coal since the end of the nineteenth century. Adolph Silverberg¹¹⁰ established the lino-leum industry in Bedburg as well as the peat-coal works *Fortuna* in 1898 in the north, where the mines are found.

Aside from the commercially important personalities just mentioned, a large number of Jewish merchants during the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth maintained the economic reputation of the city and its vicinity on a high level. Jews were represented in practically every branch of industry and commerce. A number of Jewish merchants even in the nineteenth century had the privilege of calling themselves "royal." There are Jewish

firms in Cologne which are practically a century old, like the Brothers Bing Sons, founded in 1840. In the expanding business life of the city, Jewish merchants constantly increased in number and importance.¹¹¹ It is self-evident that the Jewish merchants held an outstanding place in commercial organizations like the chambers of commerce.¹¹²

Just as the Jews were leaders of capitalism in Cologne so they also led the way in social progress. Since the 1840's the Jews were active politically. The group of young Jews who gathered, on January 1, 1842, about the newly founded *Rheinische Zeitung für Politik, Handel, und Gewerbe* has already been mentioned. The most important among them was Moses Hess. Born in Bonn in 1812, Hess was brought up by his grandfather, his parents having moved to Cologne. After the death of his mother, he entered his father's business in Cologne, but his chief interest remained the study of philosophy. His first work was the revolutionary *Die Heilige Geschichte der Menschheit* (1837). In radical circles as well as among the Prussian and Austrian authorities, he became known through his *Die europäische Triarchie* (1841), in which he set forth the foundations for a United States of Europe. He served the *Rheinische Zeitung* as editor and later as correspondent. Although this newspaper lived for only fifteen months and was then forbidden by the censor, it marked out the road for German radicalism before the March Revolution (1848). In opposition to Marx and Engels, Hess looked upon himself as the creator of true Socialism. Every once in a while he sent articles from Paris to

the *Koelnische Zeitung*. For at various times he lived in Paris, Cologne, and Belgium, where he was ever active in developing the theory of Socialism in the light of a leftist Hegelianism. In 1862 appeared his *Rome and Jerusalem*, in which he set forth a practical program for the re-establishment of the Jews in Palestine. Powerful and convincing in its presentation of the subject, this book has earned for Hess a prominent place among the forerunners of Zionism. He cooperated with Lassalle, who spent the 1840's in the Rhineland systematically arousing the class-consciousness of labor, seeking to promote the movement within the Fourth Estate, and founding the General German Workers' Union in 1862. Hess' greatest work, which was meant to embrace all his separate studies, was published by his widow, though only the first part of it has appeared, under the name *Die Dynamische Stofflehre*.

A man of great political significance in the 1840's was Andreas Gottschalk.¹¹³ In addition to his medical practice he occupied himself with politics. He became the founder of the Workers' Club in Cologne. In 1848 he delivered a number of speeches at Guerzenich to which thousands listened with rapt attention. Again and again, with unshakable courage, he demanded a socialist republic. On March 3, 1848 there took place that march on the Rathaus which Doctor Gottschalk headed, when he put before the Community Council the demands of the Fourth Estate, that is of the workers. Down to 1846 his name appears on the tax-lists of the Jewish community. Shortly thereafter he seems to have embraced

Christianity, a step which his biographers cannot understand. In a self-sacrificing spirit he had placed himself as physician at the service of his oppressed fellow-men, and died as a martyr to his profession, for in 1849 the cholera epidemic in Cologne carried him off. On his tombstone is the following inscription:

*Eins ist noetig
dass das Gute stets geschehe;
ob man falle oder stehe,
ist und bleibt dann einerlei.*

In the political field the Jews of Cologne have been active for many decades. On December 19, 1846 Abraham Oppenheim became a member of the City Council. In 1865 Wilhelm Hertz was appointed a member of the city school commission. Quite a number of Jews have been representatives of the city: the banker Louis Eltzbacher (1870-1875), Benjamin Liebmann (1876-1898), Legal-Councillor Eugen Bock (1903-1913), Louis Eliel (1906-1919), Legal-Councillor Doctor Callmann (1914-1918), and a number of others.

A particularly important role in the political life of the city, the Rhineland, of Prussia and of Germany was played for a number of decades by the Legal-Councillor Bernhard Falk. He was born on March 26, 1867 in Bergheim on the Erft, a descendant of Rabbi Joseph Ashkenazi who had been the district rabbi of Electoral Cologne, and later of Metz. A warm patriot and fervent orator, he devoted most of his activity to the needs of the city, the State, and the Reich. From 1908-1930 he was representa-

tive of the City of Cologne. From 1920-1930 he served as member of the executive board of the German and Prussian Union of Cities. From 1919-1924 he was a member of the Rhenish Provincial Diet. From 1920-1924 he was an alternate member of the Prussian State Council. From 1924-1932 he was a member of the Prussian Diet, and president of the Diet's Democratic group. From 1919-1920 he was a member of the National Assembly in Weimar.

The physician Jacob Feist was in the service of the city. From 1841-1864 he was the physician of the Orphans' Home. Similarly in the service of the city, as Judicial Assessor, from 1877-1888, was Doctor Joseph Rosenthal. For the first time, in his case, the position of Deputy Mayor of the City of Cologne was entrusted to a Jew. He was particularly active in the question of horse-drawn transportation and the taking over by the city of the use of the streets.

Until the recent revolution Doctor Kramer was active as *Stadtdirektor*, or executive assistant to the mayor, and many another Jew served the city honorably on civic commissions and deputations. During the World War Jewish participants in general civic works were exceptionally numerous. There were Jewish sections in all of the expositions that took place in Cologne; the Millennial Exposition of the Rhineland in 1925, and the International Press Exposition, *Pressa*, in 1928, which aroused the interest and admiration of all visitors.

During the year of famine 1816-1817 the family

of Solomon Oppenheim responded in most charitable fashion. The sons followed the example of the father. To this day the philanthropic institutions in the City of Cologne bear witness to their activity. Abraham Oppenheim and his wife, for example, presented the city with a Children's Hospital on the Buschgasse which was the predecessor of the University and Children's Clinic.

The Superior Territorial Court in Cologne counted a number of Jews already during the first third of the nineteenth century. The Board of Directors of the railroad in Cologne likewise had a number of Jews. The engineer Beermann took a considerable part in the building of the Hohenzollern Bridge which was begun in 1907 and finished in 1911. Hermann Bier, a descendant of an ancient family originally of Deutz and later of Cologne, was Vice-President of the Cologne government until 1933.

Emotionally the Jews of the Rhineland were strongly influenced by the romantic movement during the first half of the nineteenth century. Before he went over to the camp of Young Germany and poured the full measure of his scorn upon the Romantic Movement, Heinrich Heine was himself an enthusiastic romanticist. He began his career as a poet, in Duesseldorf in 1815-1816, writing as an emotional patriot in the style of Schenkendorff, and as a gushing minnesinger in the style of Fouqué. To many of his poems his Rhenish homeland gave the material and the color. Indeed, the Rhineland motifs in Heine's art are of compelling power. Frequently, as in the poem *Berg und Burgen schauen*

herunter, the Rhine serves as a symbol in which his love is reflected. In front of Stephan Lochner's picture of the Cologne Cathedral he formulates the same motif for his poem:

*Im Rhein, im schoenen Strome, da spiegelt
sich in den Well'n,
Mit seinem grossen Dome das grosse heilige
Koeln.*

Other poems mentioning his youth and his home are: *Traumbilder*, *Die Nacht auf dem Drachenfels*, and the *Legende vom Rabbi zu Bachrach*. Likewise his prose contains passages reminiscent of his youth in the Rhineland and of his parental home. In the autumn of 1819 he came to Bonn to spend a year in the University rebuilt by the Prussians. We find him then on the Kreuzberg at the celebration of the Battle of Leipzig. Only the growing reaction seems gradually to have strangled both the love for the Fatherland and the romantic sentiment of this changeable poet. Nevertheless, one may not forget the judgment of Mevissen, that industrialist and politician upon whose development Heine exercised a lasting influence, who thought highly of Heine "because he stands out as the chief figure in the lyric of the Rhineland and as the first to bring this lyric into intimate relation with the poetry of our Fatherland."

Like Heinrich Heine so the lithographer and painter David Levi Elkan (1808-1865) may serve as an example of Rhenish Jewry. For many years, until 1858, he played a leading role in Jewish com-

munal life. He was an ever-ready draughtsman, always prepared to place his lively talents at the disposal of a patron, whether it be for a diploma or for the inscription of a joyful wine-song or for a patriotic memorial program or for the portrayal of incidents from sacred history or to give praise to his beloved Cologne. In 1848 he began to prepare the great address of homage by the Cathedral Union to Pope Pius IX. It contained thirty-five richly decorated pages which represented all the parishes of Cologne and their patron saints. He, too, was caught up in the great romantic movement begun by the Brothers Boisserée and by Friedrich Schlegel, and thrilled to the idea of rebuilding the Cathedral of Cologne. His memoirs of the carnival and the music fest of the Lower Rhine in 1844, and of other happy occasions in the life of his city, are highly noteworthy. Like Heine he used his art to satirize political life. In Jewish art we owe to him the production of a beautiful Scroll of Esther as well as the design and the lithograph of a Passover *Haggadah* which was published by I. Offenbach, the cantor of the Cologne community.

The same spirit of the Rhine stamped itself upon Jacob (Jacques) Offenbach. He was born in Cologne on January 20, 1819 as the seventh child of the musician and cantor Isaac Judah Eberst. who, giving up the printer's trade which he had followed in Offenbach, left his home-town and thereafter made his way as a musician. Occasionally Isaac Judah of Offenbach sang in synagogues. Finally he settled in Deutz and married Marianne

Rindskopf, daughter of one of the families long resident there. Then he moved to nearby Cologne to become cantor of the Jewish community. There, too, frugality had to be the rule, for in 1843 Cantor Offenbach, who was blessed with ten children, received the princely salary of 45 thaler. With the support of fifty members of the community, he summoned courage to ask the executive board for a fixed salary of 80 thaler, ten measures of cereals, and Passover flour. He was not only well trained in his profession and well versed in Hebrew, but also possessed musical and poetic ability and a keen appreciation of the musical needs of the time. This is proved by the edition of the *Haggadah* mentioned above, or, to give it its full subtitle, "The Stories of Israel's Exodus from Egypt, for Use by the Entire Family Circle at the Festivities during the First Evenings of the *Matzot* Festival," Cologne, 1838. He tried to make the festivities during the nights of the *Seder* more intelligible to a large number of his co-religionists. His translation was based to a large extent on the Yiddish-German of Wolf Heidenheim. Some of the passages in the *Haggadah*, however, he rendered into poetic form himself, and provided them with new musical compositions.¹¹⁴

But the son was greater than the father. Jacob early showed the musical talents which he had inherited. His father was his first teacher. His further musical education was entrusted to Alexander, the cello virtuoso in Cologne who had moved there from Duisburg. When he was eleven his parents

took him and two other children to sing in various drinking-places in Cologne. At the age of fourteen Jacob had his first composition published. It seems that the City of Cologne, his birth-place, stirred him to the production of humor and parody. Actually it was an attempt to earn his bread by catering to the uncultivated musical tastes of the masses. But it was also a reflection of the lightness of temperament characteristic of the Lower Rhine district. In any event it gave the young musician-genius the turn which has become identified with his name.

Music in the Offenbach household, for old and young, was an article for sale. Nevertheless, in 1833 the father took two of his sons, Julius and Jacob, to Paris for their further musical education. Subsequently Jacob occasionally returned to Cologne in the course of his concert tours. Once he even played there before the King and Queen of Prussia. The political events of 1848 brought him back to Cologne for what promised to be a prolonged stay. But as soon as the political unrest quieted down, Jacob, now Jacques Offenbach, returned to and settled definitely in Paris, where he died in 1880. He had had himself baptized; but he never denied his Jewish origin. He has been called the Heinrich Heine of Music.

Besides Offenbach, a number of Jews, baptized and unbaptized, took part in the highly significant musical activity in Cologne during the nineteenth century and after. Moses Mendelssohn's grandson, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, encompassed by the

magic of youth and charm, with his honored name and independent social position, acted for two years as the conductor of the orchestra at Duesseldorf and thus exercised an influence upon the music of nearby Cologne.¹¹⁵ The Musical Society which was founded in Cologne in 1812 had Isaac Offenbach among its members, and in later decades a number of other Jews as well. In 1852 it had a Jewish director in the person of Wilhelm Hertz. In 1875 Anselm Cohen was among the leaders of the Singing Academy, and presumably also a director of the Men's Choral Group. An important role was played by Ferdinand Hiller (1811-1885). Called in 1849 to become the city's musical conductor, he had charge of the musical life of Cologne for over three decades. He was a many-sided artist, a self-sacrificing man, and a stirring personality. He combined in himself excellent technique and musical creativeness, being a superb pianist and director. Both in writing and in teaching he was extraordinarily successful. His removal to Cologne started a new musical era for the city and for the Rhineland in general. He was the founder and director of the *Rheinische Musikschule*, which received the name *Konservatorium* in 1858. Besides, he was the director of the Concert Society (*Konzertgesellschaft*) and of the Concert Choir. He composed music for Psalm 83, and an oratorio called *Die Zerstoerung Jerusalems*. But he did not remain true to Judaism. In this respect he was like so many other artists and teachers of music who belonged to the Conservatory of Cologne.

The most important Jew, however, who taught at the Conservatory from 1865 to 1874 was the composer Friedrich Gersheim. Subsequently he became a member of the Senate of the Royal Academy of Art at Berlin, and the head of a class for graduate students of composition. Among other compositions we have by him one *Elohenu*, and a *Miriam* Symphony.

Among those who did much for the Conservatory was Abraham Oppenheim who on several occasions made large contributions for its support. Since 1857 the name Joseph Joachim was frequently to be found upon the programs of the Music Society. In the musical life of Cologne a significant role was played in former times by Leo Fall, the composer of operettas, and in modern times by the conductors Klemperer and Steinberg.

Eduard Theodor L'Arronge, father of the well-known Adolf L'Arronge, directed the City Theater of Cologne from 1858-1863. Doctor Sascha Simchowitz was a many-sided dramatist at the City Theater and delivered lectures on dramatic art at the University. He died in 1930. A large number of Jewish men and women singers graced the stage of Cologne and have not been forgotten to this day.

Scientific interest developed intensively in this commercial metropolis only toward the end of the nineteenth century. It found expression in the Academy for Practical Medicine, and in the *Handelshochschule*, the predecessors of the modern University which was established in 1920. Among the

teachers in the *Handelshochschule* were the economist Julius Hirsch, the jurist Stier-Somlo, the dramatist and literary historian Simchowitz, mentioned above, and Minkowski who taught at the Academy for Practical Medicine. At the new University of Cologne, Scheler, son of a Jewish mother, taught Philosophy. His theistic philosophy of religion, which was in the spirit of Catholic Christianity, became transformed finally into metaphysical Voluntarism and Positivism. Also at the University were the jurist Stier-Somlo, and professor of National Law Kelsen, who was the creator of the Austrian Constitution. The last three, however, had left the Jewish community. Of Jews there were at the University Isidor Scheftelowitz, an authority in the field of Sanskrit, Hindu languages, and Parsism (1875-1934), the Romance scholar Spitzer, the economist Halberstaedter, and, until 1936, Bruno Kisch, an authority in the fields of Circulation and Medical Chemistry.

The fact that Jews diligently encouraged the arts, the sciences, and education in Cologne needs but brief emphasis. Out of Cologne originated any number of Jewish personalities who won a reputation for themselves even outside of Germany. Sir Ernest Cassel, 1852-1921, was born in Cologne, the son of the banker Jacob Cassel. Arrived in London as a young man, he became a close friend of King Edward VII, and advised the English government in financial matters. He established large philanthropic endowments. When the Jewish Colonial

Association was established by Baron M. Hirsch in 1891, he became a shareholder in it. But he died as a Christian.

Henrietta Hertz was the daughter of Abraham Hertz of Cologne. She lived in Rome where her residence, the Palazzo Zuccari on the Via Sistina, became a center for international gatherings of the spiritual *élite*. She left a permanent monument for herself through the creation of the *Biblioteca Hertziana*, one of the leading German art institutes in Rome, which is under the administration of the *Kaiser Wilhelm Gesellschaft*. It symbolizes the high-minded cultural and artistic devotion of a Jewess of Cologne.

Finally, mention must be made of a man of the more recent generation, Fritz Bodenheimer, who was born in Cologne to Max Bodenheimer, the well-known Zionist leader. Fritz Bodenheimer, who has gained a great deal of recognition for the scientific study of plant and soil parasites, and is the author of a work, *Animal Life in Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1935), is now Professor of Entomology at the Hebrew University.

EPILOGUE*

Beginning with the year 1933 the Jewish community of Cologne began a process of retrogression. In 1931 the Jewish population of the city was 19,250. By the middle of 1933 this number was reduced to 14,816. Since then emigration has been in full swing. On the other hand, there have been accretions from the smaller communities, so that at the present time the Jewish population is still around 14,000. Jewish philanthropy has been reorganized in accordance with the demands of the day. The Welfare Bureau has become a committee of the community. Moreover, the separate philanthropic organizations have amalgamated themselves into one *Hebrah Kadisha* (in 1934). Jewish religious instruction, which was given at the higher and middle schools for the past three-quarters of the century, was discontinued in the spring of 1936. Only a fraction of the Jewish children was still to be found in these schools in 1937. At the same time the number of Jewish children in the Jewish community schools rose during the year 1936-1937 to between 900 and 1,000, and in the higher school *Jabne* to 410. However, emigration has made changes even here.

*The manuscript of this book was completed in 1937. The author saw it in galley proof upon his arrival in the United States late in 1939, when he made the revision necessary to bring it up to date (EDITOR).

For the liquidation of Jewish life in Germany continues apace. In March 1938 the Jewish communities ceased to be legally recognized as independent corporations, a status for which they had struggled so long. November 10 witnessed the burning and destruction of the synagogues. The organization of the Jews of Germany (*Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland*) has become the "Union of the Jews in Germany" (*Reichsvereinigung*) in which are included and centralized all Jewish organizations. Every Jewish community acts merely as the local office of the central organization, its chief activity being the hastening of Jewish emigration.

Will the Jewish community of Cologne ever rise again? A statement of the *Midrash* may well conclude this history of the oldest Jewish community on German soil. It is a statement that may apply with equal cogency to the history of the entire Jewish people, "The sun rises; the sun sets;" one should add that it sets in order to rise again."

APPENDIX A

BY-LAWS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF COLOGNE

20th *Vendémiaire*, Year X October 12, 1801,
(5 *Marheshvan*, 5562)

The meeting held this day by us the undersigned for the purpose of discussing the establishment of a communal constitution, was already mentioned on Sunday, 13 Tishri 5562 (September 20, 1801) in the act of election of Cantor Seligmann Ochs of Lechenich. In consequence, Chief Rabbi Bunem has been invited here in order that whatever is decided upon may have the approval of our teacher as well as be in consonance with Law. It was agreed in the first place that all articles which arise for discussion shall be decided upon in the following order: If the majority of the taxpayers are of one and the same opinion with regard to any article, that article shall obtain full power and force in accordance with the decision of the majority of the people taxed, the other opinion being null and void. If, however, the majority of the people taxed are of divided opinion with regard to the article in question, the opinion of the above-named Chief Rabbi shall decide; it shall remain in accordance with his view, and shall receive recognition