

# Zionist Studies

*By*

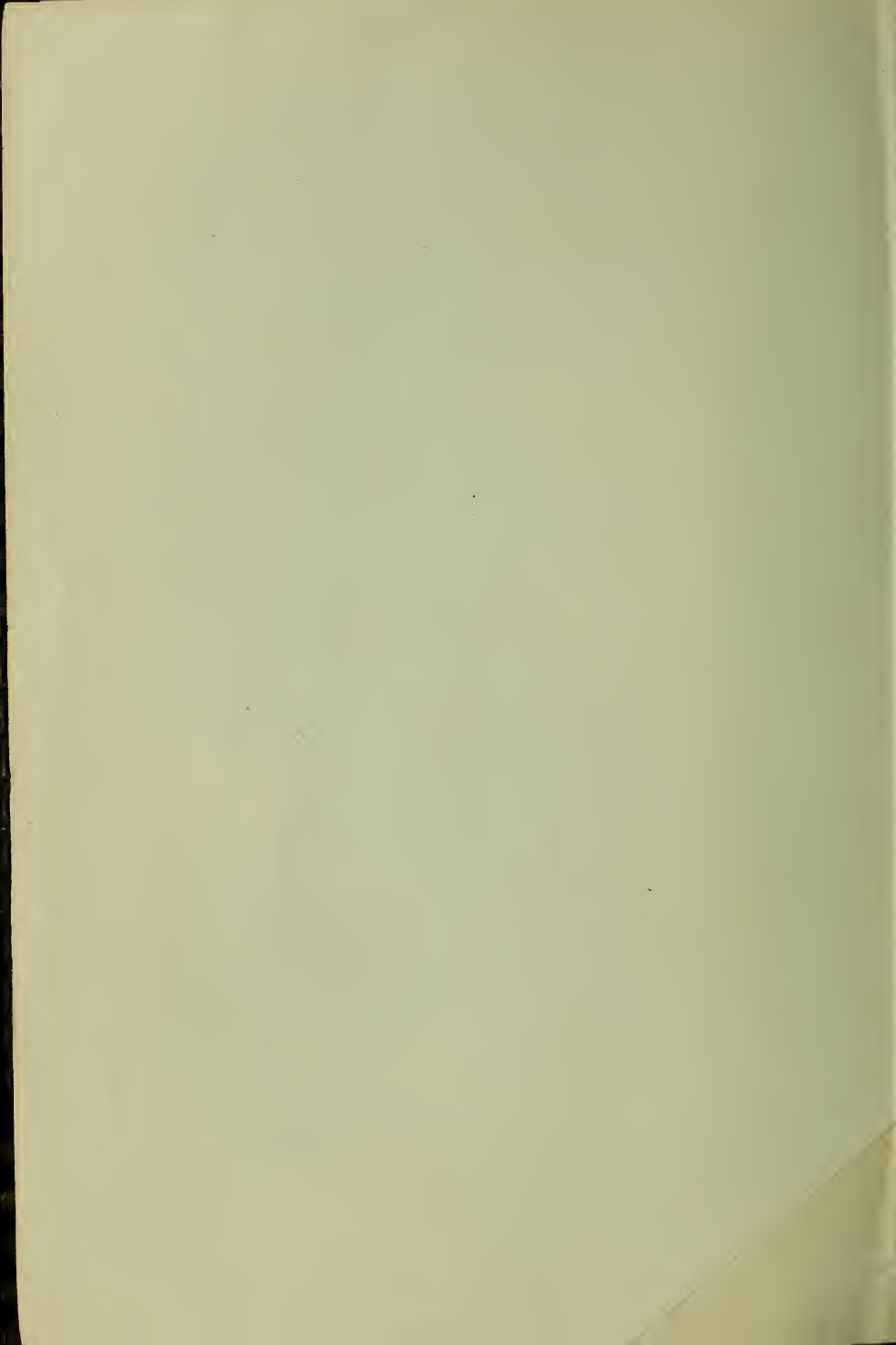
ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG



NEW YORK

Bloch Publishing Company

1904



# Zionist Studies

By  
ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG



NEW YORK  
Bloch Publishing Company

1904

II S 149  
.F75

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS  
Two Copies Received  
JAN 11 1904  
Copyright Entry  
Dec. 17 - 1903  
CLASS 75926  
XXI, No.  
COPY 3

Copyrighted 1903, by  
ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG

WABLL INT  
..ZBOMOO TO

To  
F. F. and L. F.

*PANOPEA* [Ireland], the soft mother of a slothful and pusillanimous people, is a neighbor island, anciently subjected by the arms of Oceana [England], since almost depopulated for shaking the yoke and at length replanted with a new race. Wherefore seeing it is neither likely to yield men fit for arms, nor necessary it should, it had been the interest of Oceana so to have disposed of this province, being both rich in the nature of the soil and full of commodious ports for trade, that it might have been ordered for the best in relation to her purse, which, in my opinion, if it had been thought upon in time, might have been best done by planting it with Jews, allowing them their own rites and laws; for that would have brought them suddenly from all parts of the world and in sufficient numbers. And though the Jews be now altogether for merchandise, yet in the land of Canaan (except since their exile from whence they have not been landlords) they were altogether for agriculture, and there is no cause why a man should doubt, but having a fruitful country and excellent ports, too, they would be good at both. . . . Wherefore Panopea being farmed out to the Jews and their heirs forever for the pay of a provincial army to protect them during the term of seven years, and for two millions [pounds sterling] annual revenue from that time forward, besides the customs which would pay the provincial army, would have been a bargain of such advantage, both to them and this commonwealth, as is not to be found otherwise by either. To receive the Jews after any other manner into a commonwealth were to maim it, for they of all nations never incorporate, but, taking up the room of a limb, are of no use or office to the body, while they suck the nourishment which would sustain a natural and useful member.

James Harrington's *Oceana* (1656).

In Henry Morley's ed., London, 1887, pp. 13, 14,  
*Jewish Comment*, September 4, 1903.

## CONTENTS

---

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	7
DUBNOW'S "JEWISH HISTORY" ( <i>The Jewish World</i> , New York) . . . . .	9
THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF ZIONISM ( <i>The Maccabæan</i> ) . . . . .	13
THE MODERN JEWISH QUESTION ( <i>Jewish Comment</i> ) . . . . .	19
JEWISH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN GERMANY AND THE GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES OF EUROPE . . . . .	23





## PREFACE.

THE following papers, as a totality, are studies in Zionist theory. They are reprinted in substantially their original form, with the correction of verbal errors of course, simply because a living movement cannot be reduced to a set of hard and fast rules which revision would entail. These papers, moreover, were produced at various seasons, are united in their purpose and invariably represent the result of careful study and serious reflection.

It is believed that the studies herewith presented to a critical public bear one and the same message: Zionism is primarily a movement which makes for the amelioration of the conditions under which Jews live in countries of persecution. In reality this is the *theory* of Zionism, if there can be theory in any movement that has a *practical* object.

As I wrote on another occasion:

“The Zionist movement deserves success: it is the expression of all that is noblest in Judaism. It seeks to make an agriculturist of the Jewish small-trader and money-broker, and to solve the question of the proletariat. It has for its object the return of the Jew to his ancient fatherland and calling, greatly changed by centuries of Turkish misrule and the fulminations of Christian monarchs against Jews and Jewish industries. Re-established in Palestine, the Jews will have no excuse for not tilling the soil—there will be no repressive legislation against them in their own land. With Zionism an accomplished fact, the Jew must needs be a farmer, for Palestine is essentially an agricultural country. The opportunities for commercial activity are small; a steady application will restore its fertility to the

soil, thus enabling profitable farming operations to be carried on."\*

Recent developments point to a speedy realization of these hopes, be they East African or Palestinian, and what has been thought of, perhaps for only the last twenty years, will become more than a centuries-old, pious dream. The first reference to anything approaching modern, practical Zionism by a Christian, was made in 1884 by Eduard von Hartmann "the philosopher of the unconscious," who wrote in an anti-Semitic pamphlet, "Das Judenthum in Gegenwart und Zukunft":

"... if the Jews were ever to succeed in establishing a State, such would have to be in accordance with modern ideas in government, culture, and science."†

The paper in review of Mr. Dubnow's work represents my view of the theory of Jewish history and is of interest in relation to Zionism.

The pleasant duty of acknowledging my obligations remains. To Mr. Ernst Wolf of New York I am indebted for several useful hints in the paper on the Jewish students in Germany. This article was delivered at a conference of the Jewish Chautauqua Summer Assembly in Atlantic City, N. J., July 19, 1903, and this fact must be held to account for the lecture-form which still adheres to it. All the papers, with the exception of the last, which is new, first appeared in either the "Jewish Comment," "The Maccabæan" or "The Jewish World" (New York), and my thanks are due to the editors of these respective periodicals for their gracious, readily-acquired permission to reprint.

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

New York City,  
Thanksgiving Day, 1903.

---

\*Albert M. Friedenbergl, "A Zionistlc Problem" in *Jewish Messenger*, Oct. 4, 1901. †In *Idem.*

## DUBNOW'S "JEWISH HISTORY."\*

THE sub-title of this admirable translation of a most interesting work is a misnomer. Mr. Dubnow has not written an essay in the philosophy of history and not a short philosophy of Jewish history, but rather a sketch of Jewish history, strikingly succinct, highly objective, with some interesting generalizations.

While Mr. Dubnow's analysis is objective, his conclusions are highly subjective. These conclusions are the result of a study of Jewish history, starting from Mr. Dubnow's viewpoint. Moreover, these conclusions are such as any one viewing the continuity of Jewish history, as Mr. Dubnow views it, would arrive at. Mr. Dubnow's prime concern with Jewish history is as a manifestation of the spiritual element in man.

This statement of the matter, while extremely fascinating, is not in accordance with the demands of the philosophic spirit. For the problem that the philosophy of history has to deal with is a teleological. It must seek to discover the first causes of things, not merely by inductive inference, but by a system of indisputable checks and proofs, by the most rigorous application of the *a posteriori* method. These first causes found, generalizations and illustrations designed to amplify, to bring out what the pure concepts imply, must follow.

Mr. Dubnow does not approach his subject in this way. His book represents the relation of the Jews toward universal history and the interdependence of Jewish and general history. On the basis of a phi-

---

\* "Jewish History. An Essay in the Philosophy of History." By S. M. Dubnow. Translated from the German version of the Russian by Miss Henrietta Szold. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1903.

osophy of history, the basis of Jewish history at various periods must be found. For example, in the days of the prophets an ideal communism was the expression of the dominant ideas in Jewish history, that being the result of the internecine strife waged between the rich and powerful on the one hand and the "landless and homeless" on the other.

Throughout Jewish history it will be found that the controlling force was the nationalizing tendency, the efforts making for the Jewish nation. This view partakes somewhat of an economic interpretation of facts, and in so far it is directly opposed to Mr. Dubnow's. For Mr. Dubnow believes that the tonic note in the chords of Jewish history is the spiritual, and to that end he insists "we are welded together by our glorious past." Again and again (p. 9, note on p. 31 and elsewhere) does he reiterate what he assumes as his chief premise.

Here and there Mr. Dubnow lays proper emphasis on the national consciousness of the Jews throughout their history (*e. g.*, when he speaks of the relation between Jews and Egyptians). And he refers continually to their historical consciousness, though this is a conclusion which many of us cannot draw and goes to a greater length than many of us are willing to go.

Enough has been said now, I take it, to show how far Mr. Dubnow's standpoint differs from the truly philosophic-historical. Not that it is to be implied that Mr. Dubnow is in error; it may be said that Mr. Dubnow's view is subjective and follows along the lines of deductive analysis.

And here my disagreement ends. The constructive, the analytic side of the work is excellent. Mr. Dubnow divides Jewish history into two grand divisions—the chief and the composite formation. The former is subdivided as follows: 1. The primary

period (Bible); 2, the secondary or spiritual-political period (Second Temple); 3, the tertiary or national-religious period (Talmud). In the latter the subdivisions are: 1. The Gaonic period, during which the Oriental Jews held the headship of their co-religionists; 2, the Rabbinic-philosophical period, when the Spanish Jews had the chief sway; 3, the Rabbinic-mystical period, the time when the German and Polish Jews led their brethren throughout the world; 4, the modern period of enlightenment, the nineteenth century.

Mr. Dubnow seems to us in his happiest vein when he describes the Talmudic period. His sketch of the reaction, of the conditions which obtained when the last vestige of Jewish nationality had been swept away completely, is a splendid performance. In few, well-chosen words he describes the work of as many centuries. He shows how the Jews earned their title "the people of the Book." In the schools of Sura and Pumbeditha, in Palestine and Babylon, learning was held for its own sake in the highest esteem. The Bible was carefully studied and commented upon in many learned works. And super-commentaries were written at an early date for the primary hermeneutic literature had grown to so large a mass that a pathfinder through this great labyrinth was a pressing necessity.

Of America Mr. Dubnow says nothing. His description of modern conditions in Russia is sane and clear, quite what one would be warranted in excepting from the author of "Yevreiskaya Istoriya."

And I cannot refrain from quoting in full Mr. Dubnow's concluding words (p. 181 et seq.):

" . . . Union with mankind at large, on the basis of the spiritual and the intellectual, the goal set up by the Jewish Prophets in their sublime vision of the future (Isaiah ch. ii., and Micah, ch. iv.), is the

ultimate ideal of Judaism's noblest votaries. Will their radiant hope ever attain to realization?

"If ever it should be realized—and it is incumbent upon us to believe that it will—not a slight part of the merits involved will be due to Jewish history. . . . It will speak to the heart and the conscience of men, not merely to their curious mind. It will secure respect for the silvery hair of the Jewish people, a people of thinkers and sufferers. It will dispense consolation to the afflicted and by its examples of spiritual steadfastness and self-denial encourage martyrs in their devotion. . . . In this sense, Jewish history in its entirety is the pledge of the spiritual union between the Jews and the rest of the nations."

We have here a consummation devoutly to be wished, which is more of a hope, however, than a philosophy of Jewish history. But this striking peroration, for such it is in very truth, will sink deeply into the hearts of all readers and by this means our historic past may become something tangible, a reality.

The Jewish Publication Society of America deserves the hearty thanks of every earnest student of Jewish history for having rendered this delightful essay easily accessible to English readers. But our work should not end here. Mr. Dubnow's book is but the weapon to goad on those able to elaborate, in the spirit of our author, the many points on which he has but barely touched. It is a valuable preliminary study. More than this, it is scientific and accurate and should be put into the hands of our Sunday school pupils of a maturer cast of mind for the purpose of putting them *au courant* in a broad, objective way with the race of which they are the youngest representatives, with that race which, as the Earl of Beaconsfield remarked, in old age to a Jewish lad, can do anything but fail!

## THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF ZIONISM.

ZIONISM, viewed from the standpoint of a strict materialist, seeks to solve the Jewish problem. Moreover, it is the only solution of this problem.

That we have a Jewish problem he who will read the news of the world for a day must admit. England is trying to exclude the Jew, because forsooth he lowers the English standard of life and decency. America is working toward the same end; its reasons for excluding Jews must of necessity be slightly different. Riots, blood-accusations, boycotts—any pretense to rid the face of the earth of the Jew—our cup runneth over verily!

Zionism in the primary and the final analysis bears an economic imprint. Just as sentimentalism is leavened with realism, so economics is fused with ideal theories; standards of life combine with life as it is lived. If Zionism is at all worthy of our adherence it is because it is the *modus vivendi* to the Jew. With Zionism as an ideal, the Jewish life in the exile is enhaloed by golden visions and the real man with the hoe of modern industrialism lifts up his head and feels himself a worthier part of the social fabric. It is an elementary principle in economic theory that the higher the mode of life, the higher are the earning power and the wages received.

With Zionism an assured fact, strenuous efforts indeed would the Jew make to improve his economic position, to add to the sum-total of his nation's capital, for he would live better, free from care.

Our thesis outlined after this fashion, let us retrace our steps and examine the first premise: Zionism, the solution of the Jewish problem. We must accept without reserve the present seriousness

of this problem, for, while the problem, like the poor, has always been with us, it has never assumed so terrifying an aspect, so gigantic an aspect, as at this day. Zionism, then, is to be viewed as the solution of this problem, because it stands for the last resort and because it is that solution which will maintain our economic, and therefore our religious and social integrity and supremacy unharmed. Zionism, moreover, looks at the Jewish problem much as the anti-Semites do, but from a distinctly Jewish viewpoint, and for that reason alone must meet, and has met, with anti-Semitic approbation. The anti-Semites declare that the Jews must be rendered impotent as an influence in the economic life, say of France or Germany: the Jews say that France and Germany are not congenial places of refuge for themselves in the exile, and that life will be realized economically to the full only in a publicly legally assured home of their own.

There remain to be considered two other solutions of the Jewish problem, which, to continue looking at the matter through the spectacles of a materialist, are inconsequent, unsatisfactory and beside the mark. The assimilation theory is almost exploded by this time in the light of experience. Its answer to the question is that of the Zionist theory, but with what a difference? To conceal the amounts of Jewish capital beneath the surface of cosmopolitan, or of chauvinistic, society, as if French history in our own day does not reveal the futility of this procedure? This assimilation theory presupposes that the *corpus* of Jewish capital will continue as it has been continuing, disregarding of attack, conserved to bolster up the Jewish position, but unfortunately such a Jewish position as would put the right-minded, high-thinking Jew to shame. Zionism shares this view, but it proposes to present Jewish capital



in a light that will redound to the eternal credit of the Jewish name and to utilize the forces of Jewish capital as want-satisfiers, as producers for the Jewish people.

As for the conversionist theory, it is insincere and not above reproach. The proper office of Jewish capital is to bring out the supply to answer the demand of the Jews. This theory would force Jewish capital into Christian channels without diverting enough of the baptismal water of Christianity to neutralize successfully that in the Jewish character at which Christians have always taken umbrage, to smooth over with a fair measure of real results the points of difference between the Jew and the Christian. The lives of all the converted Jews since the dawn of Christianity, are proof positive of the correctness of these assertions. Take, for example, the German poet Heine. To the Jews he was a Christian, to the Christians a Jew.

Can we call Zionism the policy of surrender? Are we justified in demanding an heroic fortitude of a mere handful of Jews against overwhelming numbers of Christians, when the pages of history can only evidence Thermopylæ as a similar example of steadfast devotion? I divest myself utterly of the fabric of romance, of the trappings of sentiment, when I quote the satirical couplet which has ever been recited in those cases where discretion triumphed over valor:

"He who fights and runs away,  
Lives to fight another day."

Opponents of Zionism\* admit that, with the Jewish problem, there is bound up another problem, the "real problem of the twentieth century [which]

---

\* "A Quarterly Reviewer," *Aspects of the Jewish Question*, New York, 1902.

is the backwardness of the nations, not the forwardness of the Jews."\* Of course, the limitations of my subject prevent my emphasizing all that is noble, dignified and sublime in that movement which is blindly called a "policy of surrender" in some quarters.

After all, it must needs be Isaiah or one with a strong soul, suffused with Isaiah's ideals, who can teach men their lessons. Isaiah inveighed against capital in his writings. He sided with the "landless and homeless" because he recognized the futility of building an imposing superstructure of idealism on a foundation of sand, on economic realities which could not bear the burden thrust upon them.

Dr. Theodor Herzl advanced no mistaken theories, argued no erroneous notions in his "Judenstaat." "Altneuland," that romance founded on economic facts, on real conditions of the Jews to-day, shows that sound economic principles have been considered in an effort to realize seriously the Jewish state. At present this nationality exists only on paper, but in a manner that differs radically from all other projects of earlier times, whether these were influenced by Utopianism, Platonism, Fourierism, Owenism, Transcendentalism or not. It is true that discussion of economic, practical topics in advance of their realization inevitably fritters away into theory, but it is hardly too much to say that such a treatment as this results in familiarizing the masses of the population of the new state with problems of government, of every-day life which can then be solved when the *crux* is hit.

Indeed, the student of the history of the later Israelites, of the period of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, is entirely at home in economic discussion. Problems of wealth, of the relations of labor

---

\* *Aspects of the Jewish Question*, p. viii.

and capital, are met there at every turn. The twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus, the Jubilee legislation may be used by the followers of Dr. Herzl with this important advantage: history affords a striking commentary on these Biblical words and the mistakes of ancestors need not be repeated by their descendants.

To affect to despise the partisans of Zionism, to look upon the Zionist movement as a delusion and vain attempt, is to shut one's eyes deliberately to the facts of contemporary history and firmly to avow one's belief in the providential character of the progress of the world, of the march of humanity. The Jew is the Azazel of modern times, and simply because he is a thinking person he strives to deflect the impending cataclysm from himself by removing himself from its course. The scape-goat of ancient days was set out in the wilderness and left to drift for himself, the thinking being of our own times wishes to remove from the jealous neighbor to a locality where he can work out his own destiny according to his own lights.

Let me follow out this thought to its logical conclusion. Jews are growing weary of the reproach: You are *Luftmenschen*, men without a country! From the viewpoint of the economist, it is deleterious on the people among whom the Jews reside for the former to cast their own omissions and commissions on the latter. Economic effects must issue from economic causes within the same limits: there can no more be an economic effect of a springing or shifting character, less even an adventitious growth, than houses can be built of the very *material* that is used in the construction of other edifices. The Jews, then, seek to escape the storm by means of their economic independence, by reason of the fact that, so far as the productive, distributive and con-

sumptive forces go, they are sufficient unto themselves.

So, on these foundations, Zionists have chosen to build. Quite logically they have invested their project with the halo of romance, they have placed the cornice of idealism on the fundament of realism. Without the "return to Palestine" idea, without the *Kultur* programme, the scheme would succeed with thinking beings. In its naked baldness, it would stand forth an economic principle incarnate, a worldly means to an end which all men would have to admire on the side of soundness, stability and method. The veneration of historic tradition causes Zionism to appeal to such as would otherwise be blind in the face of proffered advantages, while, on the other hand, it raises up for itself opponents who can only see their own hands within the limits of a hand's length of their bodies.

Here is the meeting-place of Jews of all shades of opinion. Differences ought to be forgotten in the spirit in which differences cannot exist, where all are of the same mind. The Jew, who has diligently prayed *leschana haba b'Yeruschalayim* on all the *Pessachim* he has lived, can sit at the side of the Jew who has never known aught of the Jewish *Zeitgeist* save its economic realities, while both turn their faces toward that great Light in the East which sends forth rays of peace, of courage, of mutual understanding and of good will. Introspection resulting in peace within the individual leads to a peaceful attitude toward the world at large. The Jewish problem solved for the Jew himself with the re-establishment of the Jewish state, the Jewish problem—rather the capitalist problem, so far as the nations of Christendom are concerned—will pass on to a natural death, leaving the weary wandering Jew of all the centuries at rest ultimately and eternally.

## THE MODERN JEWISH QUESTION.\*

THIS modest little pamphlet of forty-eight pages calls for extended comment, since it examines the Zionist movement and the Jewish question from the economic side, from a novel point of view. The paper is an example of the theory of interpreting history by economic factors (*historischer Materialismus*), and applies the fundamental concepts of this theory to the problems and conditions that affect the Jewry of the present day.

The present essay discloses one serious fault at the outset: it follows the line of method and reasoning of two works of Oncken ("History of Political Economy") and Werner Sombart ("Modern Capital"), and does not take a sufficiently broad view of the voluminous literature of its subject. Again, Herr Pinkus frowns upon Karl Marx's solution of the Jewish question (in *Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher* for 1844) which is truly remarkable in its philosophic incisiveness. Marx's words are: "The economic and social emancipation of the Jews is tantamount to the emancipation of the social fabric from Judaism" (*Die gesellschaftliche Emancipation des Juden ist die Emancipation der Gesellschaft vom Judenthum*), and they can be made to imply with ease that for which Zionism is striving. Marx's words must not be taken to mean the Jew in society—Herr Pinkus has made this egregious blunder—but the Jew as a part of the social organization.

After a few words by way of introduction, Herr Pinkus makes the significant statement that Zionism

---

\* "Die Moderne Judenfrage von den Grundlagen der juedischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte und des Zionismus." By Lazar Felix Pinkus. Breslau: Wilhelm Koebner. 1903.

can only be treated and explained as a social phenomenon which is the result of economic causes. Following Sombart, Herr Pinkus then makes a few superficial remarks on Jewish history, and attempts to draw a philosophy from it. But is this reasoning cogent? Is Zionism, in the modern sense of the term, grounded in the course of Jewish history for thousands of years? To us it seems that Zionism was born of anti-Semitism, and as both are products of modern conditions, so both can be understood only by a careful examination of the events of the last fifty, really of the last twenty, years. The Jewish problem is as old as the exile, but Zionism is something that was not seriously thought of before 1890, save, perhaps, by one or two pious Jews.

Herr Pinkus has hence made his telescope consist of too many component divisions. The Jewish problem has been looked at from a point of view that is afar off, and Zionism has been placed as the last link in a long chain, when, in reality, it is indissolubly welded with modern anti-Semitism. Kischeneff but confirms what is here set down and exemplifies the chameleon-like character of the beast of Jewish persecution. And because Herr Pinkus uses a long telescope—so long that his hands alone are unable to support it, and thus forces him to requisition those next him—Sombart, Oncken and other books that really have nothing to do with the Jewish problem, as props—he contends that we can see the Jewish problem only by way of parallax, when, in reality, the Jewish problem has no parallax, and is the same Jewish problem from one point of view as it is from another.

Herr Pinkus draws some interesting conclusions from Jewish life and history in mediæval times, and these are in the main correct. For example, it is

quite proper to say that the mediæval Jews were saved from destruction by their economic advantages and commercial prosperity, but the statement is not novel and original with Herr Pinkus. Roscher first pointed out what commerce meant to the mediæval Jew ("On the Position of the Jews in the Middle Ages, Considered from the Standpoint of a Universal Commercial Polity"). Of course, as has been noted, these remarks of Herr Pinkus have nothing to do with his main thesis.

When Herr Pinkus comes to apply his theory we find that he has made a tolerably careful study of conditions. But instead of deriving Zionism straightway from these facts, he imports idealistic considerations into the question. These elements have no bearing on the matter, for the Zionist movement, as Herr Pinkus himself acknowledges (his words are given above), is the result of the causation of economic forces. With Zionism an accomplished fact, ideal elements may come to play quite a part in the Jewish state, to enhalo things prosaic in romance, but at present we have merely to do with the logic of the situation.

Finally, what are Herr Pinkus' conclusions? He says Zionism, as a matter of theory, includes at present: 1. The question of classes (the Jewish proletariat); 2, the question of groups (women, etc.); 3, the question of the general physical standards of life; 4, the question of intellectual culture; 5, the question of organization—all of which combined produce the social question. Of these conclusions the second is frivolous; the others are correct. His definition of Zionism, the form which the social problem has assumed, so far as the Jewish race is concerned, is good.

The points suggested in the present discussion are minor points of difference, points of disagreement

with Herr Pinkus' conclusions or with the workings out of his thesis. It is but fair to add, however, that the subject is polemic; that on its various phases men must and will differ until the crack of doom, and that while one advances this argument and another that, all are in substantial agreement so far as the existence of the Jewish problem goes. Every one of us is a philosopher if he draws things away from their matrix and seeks to understand the nature and the incidence of their relation to that matrix. So it can be said for Herr Pinkus that his presentation is strikingly individualistic and a sane and serious effort. Had he concentrated his energies, however, on the ultimate phase of the problem his writing might have had more value. As it stands, we wander through a labyrinth with the Ariadne-like assistance of Oncken and Sombart and the others, to come at last in contact only with some conclusions that are paraphrases of what has been applied to other conditions. Tennyson's simple lines have been applied to many things—

“Flower in the crannied wall,  
I pluck you out of the crannies,  
I hold you here, root and all, in my hand,  
Little flower—but *if* I could understand  
What you are, root and all, and all in all,  
I should know what God and man 'is.”

—but to none more truly than to the Jewish problem as far as it relates to the world of men and their God.

A. L. of C.



## JEWISH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN GERMANY AND THE GERMAN-SPEAKING COUNTRIES OF EUROPE.\*

IN our own land university students have made a class of themselves, in England their distinct class exists rather in name than in fact, while in Germany and Austria, indeed in all Continental countries, the students at the universities form a distinct group of the population.

The elaborate ceremonies of initiation of the Crown Prince Frederick William of Prussia into the "*alte höchst eh würdige Burschenschaft Borussia*" into which by the way no Jews are admitted, at Bonn University quite recently, are an evidence of the German pride and admiration of universities, their students and life. That the German Jews were and are anxious to share in this spirit—altogether indigenous—during their period of preparation for the "battle of life," is no matter of surprise.

If the Jewish students are university students in the same sense as the Gentiles, so far as the attendance on lectures and examinations goes, they are not participants in the student life of their Christian fellows. Their pleasures are taken seriously, no mad pranks occur, but Jewish student life is as sectarian

---

\* I speak of the various students collectively under the generic term *German*.

A word on the general literature of the entire subject.

a. "Der deutsche Student," by Dr. Leopold Bahlsen, of Teachers College, Columbia University, in *Sonntagsblatt der N. Y. Staats-Zeitung*, February 8, 1903.

b. "Die deutschen Universitaeten und das Universitaetsstudium" by Professor Friedrich Paulsen, of Berlin University, Berlin, 1902. This work is cited in the present paper as *Paulsen*. A review of the volume by Albert M. Friedenberg appeared in *Jewish Comment*, August 1, 1902.

from its own side as Christian student life is, so far at least as Christians are concerned.

Were not the Jewish students in Germany always discriminated against? In January, 1821, Heinrich Heine was punished by means of the "*consilium abeundi*" from Goettingen, he being a student there at the time and member of a corps. At the present day, largely as the result of the active anti-Semitic propaganda carried on since 1875, Jewish university students as a class are decidedly unpopular among their Christian class-mates. The Jews are disliked because: 1, they are Jews; 2, they are too much given to study for the sake of the honors involved. The latter aspect has even now arisen in America. At Harvard, *par excellence*, the same tendency has been found to exist, with some show of reason it must be admitted. The Jewish student, therefore, passes from under the shadows of the great traditions, represented by the universities both here and abroad, without having felt or in any way feeling the effects which they produce in the majority of instances.

But to return from this digression. The Jewish university students in Germany never learn to know thoroughly the real German student spirit, not because they would not, but simply because they cannot. No German student will admit them to his corps. The Jewish students, however, have created a Jewish student life and spirit of their own.

Let me quote here the philosophical reasons why the Jews are unwelcome visitors at the majority of German universities. Professor Paulsen\* says:

"The causes of the preponderance of the Jewish population in university study are not difficult of ascertainment; the Jewish population is practically an urban and prosperous above the average. Moreover, the Jews evince a marked desire to improve

---

\* Paulsen, pp. 199, 200.

their social position and for this, university study is the best, at least the only available means. An army career is completely closed to Jews. Further, one cannot deny to the Jewish population phenomenal tenacity of purpose to which they unite the ability to put up with innumerable privations for the sake of ultimate achievement. It follows as a consequence that the Jews send a disproportionately large delegation as students to the higher technical schools and universities,\* in spite of the fact that subsequently, in the learned professions, and especially in official life, decided, for the most part insurmountable obstacles confront them. The result is that those who are rejected crowd in vast numbers the few vocations still open to them—the legal, medical and university teaching professions, . . . .

“That we are here confronted by a real and serious problem, one moreover that is extremely difficult to solve, he who looks at the matter without anti-Semitic prejudice cannot deny, . . . .”†

This view, quite naturally in accord with the inherent anti-Semitism of the German, fails to notice

---

\* At Heidelberg, Leipzig, Königsberg i. Pr. Jena, Wuerzburg, Strassburg, Halle, Breslau, Erlangen, Berlin, Charlottenburg, Bonn, Karlsruhe and Muenchen; not at Rostock, Kiel, Greifswald, etc., in very great numbers.

† Die Ursachen des starken Ueberwiegens der juedischen Bevoelkerung im Universitaetsstudium liegen nahe: sie ist so gut wie ausschliesslich staetische und ueber den Durchschnitt wohlhabende Bevoelkerung. Dazu kommt ein starker Drang, die soziale Stellung zu verbessern, und hierzu ist das Universitaetsstudium der naechste oder der allein offene Weg, da die Laufbahn durch die Armee verschlossen ist. Auch wird man nicht verkennen koennen, dass der juedischen Bevoelkerung bei geistiger Regsamkeit eine hervorragende Zaehigkeit des Willens, gepaart mit der Gabe, Entbehrungen um des Ziels willen zu ertragen, eigen ist. So geschieht es, dass sie ein unverhaeltnismaessig starkes Kontingent auf die hoeheren Schulen und Universitaeten schickt, trotzdem sie nachher in den gelehrten Berufen, vor allem in der Beamtenlaufbahn starken und zum Teil unuebersteiglichen Hindernissen begegnet. Die Folge ist, dass die sonst Zurueckgewiesenen in die wenigen ihnen offen stehenden Berufe mit starker Wucht hineindraengen: den des Arztes und des Rechtsanwalts, und auch den akademischen Lehrberuf, . . . .

“Dass wir hier vor einen wirklichen und schwer aufzuloesenden Problem stehen, das wird auch der, der die Dinge nicht mit den Empfindungen des Antisemitismus ansieht, nicht in Abrede stellen koennen . . . .”

the Jew's innate love of knowledge for its own sake, not for the power it can confer, as old as Talmudic times, and that many German Jewish students so-called are really natives of Russia, who are excluded by ministerial rescript from their own universities. Their number is surprisingly large.

Toward 1877 the "*Verein Deutscher Studenten*" (Union of German Students) which has since become notorious as the V. D. St., composed of the representatives of the military, official and agrarian classes—the most anti-Semitic in Germany—began to take the leadership in university student affairs and set out to reduce the "pernicious influence of the Jews" to a minimum! It immediately began to "manage things" at the universities—reading-rooms, student demonstrations, etc. Under such an hegemony the Jewish students could neither continue nor exist. To counteract the efforts of the V. D. St. the "*Freie Wissenschaftliche Vereinigung*" (Liberal Scientific Union), known as the F. W. V., was formed at Berlin, and later also at Heidelberg. At first its membership was drawn from all ranks, but subsequently it degenerated (I use the word advisedly) into a Jewish society. As such its chief claim to notice is its uncompromising and ill-advised opposition to Zionism, which the official journal declares to be an "exotic plant, raised to premature growth in Russian territory." As a purely Jewish society the F. W. V. can have no influence with the V. D. St. To the last, however, such men as the late Professor Th. Mommsen, the historian, have continued to be honorary members. Really the F. W. V. has been superseded by the "*Bund juedischer Corporationen*" (Union of Jewish Societies) in its contest with the V. D. St.

The two Jewish "*Burschenschaften*"—Sprevia and Suevia—were founded in Berlin and Heidelberg.

Their members wear the fraternity colors conspicuously on the vest, coat and hat, and are sworn to defend the same at the point of the sword ("Schlaeger"). As a matter of fact these corps were not taken seriously by Jews or Gentiles. There was nothing Jewish about them save their membership.

The societies just described point to conditions among German Jewish students akin to those existing in the United States. These bodies represent merely the spirit of imitateness, often called euphemistically Jewish adaptability. There is in such bodies no Jewish consciousness. In America we have similar conditions. I remember at the college where I received my academic education a fraternity composed of Jews who were the worst of the anti-Semites. Happily in Germany these facts may be adverted to in the past tense, for with the growth of the Zionist movement there has been a remarkable rekindling of the flame of Jewish consciousness. The Zionist movement is not in need of my holding a brief for it, but I believe that Zionism contains within itself the elements that have made this result possible. It is to be hoped that the Jewish students at the universities and colleges of this country will come to feel this Jewish consciousness within them. It is neither my province nor my inclination to point out methods here. I hope I may be permitted to say, however, that so far as the situation here goes, Jewish students, in the greater number of cases, are exhibiting a spirit that can neither be admired nor held up as an example to be followed.

Since the inception of the Zionist movement, that movement which represents the highest material, economic, and spiritual ideals, the German Jewish university students have come to know a life of their own, thus they have shared and will share, in a measure, the life of the German student body as a

whole, under the most favorable conditions for themselves and the world at large. They have an ideal now. In April, 1902 the Jewish students commenced the publication of a monthly journal, designed to arouse "Jewish fire and enthusiasm for the cause of Judaism" among its readers. *Der juedische Student* ("The Jewish Student") publishes articles of general Jewish interest and chronicles the affairs of the Jewish world in general and of the Jewish student world, rather a unique microcosm, in particular. For example, one issue was devoted to the Roumanian question, another to the work of the constituent societies of the "*Bund juedischer Corporationen*." Again, its readers were warned not to become candidates for certain prizes in aid of baptism.

Especially at Berlin University, where there are many German and Russian Jewish students have Jewish societies been active. Lectures on such subjects as "Judaism and Agriculture," the religious aspects of Zionism, Palestinian colonization, etc., have been delivered by men like Dr. Heinrich Loewe, an indefatigable worker in Zionism, Rabbi Dr. Eschelbacher, Herr Alfred Nossig and others.

With these evidences of an active Jewish university life in Germany and Austria we may begin to summarize the work that has been done and to consider broadly the attitude of German Jewish university students toward Jewish problems. Let it be premised, however, that the matter does not bear purely a German imprint. Credit is due, in a large measure, to the foreign, the Russian influences at the universities, and this too in Gentile circles. Further, there are to-day in Germany and Austria some thirty student bodies among Jewish students, mostly Zionist so far as their Jewish political faith and tendency go.

The chief concern of the various societies is not specifically Jewish, but Jewish only from a particular point of view. To combat and annihilate anti-Semitism—vain delusion since anti-Semitism to all intents and purposes *is* and always will be existing—is the chief aim of these bodies. Of course they desire to have the Jewish name, character and all that is Jewish respected. Not only is their striving noble and purposeful; their method of propaganda must command the respect of the most prejudiced opponent since it is born of self-respect, of love of the Jewish name. The German Jewish students take an active, well-meaning interest in Jewish life as they take this to be.\*

A word on their attitude toward Zionism. In such a horror as Kischineff any person who is possessed of some humanity must take a live interest; a responsive chord of sympathy must vibrate within him. The same applies to Roumania. These students are Zionists because they feel Zionism to be the only solution of the Jewish problem.

---

\* As an example rather than a law, I quote the statistics of Jewish students at an important American university. At Columbia University Law School, academic year 1901-1902:

Class	Total Enrollment	No. of Jews	Per Cent.
3d year.....	126	28	22+
2d year.....	149	37	24+
1st year.....	162	34	21—
Totals.....	437	99	22+

These figures are typical. See Albert M. Friedenberg, "Columbia Jewish Students' Association" in *Jewish Comment*, Aug. 29, 1902; also *Idem.*, Oct. 31, 1903.

## APPENDIX I.

Proportionate Representation of Religious Bodies  
(by per cents.) in Universities, Prussia, 1888-  
1900. (*Paulsen*, p. 195, in part.)

	Evangelical	Catholic	Jewish		
	1890	1890	1890	1895	1900
Population.....	64.24	34.15	1.28	1.20	1.10
High Schools .....	72.11	17.50	9.70	.....	.....
Universities .....	72.13	18.62	8.94	8.42	7.55

In Baden, Students at the Universities (Heidelberg,  
Freiburg im/Breisgau, Karlsruhe Technical Insti-  
tute) per Million Inhabitants. (*Paulsen*, p. 196.)

For the 4 Years	Evangelical	Catholic	Jewish
1869—1873.....	898	510	962
1874—1878.....	822	479	1,269
1879—1883.....	784	455	2,444
1884—1888.....	1,131	779	3,555
1889—1893.....	1,334	952	3,953

University Instructors per Million of the Male Popu-  
lation. (*Paulsen*, p. 199.)

Prussian Universities	Evangelical	Catholic	Jewish*
Privat-Docents.....	106.50	35	698.90
Ordinary Professors .....	33.50	16.90	65.50

\*Are those Jews who became Christians in order to rise in University rank considered hereunder?



## APPENDIX II.

### List of Jewish Student Societies in Detail.

#### GERMANY.

University	Name	Founded	Remarks
Berlin .....	Fr. Wiss. Ver...	1881	At first Liberal, now anti-Zionist
	Sprevia.....	1894	<i>Corps Mensur Couleur tragend</i>
	Hasmonæa.....	1895	Zionist, <i>Ver. jued, St.</i> , also Charlottenburg.
Bonn .....	Sprevia.....	.....	.....
Breslau.....	Sprevia.....	.....	.....
	Makkabæa .....	1902	Zionist, V.j.St.
Freiburg i/B.....	Sprevia.....	.....	.....
Freiburg i/Sa.....	Unitas .....	.....	.....
Heidelberg.....	Suevia .....	.....	See Sprevia
Koenigsberg i/P...	Herzl .....	.....	Zionist
Leipzig .....	.....	.....	Zionist, V.j.St.
Muenchen .....	Sprevia.....	.....	.....
Stuttgart .....	.....	1903	Zionist, V.j.St.
Wuerzburg.....	{ Ak. Ver. f. j. Gesch. u. Litt Veda.	1895	.....
		.....	.....

#### AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE.

Bruenn .....	Veritas .....	1896	Zionist
	Zephirah.....	1896	"
Cracow.....	{ Przedswit- Haschachat.....	.....	"
Czernowitz.....	Hasmonæa.....	.....	"
	Zephirah.....	.....	"
Graz .....	.....	.....	"
Lemberg.....	Emunah .....	.....	"
Olmuetz.....	Geullah.....	.....	"
Prague .....	Bar Kochba....	.....	"
Stanislaw.....	Bar Kochba....	.....	"
Suczawa .....	Tikwah.....	.....	"
Tarnopol.....	Bar Kochba....	.....	"
Vienna.....	Kadimah.....	1883	"
	Makkabæa .....	1887	"
	Juria .....	1893	"
	Unitas .....	1894	"

Vienna.....	Libanonia .....	1897	Zionist
	{	Arbeitsausschus	
		der akademischen.....	"
		Korporation ...	
		Bar Giora .....	"
		Bar Kochba.....	"
	Leo Pinsker ....	.....	"

## SWITZERLAND.

Bern.....	Kadimah.....	.....	"
-----------	--------------	-------	---

Whole number of societies.....	38
Societies having Zionist aims and tendencies.....	28



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 029 813 185 7